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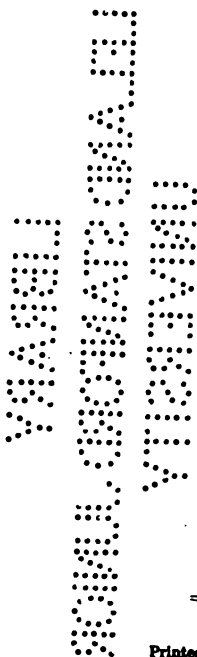
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these details are combined, the result is something feverish and uncanny. We seem to have passed out of the world of good-sense and noble art into one that is tenanted by capricious fancies. Nordau, in fact, with the help of eminent doctors like Krafft-Ebing and Lombroso, will find the likeness of these disordered rooms, and figures recalling their inmates, in quarters where we should have shrunk from looking for them. Medical science does not view the chaos of fashionable art with approbation. It is not healthy, and it betrays a want of self-control in its restless mimicry of the Greeks, the Italians of the Renaissance, the artists of the thirteenth century, and the Japanese and other Eastern peoples, which is not unrighteously stamped with the word 'Decadence.'

These symptoms of decline are yet more visible in Paris than in London or Berlin. The paintings of the French Salon exhibit diseased, unwholesome, and withered colours; the incident or 'anecdote' which they describe is set down as of no consequence, provided the technique be such as to arrest or appal. Religion has become a stage-property; M. Haraucourt reproduces the Gospel in the theatre, and Madame Sarah Bernhardt acts the part of the most sacred personages. A mixed audience listens, 'with recollection,' to music at the Opera which is at once religious, involved, and hysterical. M. Verlaine quits his prison-cell to write pious musings and Madonna-poetry. M. Bourget, who in his most anarchic days knew how to combine a certain tone of mysticism with the current Parisian romance, has returned now to the faith of his childhood, and in 'Cosmopolis' those who are skilled in such matters may decide whether he has risen or fallen. But, in any case, M. Zola no longer holds a bad pre-eminence. The 'natural' man has yielded before the preternatural; before hypnotism and the Kabbala, necromancy and chiromancy, astrology, fakirism, Buddhism, theosophy—who can count all the strange gods that have come crowding into Paris, and there find worshippers? It is an old story, and always astonishing, when the Syrian Orontes flows into the Tiber, the East invades the West, and Epicurus, with his cunning instruments of science, is awakened from what Kant would be disposed to call a 'dogmatic slumber' in his garden, by the drums and cymbals of the Mother of the Gods, as she is carried past him with her ragged rout of fools and fanatics about her, on the way to some mad festival. Such surely would be the effect, for instance, of those 'combined attractions' which certain of her disciples have invented—the pictures shown by electric light, with accompanying music; or the recitation of verses amid showers
of

of perfume; and, in general, the 'sweet concert' of all the arts, which, on the largest scale, has been exhibited at Bayreuth. Not a single one of these devices can be thought original, by those, at least, who have read their Suetonius. But the Renaissance of such things, at the close of a Mechanical Age, is noteworthy.

The literature into which they expand, and which is their accurate reproduction, may be brought, as Nordau thinks, under a few leading characteristics. The groups of authors whom he is going to review, all belong to a degenerate class. And the source of that degeneration is brain fatigue. Speaking as a physician, Nordau seems to have excellent reasons for laying down this diagnosis. But, from the ethical point of view, we must go a step farther and ask, what is the cause of such fatigue? The answer he gives is not so much a moral as a physical one, wherein, we conceive, he is open to criticism. But let us not anticipate. Fatigue, undoubtedly—the result of a hundred years of living at high pressure—will explain the worn-out nerves, and consequent demand for unhealthy stimulus, which are the immediate causes of European decadence.

To borrow a term from the Darwinians, a civilized man's environment now presses upon him with a force some twenty or twenty-five times greater than it did before the age of steam. Since the Reign of Terror, a fourfold revolution has gone swiftly on its course, in religious, political, economic, and social ideas; nor have any but the inhabitants of sequestered villages escaped the influence which was bent on transforming them. But has the brain developed a power of resistance, or of reflex action, equal to the demands upon it? To keep the balance of humanity, as in the time of Goldsmith and Johnson, the present race of Europeans should have strengthened their nervous centres to a degree which would make them men of genius. Yet not only have they taken no pains to strengthen them, but, by the use of narcotics and artificial excitement, they have deliberately weakened them. Such was the judgment of Morel,—a high authority on mental deterioration. And if, with Brouardel, we take into account the concentrated evil influence of our large modern cities, it ought not to astonish us that such exhausted temperaments breed hysteria; or that from hysteria should result the 'intense self-consciousness' which runs, like a red thread, from beginning to end of the literature and the art now under consideration.

M. Féré, in '*La Semaine Médicale*,' has shown that hysteria is the consequence of fatigued nerves, while the mental equivalent of hysteria is melancholy, or that disordered state in
which

which impulse overthrows the government of reason, and fancy predominates. One of its effects is arrested development; the faculties refuse to grow, or to become fully organized; and the lower, the unconscious life, which in a healthy nature lies hid from observation, rises to the surface, usurps attention, throws the subject back on itself, and hinders it from adapting its powers to new conditions. The outcome is a creature whose vitality is dull, yet may deceive the less observant, by exhibiting a feverish emotion, a continually growing disquiet, and other active symptoms which are the accompaniments or forerunners, not of a well-ordered energetic life, but of paralysis. For, as in the first stages of drunkenness, so in hysteria, the increased action signifies that the governing centres have been thrown out of gear, and that the system is working *in vacuo*. According to the insane but pertinent verses which Lombroso quotes, the modern 'degenerates' may say of themselves,—

‘Ci stanchiamo in giri eterni,
Sempre erranti e sempre qui!’

There is endless movement, but no advance.

Another name for degeneration is ‘atavism,’ betokening relapse to states of thought, and to habits, mostly uncivilized, which the race has left behind. It is a second childhood, such as we remark in old age, where the fruits of the intermediate experience are lost. There is less coherence, more anarchy. The commonwealth of man, be it state or individual, tends to dissolution, and every part strives to act for itself, regardless of the whole. Again, new and unstable combinations are formed, caprice gets the upper hand, nor is it possible to forecast the actions of to-morrow from those of to-day. Thus, while discipline is always, in some degree, a sign of strength, rebellion may be an acknowledgment of weakness. Bishop Butler is known to have asked whether nations could go mad. Max Nordau would not hesitate to reply in the affirmative. He believes that the ‘hysteria of the masses’ in Europe is an ascertained fact, evidence of which is sadly forthcoming, in the statistics of crime, insanity, and suicide. Whether crime be on the increase may be disputable; but the growth of insanity, ending often in the suicide of young children, cannot be doubted. Other proofs may be drawn from the multiplication of hysterical diseases, many of which were formerly unknown, such as ‘railway-brain,’ and the entire class of maladies brought forth by incessant travelling. While the average duration of life has gone up, the period when men begin to age has come down close to early manhood. Gray hair is not now the accompaniment of advanced

advanced years; it implies simply nervous exhaustion. The brain is overtaxed; and weaklings fall out of the line of march, while the strong and healthy move forward at the cost of redoubled effort and no little suffering.

Now, of all the activities which human nature displays, the most difficult to sustain—and therefore the earliest to waver in a diseased organism—is that course of moral habits which we term character. In nearly all the degenerate, there is lacking the sense of right and wrong; the marked incapacity of will from which they suffer makes them impotent to choose the good and reject the evil; and all, in varying degrees, are infected with 'moral insanity,' as Dr. Maudsley has termed it. The want of symmetry observed in their physical constitution is apparent also in the impulsive and perverse actions to which they give way. The mainspring of character—a deliberate choice of the better things—has been, so to say, omitted in their make. The emotional temperament, the 'obsession' of fixed ideas, the imagination open to every fantastic influence, the depression, the lack of perseverance in well-doing, the pessimism, and, behind all this, the confused incoherent thought which is guided by no principles and lives by imitation,—such are notes of many an artist, poet, romance-writer, but also of criminals, anarchists, and tenants of the asylum, as they have been sedulously gathered from the facts by well-qualified observers. Thus, to sum up in a sentence, these men and women have failed—not necessarily by their own misdeeds—in adapting themselves to the stage of civilization which we have now reached. They are not always the 'submerged,' but, in every station, from the king to the street Arab, or the *voyou* of the Paris faubourgs, they are the 'relapsed.'

These furnish the elements, or the prime stuff, out of which anarchy is produced. Artists, politicians, writers, wielders of dynamite, or assassins by instinct and for the pleasure of the thing, they must needs be revolutionary, since, in the social order, they can neither find nor make a place for themselves. They are the savages of civilization,—the barbarians in our midst. M. de Vogüé has observed that the spectacle of one of our great cities cannot but dizzy and overcome the imagination, just as, to a traveller in the East, the confused Babel of tongues, tribes, and customs is for a long while bewildering. But it is only physicians—and especially, alienists—who remark the weakness of will and the chaos of thought, which in our society are masked by conventional manners or carried off as fashionable frivolity. 'All things,' it has been said, 'have become questionable, since all are called in question.'

What

What is likely to be the style of a literature expressing this general condition? Max Nordau separates his anarchist authors into two principal groups,—first the Mystics, among whom he reckons the Præraphaelites, the Symbolists, and the Occultists; and second, the Egotists, to whom belong the Parnassians, the Satanic school, the Decadents, and the Realists. All these have a common element, which is impulse, or instinct. It is likewise clear that Rossetti, Verlaine, Tolstoi, and Richard Wagner, though essentially mystics, are none the less egotists on a grand scale; and Nordau grants as much. But all exaggerated self-consciousness tends to mysticism; while good reasons may be adduced for dividing between the first group and the second.

Yet we must here indicate a distinction which the writer has allowed, or even insisted upon,—but not, as we think, sufficiently,—whereby to give genius its due acknowledgment and save ourselves from falling into the ditch with Lasègue,—if not with Lombroso,—when the French satirist declares that ‘*Le génie c’est une maladie de nerfs.*’ There is a healthy as well as a diseased genius. All mysticism is not false, or a relapse into the dream-world of prehistoric man. ‘Except in figures there is no speaking of the Invisible,’ says Carlyle. And if language is little else than petrified metaphor, we cannot allow that the abundant use of parable and of likenesses taken from things seen to express the unseen, is, in itself, a token of mental disease. The moment we leave discoursing on concrete, individual realities, we must speak either in abstractions or in figure. The Western man prefers, at a certain stage, to use abstractions; he is systematic, and a philosopher. The Eastern, or, at least, the Semite, makes parables serve instead of philosophy, and is a poet, indeed, but not necessarily out of his mind. The test, in either case, of truth and sanity, is whether the relations alleged to exist between things have really been observed. A sane man of genius perceives such relations, which are hidden from the multitude. But experience confirms his intuitions; he has not merely dreamt with his eyes open; he has seen that to which he bears witness. If he be a poet, he knows that his visions, while they have an enduring value as lessons of life, are not real and outside of him, but forms in which he has moulded his thoughts. And so long as the human mind is not commensurate with the Infinite above and around it, there will be an interval which only figures, dimly expressing the True and the Beautiful, can occupy. As Max Nordau reminds us, the highest function of literature is to become ‘the prophetic soul of the wide world, dreaming on things to come.’ If it fore-
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casts that which neither will be nor can be, then we may condemn it as insane. But relations between things, which are observed partly in light and partly in shadow, cannot be described as in the nomenclature of science, in number, weight, and measure. The obscurity of a poet like Æschylus or Shakspeare is by no means frenzy; and his presentiment of ethical laws, afterwards coolly observed and reduced to a system, should teach us that the mystic has his place among mankind, so long as he does not confound the symbol with the thing signified, or limit the Divine utterance to his personal experience. Religion must needs be symbolic, as a child's picture of grown-up life; but we have the best of grounds for knowing that its symbols represent the facts of eternity.

With this proviso, we can accept much of Nordau's criticism on the schools which, from the Præraphaelites onward, have abandoned the classic style for a species of picture-writing,—as in Mr. Holman Hunt,—or of 'word-painting,' as in Rossetti, Gautier, Baudelaire, Flaubert,—and must we not include the greatest of English masters in this kind, John Ruskin? The transference of methods from one art to another is most remarkable. While the classic tones of Cardinal Newman appeal to the ear as music, Carlyle, in so many points his opposite, writes, so to speak, with a paint-brush, and expects his reader to be all eye,—the spectator of the scene, and not a hearer only. From the same instinct came that minuteness of detail, or photographic accuracy, which Ruskin laid as a burden on his pupils, which has filled the volumes of Tolstoi with interminable descriptions, and which, in Flaubert and Zola, has deliberately cast away all sense of discrimination, and attempts to reproduce the infinitesimal. The charm of single words, 'le mot unique,' soon became an inducement to search for the single incident, 'le cas rare'; and, again, to insist upon the 'impeccable form,' which is the whole foundation of 'art for art's sake' concerning which we have heard enough and to spare. Such is the misleading power of language when it ceases to be the transparent vehicle of thought. All this painting is treated by the adepts as a kind of hieroglyphic, capable of impressing the mind by some occult charm, irrespective of the sense of the words or the knowledge that is brought to the picture. And there may be exerted a charm, but one which merely affects certain nerve-centres, as in the disease termed 'écholalie,' when sound becomes an echo not to the sense but to nonsense. For the mixed anecdotic style of the Præraphaelites has degenerated among the French into disconnected 'impressions,' or, as in the Realist school, has become a craze
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for describing experiences, to which there is no artistic beginning or end. A severe critic would perhaps fling them from him, as the bas-reliefs of insanity.

We may ascribe it to Max Nordau's German bringing up,—a little wanting, we suppose, in the graces,—when he concludes that Mr. Swinburne is a 'mattoid' and that Rossetti was an 'imbecile.' But we can agree with the estimate of their French first cousins, the Symbolists, which he borrows from one of themselves, Charles Morice. They are 'a crowd of incapables,' although Verlaine, who is their chief, has written some of the most touching, ærial, and heartfelt lyrics that the French language, or perhaps any other, contains. Yet Verlaine is a 'degenerate,' resembling in some points the American tramp and idler Walt Whitman; he is a 'circulating' or 'periodic' case, of the obsession of ideas, and so 'impulsive' in his ways that he finds himself secure from evil-doing only in a prison or a hospital. Another of these anarchic singers, Stéphane Mallarmé, has contrived to be famous without publishing more than a handful of verses; but his account of the 'symbols' to which his friends are addicted, namely, 'the suggestion of reality as in a dream,' is not without value. The word 'reverie'—with or without the epithet 'criminal' attaching to it—plays an immense part in recent French literature. Consciousness of the world and of duty has given place to the enjoyment of moods, in which there is but a dreamy association between the shadows that fill them. Single words, and titles cunningly chosen, as in the poems of Moréas and René Ghil, suffice to call up the emotions desired. Even the vowels, according to Rimbaud's famous and perhaps burlesque sonnet, have a colour of their own. And, as M. de Vogüé notes in discussing Tolstoi, one of the chief attractions of the Russian artist for Frenchmen is, that his words evoke an endless series of harmonies; that they are full of undertones, and thus bind a spell upon the reader, who is charmed by their affinities. The language that was once all light and sparkle has become—to use the favourite imagery of these men—an intoxicating perfume, a magic addressed to the senses and thrilling them with explosive pleasure. What will be the fate of genius, with its once high and serene temper, in this Bacchic dance? We are reminded of Comus, who

'By sly enticement gives his baneful cup,
With many murmurs mixed, whose pleasing poison
The visage quite transforms of him that drinks,
And the inglorious likeness of a beast
Fixes instead, un moulding reason's mintage.'

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The judgment which Nordau passes on Count Tolstoi, though severe even to harshness, cannot be wholly reversed. Setting, as the critic rightly does, an essential stress upon the element of personality in literature, he convicts the great Russian romance-writer of all those peculiarities which doctors have found in the degenerate. M. de Vogüé has endeavoured to sketch his portrait in a couple of strokes. Tolstoi has 'the mind of an English chemist and the soul of a Hindu Buddhist,'—which, being interpreted, signifies that, as regards the infinite of detail, he behaves like a sensitive plate, reproducing great and little indifferently, while, in the sum, he has fallen a victim to scepticism, or the *folie du doute*, and by resignation, Nirvana, and flight from science, would attain to that happiness he had sought earlier in the riot of the senses. But Nordau holds that whoever is led by the association of ideas,—which, more properly, should be termed the association of images,—and cannot choose but follow them, is deficient in the power of attention, and is a weak-minded mimic, not the Promethean artist who, by selecting from the chaos of appearances, creates and breathes life into his forms. Thus again, Tolstoi shows kinship with the Præraphaelites, exact in particulars, dim and uncertain when the whole is to be rendered distinctly. The force which he obeys is emotion; and he loses himself in a cloud which now has the thunderous menacing hues of Nihilism, and again rays out streams of many-coloured light, as though it were the tabernacle of the Son of God.

With Tolstoi's 'Confession' before us, we cannot deny that he is a troubled hysterical spirit, perhaps even, as he more than once indicates, mentally unsound. His frantic idealism,—when he conceived that nothing was real except while he thought of it; his shadow-life, so often the consequence of great nervous expenditure; his temptations to suicide; his religious enthusiasm, which deals with the Christian doctrine after a fashion of his own, and is belief or unbelief according to the point from which we view it,—nay, the inexorable critic would say, his very sense of pity, overflowing, passionate, and restless, betoken a mind that is off its balance. Do we need any further proof? There is 'The Kreutzer Sonata,' which made Tolstoi known to every bookstall and every journal in the two hemispheres. Granting the utmost to his attack upon the mercenary and merely sentimental marriage, it remains a matter of astonishment that he should have condemned the institution itself as a crime and contrary to the natural law. Nordau sums up his doctrine of morality as prescribing that we should *in no sense* withstand evil; that all things should
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be divided equally among all; and that man should suppress his humanity by the strictest self-abnegation: he is, in short, passive to the verge of idiocy. Again, he would have done with science, and also with a transcendental outlook to any next world; for he has denied the resurrection, immortality, and other Christian beliefs. And, finally, he would turn his back on civilized life, and begin over again in the wilderness.

Curiously enough, it is Tolstoi's mystic colouring which has found favour in once Voltairean France; while the Germans, who have ceased to be mystics, prefer his good news of Socialism, with its denial of the Divinity of Christ, and its call to a fresh kind of brotherhood. Until he had struck upon these words, the author of 'Anna Karénine,' and of 'Peace and War,' was not much known outside literary circles. But Max Nordau, like all those to whom physical science appears to be the only God, would do well to bear in mind that when Tolstoi charges the modern experimentalist with teaching that 'life is an evil without any significance,' he does but echo their own doctrines, and sometimes their very words. As we have seen, this writer himself speaks of the existence of individuals as 'an unimportant episode in the life of the All.' No wonder that Tolstoi 'was minded to commit suicide,' and get clear of an episode which, however unimportant, was to him full of sorrow. He could not learn the purpose of life from biology. Nor do the teachers of biology trouble themselves about it; although for them, as for the multitude, it is the one question which, as Tolstoi says, confronts them like the Sphinx, and will have an answer or will make an end of the living.

We see, now, the truth of that description with which Nordau opens his studies. Books do present to the world at large those ideals of morality and the beautiful by which, often unknown to themselves, men are guided. They perform the office of 'suggestion' to the many who, in a sort of dream-life, and occupied in earning their daily bread, have neither the inclination nor the opportunity to think for themselves. The young, the sensitive, run to these oracles; they are taken by the strangeness and the enigmatic but solemn asseverations of men and women who seem to be possessed by a spirit from some 'unascended heaven'; and they are led astray, rather than helped, when the mere literary critic, himself ignorant of what is sound or unsound in the world of which he has had so little experience, bids them admire the novelty, or the depth, or the genius, in conceptions which, by their very form, betray an unhealthy origin. Would any one, acquainted with the true conditions of a sound mind, affirm that such were existent,
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for example, in Rousseau, Victor Hugo, Comte, or again, in Coleridge, or, at all times, in Carlyle? And was it the pure reason, rather than the serious extravagances, in these undoubted men of genius, which gave them an influence over their day and generation? At all events, that criticism alone is profitable, as in the highest degree it is necessary during a period of change and confusion, which discriminates between the good and the bad in romance-writers, poets, historians, and popular teachers, by an appeal to reason, to 'the Whole, the Good, and the Beautiful,' as the classics of mankind have understood those fair things.

Let us take, for a memorable instance of the opposite, one who has shared with Tolstoi, Ibsen, and Zola, the fame of a great modern artist, a pioneer upon fresh paths, and a prophet of to-morrow,—we mean Richard Wagner. That he was a 'graphomaniac,' incessantly repeating the same ideas; that he was haunted with a sense of persecution, was emotional to excess, overcome by delusions of his own greatness, a worshipper of the sensuous, a mystic as well as an unbeliever, and a decided anarchist, Max Nordau has little difficulty in proving. Was he a great, an original musician? Medical science answers with Lombroso and Sollier, that, of all the arts, music is the least intellectual; that high endowments, even of creative power, in this region, may consist with inferior mental capacity; and that excessive emotion, dreaminess, want of connected thought, and sudden explosive feelings (all of which imply deficient self-control), have been remarked in musicians of the first order. Such we may allow Wagner to be; yet, as in other degenerate schools, we have observed their unlawful mixing of kinds, so that writing has become colour, and colour has eked itself out with writing, in like manner it is noticeable how Wagner not only deduces all the arts from barbaric dancing, but has invented the 'musical drama,' in which painting, poetry, and 'endless recitative' form the combined attraction. Why should they not? his admirers may ask. Because, replies Schopenhauer (whom Wagner, nevertheless, looked up to as his Gamaliel), the opera, with its lively movements, fantastic images, and overpowering lights and colours, is 'an unmusical invention for the sake of an unmusical audience.' Or again, because, says the sound critic, even your Shakspeare will be rendered inarticulate, and his spirit materialized, by the spectacular drama, which, like the incessant beating of a drum, at once excites and fatigues the attention. Or, lastly, because, observes the historian, it is the way of perfect art to become more and more specific, aiming at one distinct and clear impression, and, despite Fr. Schlegel's maxim,—as significant as it is false,—

abhorring

abhorring 'die schöne Verirrung der Phantasie,' the original chaos of childish or dream-like experience, in which degenerate nature finds itself at home. Those who cherish a deep love for poetry, and seek therein food for the spirit, as well as pleasure, do not care to have it accompanied by music. But in music, the single word, with its subjective and vague associations, is enough; for consecutive thought would undo the charm.

Many have felt the dissolving influence of the strangely gorgeous frescoes, so to call them with Nordau, in which Wagner has displayed the imagination of a scene-painter, side by side with the skill of an antiquarian, and the hysterical *Frauendienst*, or medieval knight-errantry, of an Orlando Furioso. But they would shrink from these 'brewed enchantments,' if they understood that the dissolution is real and not imaginary, breaking up the strong control of reason, throwing the reins on the neck of desire, and ending with Jonathan's complaint, 'I did but taste a little honey, and lo, I must die!' Hanslick speaks of Wagner's many love-scenes 'which, in their extravagance, fall into sheer nonsense,' and gives instances from 'Rheingold' and 'Siegfried.' But is there one of the 'musical dramas' created by Wagner that does not exhibit the same 'leading-motive'? This Orlando, we cannot help remarking, is always furious. Passion, with an immense rage in its development, is the artist's favourite theme. His heroes face death by no means unselfishly, but as the fire through which they must pass to Ashteroth. If the world of gods and men perish with them, as when Asenburg sinks in conflagration because of Siegfried's love-triumph, what then? Love is a fatality, and its guerdon is death. The exquisite human feeling is, by this degenerate, transformed into a 'teuflisches Weib,' the witch Venus, in accordance with the creed of symbolists and decadents. In the 'Walküre,' one demon will not suffice, and a whole brood of vampires or Furies may be seen upon the battle-field, drinking the blood of heroes, and delighting in their ruin. For it is in shapes of illusion or of destructive frenzy that women play their part on this stage. Or else they are creatures woven of dreams and moonlight,—not women, but feminine angels,—such as Guttrune, Senta, Elizabeth, who pass through the world in a trance. Thus, too, when the hero is not a Siegmund, he becomes a Parsifal, 'the unsullied simpleton,' borrowed from Arthurian legends, and no genuine flesh and blood.

Never, indeed, was there such borrowing. Wagner's 'drama of the future,' says Nordau mockingly, 'is all of the past.' As he is a mystic, abounding in doctrines of 'redemption' torn from their Christian setting, and yet is no believer, so, with the help

help of Scandinavian sagas, Celtic hero-tales, and the ritual of the Catholic Church, he has manufactured characters which, if you take their fantastic clothing from them, vanish, and leave nothing but a name. Call the Wandering Jew a woman and baptize her Kundry, and you have a fresh personage for your drama. When the German public has ceased to go to church, let the Knights of the Holy Graal celebrate, to a psalm-like recitative, the Last Supper, and let every incident of the Mass be carefully parodied, while the audience enjoys, after the fashion of a dream-waker, sensations and pictures which, in the daylight, it would laugh to scorn as belonging to a discredited mythology. The simulation is perfect; and Nordau exclaims that so daring a sacrilege has never been attempted by any dramatist, since the time of Constantine. Evidently Wagner believed, as little as the throngs which crowded to Bayreuth, in the Christian mysteries. They furnished him with material for his plays; they gave a 'leading-motive' to the dreams, deeply tinged with sensuality, in which he chose to indulge; and perhaps they stirred unconscious memories in men and women whose ancestors had taken these solemn rites to be the highest act of communion between God and man. To the artist, seeking originality among the relics of the past, these were momentous considerations. What matter if the disenchanting critic saw in his Christian, Norse, and Celtic robberies, a mere heap of fragments? While the spell lasted, they would hold captive the eyes of his disciples. And it has lasted year after year,—thanks, shall we say? to a degeneration which, under the stress of scientific disbelief and the casting-down of churches, would fain amuse itself with a nursery game at the religion it has forsaken.

But other causes, though of a like order, have contributed to Wagner's popularity. This musical Carlyle, who hated counterpoint, and wrote 'picture-harmonies,' who thought to excel Beethoven by relapsing into barbaric plain chant, and whose recitatives and arabesques sent his audience into an hypnotic sleep, in which they dreamt of the Middle Age, the Court of Love, Thor and Odin, the Ring of the Nibelungs, and the Quest of the Holy Graal—this plagiarist, to whom the wide world, with its religions, mythical tales, and phantoms of the everlasting Jew and the Flying Dutchman, seemed but one huge bazaar from whose stalls he could plunder at his ease—this exotic, absorbed in the study of Celts and Scandinavians—did not only find an insane king to build him a theatre and publish his dramas on the most splendid scale, but, in his old age, became the impersonation of free and united Germany.

All the world wondered after him. Wagner was the residuary legatee of that hysteria which the campaigns of 1870 brought forth. Being, also, of one family with Tolstoi, he was, like him, ready to shut all prisons, abolish judges, and set up the reign of unbounded freedom, assuring the timid that 'when every one could do as he pleased, every one would do right.' Thus he contrived to bewitch all classes. The 'high well-born,' who in Germany are much more of a caste than with us, made the pilgrimage to Bayreuth in order that with Parsifal and Amfortas they might celebrate the new-birth of chivalry. And the Nihilist, the revolutionary, and the mere democrat, flattered by his assurance that in the coming era 'the people themselves would write their own tragedies,' hailed Wagner as the herald, and perhaps the first chairman, of a syndicate of Shaksperes.

As it is likewise true that '*les nerveux se recherchent*,' every graphomaniac, and whosoever caressed a phantom of his own, sought the patronage, or extolled the genius, of this undoubted master in *mise en scène*. Liszt, who was second only to Wagner; Gleizès, in whose compositions the taint of unsoundness cannot be mistaken; Nietzsche—but of him we may speak a word later on; and Wolzogen, the German ape of symbolism, all praised him, and by him were praised in their turn. Set a candle at an open window, and the moths will come round it. Like others who have attained notoriety, Wagner concentrated in himself the dim inarticulate feelings of his age, and some of its most violent emotions. He was the 'great German,' and also the mystic, the anarchist, the anti-Semite; he was the musician who substituted impressions for science, and who added to its resources the picturesque, the declamatory, and, in no small degree, the sensuous. When religion and irreligion, old and new, law and anarchy, thus met on a common ground, it is not astonishing if the man who had drawn them thither by his magic was acclaimed by all as a prophet.

To the foregoing argument it may be objected that it proves too much. The aberrations of genius have long been remarked; yet genius is neither hysteria nor mental degeneracy. Max Nordau replies that, in the examples brought forward, he has dwelt upon morbid symptoms—and, above all, on the lack of creative power—as showing that we have here to do with a diseased temperament which is no part of genius. And again, he urges, what are we to think of the vast crowd of mediocrities, or secondary figures, who do but carry these eccentricities one step further? What of the adepts in occult

occult science, followers of the black art, dealers with spirits, theosophists, Rosicrucians, whose journals circulate, and whose books find thousands of readers, in France, England, and America? If all this were burlesque and make-believe, it would be sufficiently dangerous; for, as alienists declare, those play at madness who are near being out of their wits. But psychic research in these many branches appears to be a serious, as it is plainly an absorbing pursuit. Hypnotism and M. Charcot have much to answer for. The preternatural, scorned of enlightenment, is coming back with a vengeance. 'Leave novel-writing, and take to magnetism,' says the Paris bookseller to his second-rate authors. Witchcraft, possession, second sight, telepathy, hurting and healing from a distance, messages out of the spirit-world, and the haunting of men by the invisible—often by malignant demonic powers—have all found a place, not merely in imaginative literature, but in the business and philosophy of modern life. We seem to have come round again to the sixteenth century; and enthusiastic believers deprecate burning the witches before whom they quail. M. Encausse writes a thousand pages entitled '*Traité méthodique de Science Occulte.*' Stanislaus de Guaita, a master of magic, leads us '*Au Seuil du Mystère,*' and entertains his friends with the '*Serpent of Genesis.*' Ernest Bosc proposes to unveil Isis, while Nehor discloses the secrets of Chaldean sorcerers. And the prevailing question in fashionable salons at Paris has been, '*Comment on devient mage?*'

Such are the fopperies of the time, at the presence of which good sense turns away scandalized, and science, while it cannot choose but note them, may reflect how slight a hold the canons of induction have taken on these giddy and exhausted minds. Superstition ought to have been slain by Positivism, and behold the snake is not even scotched. Is it because, in the language of M. Paulhan, for which Nordau rebukes him, 'magic, witchcraft, astrology, and prophecy, correspond to a need in human nature' left, as it would seem, unsatisfied by science? And now, if science itself must concede the truth of marvels long derided, will not the channels which it has begun to dig out be filled by the waters of superstition? 'What,' exclaims Carlyle, 'are the "Hamlets" and "Tempests," the "Fausts and Mignons," but glimpses accorded us into this translucent, wonder-encircled world; revelation of the mystery of all mysteries, Man's Life as it actually is?' But the inductive science of Max Nordau will not bow to the mystery. When Mr. Herbert Spencer sets up a shrine of the Unknowable, and Du Bois Reymond chants on

the steps thereof his 'Ignorabimus,' this surely too confident Gnostic cries out that they are a pair of mystic dreamers. Thus, likewise, Professor Huxley, in his last edition, worships only at the 'altar of the Unknown,' leaving the Unknowable in Mr. Spencer's sole charge. But that is not the way to convert the disciples of Sar Mérodack Peladan from their Rosicrucian mania. Neither will it fill up the void which the disappearance of religion and metaphysics from the list of sciences cannot but have left. Man is so made that he must believe in the Invisible and adore the Supreme; if his God be taken from him, then to idols, witches, and the like he will have recourse, huddling up a deity out of rags and stage-properties, rather than be left alone in the universe. That is the moral of these frightful and unclean apparitions, which, as from the tomb of Faith, call aloud during the dark hours that it will rise again. The mystic who once, 'in clear dream and solemn vision,' beheld the highest truths, is avenging himself on a science which was largely scepticism, by compelling it to admit the marvels of faith-healing, and to look down into the abysses of the trance-life in which its old psychology is shattered in pieces.

But while the Hegelian, no less than the disciple of Hume, is pausing before this Satan's world laid open, the decadents have joyfully hurried in to possess it. Their egotism, their invalid monomania, and dull brain, entitle them, as by right, to these new sources of stimulation; and they delight in the perverse because it calls forth the only strong reaction of which they are capable. Do they fail in sympathy? But they have already failed in that perception which is the root and ground of sympathy. Your 'Parnassians,' dating from Gautier, instructed by De Banville to plunder dictionaries, and exhibiting their most perfect man in Baudelaire, rave about the 'impeccable form,' and hunt through lexicons and the gradus for resplendent words, not because they can outdo the genuine poets, or lead us into oblivion of Milton's sweetness and Homer's sunlit melodies, but because they are devoid of human feeling, and the only intoxication they know is a sensuous reverie. Tones, rhymes, and word-play, ground into verse by mechanism, as in the academies of Laputa, they judge to be the supreme of art; and the sentiments thus called forth insist, by a law which all victims to narcotic poisoning have experienced, on increasing the dose, that they may keep up to the same level. Now the outcome of such a 'repliement sur soi' is, on the one hand, a demand for complete independence of every power which is not the egotist himself, and on the

the other, a thirst for inflicting pain, or, at any rate, for the sight and the imagination of it. However, *pari passu* with the growth of morbid self-consciousness fear grows also; and its subject, unless where he is a Roman Emperor, must, as in this modern world, content himself with fancying the atrocities which he is not permitted to exercise, and shiver with apprehension of the phantoms he has himself created.

It would be easy, were it desirable, to prove these statements by reference, not only to the poems of Baudelaire and his coevals, but to much more recent works in prose and verse, of which Rollinat, J. K. Huysmann, Richepin, De l'Isle Adam, and others resembling them, must bear the dishonour. But we may judge of their value by the principles already laid down. It stands to reason that poetry which, when studied by medical experts, is seen to be absolutely of the same kind as that which their insane patients compose, need not detain us for its intrinsic value. On the other hand, its success—we do not say its popularity—furnishes one more item in the demonstration which Max Nordau is intent upon. The whole esthetic movement, from this point of view, deserves to be carefully examined. Those who have watched it do not require the assurance which M. Bourget gives them, in his much-quoted 'Essays on the Psychology of our Time,' that, whether we regard the language, the choice of incidents, the 'curiosities of idea and of form,' or the kind of emotions deliberately fostered by these persons of fine feeling and aristocratic exclusiveness, they cannot be defended on the principles of the old morality, and do but indicate 'states of consciousness,' to which the epithets 'sane or sound' will not apply. Many years ago, Sainte-Beuve, who frequented and has passed sentence on all the schools of literature, gave, in describing his Romanticist brethren, an account of them which might have been composed for our esthetics: 'They had but one thought,' he exclaims, 'and it was a religion—the devotion to art, the passionate longing after a vivid expression, a fresh turn, a choice image or splendid rhyme'; 'they were children, if you please, but children of the Muses, who never sacrificed to commonplace beauty.' An admirable sketch of Mr. Swinburne, and the motley crowd to which he has so long been piping: nor inapplicable to the late Mr. Addington Symonds; to the author of 'The New Republic,' or of 'Marius the Epicurean'; to the English lovers of the Renaissance generally; or to the young 'Pagans,' whom we may laugh at, provided we recognize the harm they are doing. For it must not be supposed that
degeneration

degeneration is nothing but a foreign disease. English society betrays the same deep infection. We have seen theatrical suicides, in which the victim gratified his vanity at the cost of his life, and they have been publicly defended. The literary, the social taint is widespread. M. Zola has received the homage of London clubs, as representing French literature; but a more delicate sensuality than his reckons its votaries among us by thousands. The outlook is grave; we must be content to remark on the causes and utter our warning, while there is yet time to avert a disaster.

Some amusement might be found, with Nordau, in depicting the lunatic hero, Des Esseintes, who, in Huysmann's novel, has taken the place vacated by the 'average sensual man' of a more robust and decidedly less contemptible style. For the Balzacs and the Dumas would have laughed him out of their canvas, once they had drawn his ridiculous peculiarities. But the anarchist element in all this should not escape us. Our lover of himself is, according to Maurice Barrès, 'un homme libre'; and that he may be so, his ambition makes him 'l'ennemi des lois'; to whom, as we have already observed of Tolstoi, 'soldiers, judges, teachers, and preachers' are the true barbarians. To quote a once famous exclamation of Emerson's, 'they pin him down'; and the struggling butterfly waves his golden wings in a frenzy of remonstrance. For 'the Ego alone is real,' says Barrès, 'and the universe,—what is it but a painted wall?' Yet, seen from the window of Old Morality, this Ego that cries out against being pinned down, is 'a pale-faced young bourgeois, greedy for all kinds of enjoyment, vexed by the mere contact of other men, ill at ease in the social order, and a weakling in the presence of life.' Then, concludes Nordau, this worshipper of his own individuality is an instance of non-adaptation. He is one of the group whom Daudet has so truthfully sketched in 'Jack'; and whose Parisian name is 'les ratés,' the refuse. Their modest demand for independence would carry with it a complete abrogation of laws, government, and social customs, in the interest of the 'free man.' He must be allowed to substitute taste for morality, to put no check on his inclinations, and to 'kiss and coax criminals into doing right,' without having recourse to that ugly-looking guillotine. His pouncet-box, whereby mankind are to be healed, holds nothing in it but sovereign instinct.

M. Barrès commenced his ascent to the stars by apologizing for the Algerian murderer, Chambige, distinctly on the ground that he had obeyed his impulses. An English disciple of the movement, Mr. Oscar Wilde, has written—doubtless in some-
what

what frivolous imitation of De Quincey on 'Murder as a Fine Art'—the panegyric of Wainwright, whose esthetic tastes were indulged not only in painting but in poisoning. And here would be the occasion to strengthen Nordau's case indefinitely, by quoting his reference to the literature which finds favour in prisons and among the criminal class. In form it may not be on a level with Baudelaire and Barbey d'Aurevilliers; but its matter is the same which they handle,—descriptions, in lurid tones, of violence, cruelty, and the lowest passion. All which may be admitted with our author as proving, by an argument from the contrary, that nothing is beautiful except it conform to the moral nature of man; and that genuine art, instead of being indifferent to the idea of the Good, is its noblest expression. The cleansing of the mental vision which accompanies a true picture of the ideal,—and its darkening when the total result is ugliness and disorder,—have their explanation in the very nature of life. Nor is it anywhere more visible than in literature, the instrument of which, language, has so little influence—if we ought not rather to say, has none at all—apart from the moral associations which it conveys. The esthetic movement, therefore, whether in France or among ourselves, with its imbecile following of decadents, weaklings, and criminals, not only degrades art, by eliminating from it the moral idea, but is a danger to society. For it excites anti-human impulses, identifies culture with anarchy, sets the individual against the organism of which he is a member, has no capacity for serious thought or fruitful action, is a school of cowardice, effeminacy, and spiritual debasement,—and may be summed up as the residuum of civilized life, a centre at once of corruption and disorder.

But mediocrities run into sects, and even the worshippers of the Ego look round for a king. In these latter days, the poet, dramatist, and standard-bearer of anarchy is Henrik Ibsen. He has succeeded to the double crown of Wagner and Victor Hugo. The stage has become his kingdom, on which modern problems, finding a voice through the speaking-trumpet of his personages, hurry forward and declaim, with a vehemence and a repetition of the same ideas, that reveal to us their origin. Ibsen is, before all things, a skilful playwright, bringing his incidents to a focus and hastening the catastrophe which events have prepared, as though he would restore the unities of Aristotle. In a dozen sentences he can paint a situation, with all its touches of feeling, and a lively portraiture of the persons concerned. He has an acknowledged power of perspective, a concentrated energy; and in two or three characters has
shown

shown a creative genius, that would justify, not indeed the reputation he enjoys, but high and lasting rank among the dramatic poets of all nations. Yet, neither his poetry nor his skill as a scene-shifter will account for the height to which he has climbed. He prophesies of a new time, in accents full of rage. He welcomes anarchy when it comes in as a flood, and would himself, as he gaily sings, hoist the ark with a petard, were the chance given him. Law and order he detests; free-love in its most anarchic form may count upon his blessing; his pattern characters proclaim that they are 'sick of respectability.' To him the Ego is the only Saviour; and 'the will to live,' or 'the freedom of a mind that obeys its own regulations' and recognizes simply its 'duties to itself,' he glorifies with the fervour—of a degenerate! For the induction we have made of previous examples cannot but tell heavily against Ibsen. '*Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ*,' the critic, fresh from the decadents and the Satanic school, will murmur, as he turns over these stormy pages.

With the utmost brevity, we may count up the marks—or stigmata, as the doctors call them—by virtue of which Ibsen takes his place with Tolstoi, Wagner, Baudelaire, and the other friends of anarchism. He has described himself in 'Brand,'—a character who is subject to the tyranny of a fixed idea, and who strives passionately towards an end which he cannot define. Ibsen is the 'lonely man,' at war with Society and the Pharisees,—the one honest reformer in a world of hypocrites and secret criminals. He desires nothing so much as to sweep away the old order, and yet is a confirmed pessimist, not knowing what he shall put in its stead. The only characters whom he permits to defend the idea of duty are Philistines or imbeciles—Pastor Manders in 'Ghosts,' the Burgomeister in 'An Enemy of the People,' and Bernick in 'Pillars of Society.' But the hypocrites are always men, and the rebels women; for in Ibsen's country, as in Wagner's, the usual qualities of things are reversed, and Nora, and Frau von Alving, and Rebecca, and Ellida, show that strength and determination of will in which the dramatist's masculine puppets are, for the most part, lamentably deficient. While that famous banging of the door with which Nora makes her exit has resounded throughout Europe, teaching every strong-minded woman what her rights are, if she will only exercise them,—the feckless husband can but wring his hands and exclaim with Helmer, 'Oh, what a fearful awakening! No religion, no morality, and no sense of duty!' But your anarchic woman *has* 'duties to herself':—

'Immemor

'Immemor illa domus, et conjugis atque sororis
 Nil patriæ indulisit, plorantesque improba natos,
 Utque magis stupeas, ludos Paridemque reliquit.'

She is willing to leave not only house and home, husband and children, but the 'doll's-life' of amusement which was once her chief occupation. Like Tolstoi, she must go out from civilization, and begin all over again.

But as clear views are incompatible with degeneracy, we find that Ibsen contradicts himself, and Frau von Alving, who had early in life made a Nora-exit to the roof of Pastor Manders, sighs compassionately over Regina,—the cultivated young person in 'Ghosts,' to whose awakening fancy a free life and a merry one alone seems worth living. Nordau extracts from his plays a most comical set of rules for those about to marry, which even the 'Kreutzer Sonata' can scarcely equal. A man, it appears, shall not marry for love or money; neither on long acquaintance nor at first sight; nor because he likes or is liked; nor until both have given proof that they know what a married life means; nor unless he is willing to educate his wife up to his own level; but yet a woman must reason for herself; and if she discovers that the marriage is not a 'true' marriage, she is free to give it up; although the husband, naturally, is not free; and she may stay if she pleases on condition of enlightening her foolish partner, so that he may contract a true marriage; but, on the whole, it is doubtful if there ever was one. In any case, 'all depends on free choice,' remarks Ellida. And therefore she follows 'the stranger' who tells her imperiously to put her belongings together, and leave her *ci-devant* husband, Wangel, to interpret her conduct as well as he can by Ibsen's marriage code, until she comes back.

Such, then, is 'autonomous ethics,' according to the most celebrated poet of the hour; and Mr. Hardcastle, on hearing of it, would doubtless exclaim, 'This may be modern modesty, but I never saw anything look so like old-fashioned impudence.' But he, good man, was little versed in the rights and duties of the Ego towards itself. He knew nothing of the sentimental mysticism which, at all costs, will taste the 'joy of life.' Perhaps, even heredity in those simple days was understood as being not quite the same thing with original sin, and good blood ran in families as well as scrofula and insanity. Max Nordau, commenting on the Doctor Ranks and the Oscar Alvings, who bear in their own persons the punishment of crime which some of them have not committed, makes merry over his task of proving that Ibsen caricatures science, and that, though lifted shoulder-high as a *realist*, *exact in diagnosis and in prognosis*, he falls a
good

good deal below Shakspeare, who used no science at all, but only his eyes. In like manner, the touches of modern style with which we are to be dazzled in these advanced dramas—what do they amount to? Trivial allusions to steam and railways; an old-fashioned disdain of newspapers; political parties and bacilli: but, above all, the revolutionary feeling which Ibsen expresses without attempting to see into its nature or purpose. His leading motives, so far from being modern, are borrowed from the religious beliefs in which he was brought up, as a Swedenborgian or Kierkegaard Lutheran. It is extremely interesting to observe the parallel which Nordau has traced between Ibsen and Wagner in this respect. Both free-thinkers, when they come to write for the stage, they seek inspiration in the creeds they have cast aside. The perpetual theme of Wagner is redemption; and Ibsen employs it in the form of self-sacrifice over and over again. Another traditional motive, the acknowledgment of hidden sin, recurs so often in his pieces, that Nordau sums up Rosmersholm as 'the confession of all to all.' But if these are his characteristic ideas,—confession, redemption, and original sin in the form of a malignant heredity,—if he abounds in the use of symbols, in the magic force of single words, in dreams and pseudo-science, in a realism that will not bear the scrutiny of experts,—and if he employs the same set of persons, phrases, and even proper names, in a whole library of dramas, we must conclude that he is at once a plagiarist of the old and a rebel against it. In other words, he denies but cannot create; his art, with some notable exceptions, is disguised and degraded reminiscence; and he floats in the uncertain element, neither land nor water, which is the proper habitat of those middle and abortive species in whose future science has no hope.

Now that we have reached the sublime height where our Norwegian poet, or poetaster, strikes the stars, it becomes a matter of some consequence to look forth, as from a specular Mount of Vision, and, with the help of our critic's glasses, to view the land before us. Has degeneration grown, from merely French and national, to European? And will it continue to grow? The state of things, should hysteria, decadence, nervous exhaustion, worship of the occult and the preternatural, Wagner music, and the bacillus of anarchy, flourish and prevail so as to become, in parliamentary phrase, the order of the day, Nordau has sketched in a bizarre and curious chapter, not unlike the chronicles of a lunatic asylum. We cannot, however, make so bold as to transcribe, or even summarize, the description in these pages. Rather will we
content

content ourselves with the heartfelt prayer, 'Dî meliora piis!' For it would be such a mad world as never, since the corruptest age of Rome, has been witnessed. To omit other characteristics, in the hightide of sensuous excitement, religion would have sunk to the foulest superstition; science would be the plaything of luxury, or would have ceased to be an element in the training of mankind; and crime, being looked upon merely as impulse, if not cultivated among the fine arts, would no longer people the prisons, but would take its ease in delightfully arranged *Heilanstalten*, or Homes of Rest for invalids. The European races would have entered upon a shameful old age, with near extinction awaiting them in the shape of mental, moral, and, at last, of physical paralysis. In that day, Oswald Alving would have become the type of millions, and Ibsen, or Schopenhauer, would turn out to be the prophet of a world-suicide which could not long be retarded.

A nightmare, the healthy Anglo-Saxon will exclaim. And so Nordau thinks—not because any stroke in the picture is imaginary, nor yet on the ground that degeneration is rare, but by reason of his confidence in the deep-seated vitality of mankind. The moment, indeed, is critical. Your overgrown cities are sucking down, as in gigantic funnels, the life of towns and villages, destroying muscle, nerve, and brain, transforming the higher instincts into a dull and ferocious bestiality, arresting the normal growth, and giving in return little else than a decadent civilization. Your mad prophets, like Frederick Nietzsche, write volumes during the interval between two asylums, which undertake to lead men 'Beyond Right and Wrong,' or publish as the sum of wisdom, that 'Nothing is true, everything is lawful.' Your Maeterlinks, not so much insane as imbecile, daub their pages—as in 'Serres Chaudes'—with disconnected imagery, make an ignoble mish-mash of Hamlet and Othello—for instance, in 'La Princesse Maleine'—and find themselves in the tenth edition. Your Rollinats rifle the tomb for the subjects of their detestable death-poetry; and your Maupassants fall into the mania they have a hundred times painted. But still, the scientific observer in Nordau will not despair. He sees two possible alternatives, and one certain conclusion.

The conclusion which is certain is that degeneracy will sweep away its own victims. They are lost, whether mankind perishes with them, or survives into a fresh era. The decadent who flatters himself that he is Ibsen's 'strong and lonely man,' will perceive, in his first encounter with the 'barbarians,' that his strength, like his intellect, was a delusion. What new world
can

can be made of worn-out rags, though they were gilt and painted mummy-clothes? Brain-fatigue is not healed by 'flowers of evil,' nor by the perfumes and scented liquors of Des Esseintes. A revolt of esthetic heroes against their less polished brethren, the army of the proletarians, would be worth seeing: but it would not last long. And if the multitude of anarchists should increase from the same causes which have given it birth, the collapse of an exhausted society would take place only the sooner. Nature insists on adaptation to her laws under the penalty of death, which she, at least, does not seem likely to abolish. Where are the descendants of the Romans whom Alaric invaded, or of the Oriental Greeks submerged in the flood of Islam? They have passed away, simply because the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint. The organism, corrupt within, fell to dust when touched by the barbarian spear.

Turning now to the masses, we may conceive that they will either accommodate themselves,—not without suffering,—to the demands of the Electric Age, or that, if they find its strain too great, they will halt in the march, grow careless of new discoveries, and surrender many of the old. That may come to pass which the medieval centuries witnessed,—a people rearing their huts, in contented ignorance, on the ruins of Cæsar's palace, and letting the masterpieces of science and literature fall into oblivion. In order to thrive upon their own ideas, however rude, these childlike barbarians laid waste a civilization which, from the artist's point of view, was incomparably superior to the modern. It is possible, therefore, that science and literature may perish, lest the human race be sophisticated into disease and death. Such, in the judgment of a man like Nordau, is one of the alternatives before us. He does not hold that science, physical or biological, has the answer of life in itself. A conscious product of powers which may be strained to breaking point, it depends on something which it can neither create nor govern. It is a product, not a source. The well head, or fountain of life, we must seek elsewhere. In metaphysics and religion? 'No,' replies the Positivist energetically, 'for they are empty names,—*Numina, Nomina.*' But that, perhaps, is the question.

However, if letters shall continue still to delight and instruct, they need not be hunting after new forms. Poetry, in the shape of verse, has indeed grown old; it is, in the view of the biologist, already a product of atavism. As epic, it is dead; and, in the dramatic form, it is fast dying. That prose epic, *the novel*, circulates mostly among women and children. No
signs

signs are visible of the 'literature of to-morrow' in the pursuit of which so many marsh-lights and wandering Jack-o'-lanterns have led our anarchists astray. 'Musical declamation,' instead of being *nova novitas*, the fruit of original brains, may be traced back thousands of years, to the Greeks, the Hindus; who shall say where it began? The short story is a very old one, and was born before Æsop's Fables or Jack the Giantkiller. The Märchen, tale of mystery, and fairy legend, are all prehistoric, if we may give credit to collectors of folk-lore. Man is made of the dust of the earth, and that dust is older than the hills, is of one age with the sun and the primal nebula. Not the newness of the form, then, signifies,—nay, here as in more sacred things, *littera occidit*. But who shall breathe the breath of life into this dust?

Nordau has seized the problem at the heart. So long as men endure, they will take an interest in the thoughts of their fellow-man. The artist, the *maker* in prose or verse, will be to them as a prophet, whether he light up with his imagination scenes they have never beheld,—which was part of the Romanticist's charm,—or figure to them, accurately in tone and tint, the life which they live from day to day, and give a touch of beauty to the things which are 'familiar in their mouths as household words'; or whether he lay bare his own soul, its aspirations, sorrows, experiences, all that whereby he is himself, though no mere dreaming egotist. But from every true poet they will require that he practise the laws of perspective, choose the significant, and rise out of chaos with an ordered creation in his arms. The sensitive plate which records good and bad indifferently is no symbol of the artist, be his material words or colours, marble, or the tones of music. He is a creator, and must choose; he cannot remain passive under impressions. It is a deep truth of ethics that we construct the universe in which we shall at last dwell. And the poet also builds up his own world,—from pre-existing matter, no doubt, but still in the form that none else than himself can vitally reproduce.

From every side we approach the same conclusion. What is lacking to the anarchist in politics, in literature, and in life, is creative power. His symbols are stolen; but, unlike Prometheus, he has not brought down fire from heaven in his bundle of reeds. He responds feebly to the stimulus of the outward world; and the Ego which he adores is thrown into a fever for want of nourishment. What can be done to cure him? Max Nordau would have the public attention drawn, forcibly and repeatedly, to the affinities which exist between these schools of art and the kinds of insanity they body forth.

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He would recommend that the bacillus of unsound literature be studied by physicians, its specific differences noted, and the public put on their guard. In the spirit of German militarism, he feels disposed to approve of a department, corresponding to that of Education or Religion, the business of which should be to train journalists and men of letters, who now learn their profession at the expense of the thousands they are supposed to be enlightening. Societies might be established to put down the worst kinds of literature, which are now sown broadcast over Europe. The public opinion of Universities should make itself heard. And, in general, men should understand that, in publishing a bad book, the author is as much guilty, and ought to be as amenable to punishment, as if he had incited to crime or rebellion.

In this surprising manner, has science awakened to a task which it might have undertaken long ago, but from which, perhaps because religion had taken it for its province, men, otherwise sharp-eyed and well-intentioned, have certainly shrunk. Is it impossible that, on this ground of a common interest, the two great powers of Research and Revelation should now join their forces? Cannot even Max Nordau grant, after this exhaustive review of thought and imagination in all countries, that '*Il y a dans le cœur humain un fibre religieux*'? and that man always worships the 'something afar from the sphere of his sorrow,' as well as strives to comprehend and control the mechanism of this lower world? Symbols we cannot dispense with; the necessary thing is, then, that we do not confound them with the realities which shine through them. And it is vain to cast out mysticism; for when it does not find entrance from the gates of heaven into our thoughts, it will rise up out of the nether deeps and darken them, until the living dream at noonday and the dead walk. Nor is egotism wholly a thing of evil, provided the introspective genius knows his metes and bounds, correcting by experience the visions that, in a Goethe or a Shakspeare, have enriched the world. But these forces are too mighty for science to handle them alone, or subdue them as a sovereign mistress. Unless the great inspiring genius of all time, which is an embodied and objective Religion, be called in to its aid, we may question whether it will overcome the growing anarchy, and not rather, in some wild era of revolution, be trampled under its feet.

ART. II.—1. *Dunlop's History of Fiction.*

2. *The Works of Daniel Defoe, Captain Carleton, Horace Walpole, Mrs. Radcliffe, Sir Walter Scott, George Eliot, and others.*

IN an article published three years ago* we endeavoured to describe rapidly and briefly the character of the books which furnished the Light Reading of our Ancestors, and we adverted to the great change that has come over the important department of national literature which may be termed Fiction, whereby the Romance has become the Novel. To show adequately how and why this has come to pass, to investigate the psychological causes, would be a task far beyond the limits of a review. The modern novel has a very ancient descent, and has sprung from many intricate roots in diverse countries. Nevertheless it may be interesting to attempt the delineation of some of its more prominent features, and to indicate by a few preliminary observations its connexion with the general course of intellectual development.

But since the growth and gradual modification of Fiction is a subject leading out into a vast field of discussion, we can only venture, at this moment, upon taking one of the many paths which cross that field in all directions. The line therefore which this article will attempt to follow is that which appears to connect the domain of Fable with the domain of History, our purpose being to illustrate, if possible, the extent and manner in which fable and fiction have at different times employed themselves on the basis of historic fact.

The mainspring and source of all Fable and Fiction that deal with famous events and persons of a past time, are to be found in our immemorial anxiety to know, or at any rate to imagine, something of what happened in old days, and to revive, if possible, scenes and characters that played their part on the stage, now dark and silent, of the world long ago. Somehow the future, with all its bright promises for this world or another, does not attract us so much as the past: we know nothing of what is to come; but though we know little more of what happened in far-off bygone times, of that little we are always trying to collect and interpret what fragments can be picked up here or there. The remainder we supply by guess-work and imagination. It is this enquiry, this regretful looking back to the dim past, this delight in ancient legend and tradition, this fanciful guessing at what cannot be known, that nourished in old days the spirit of imaginative fable, just as it

* October 1890.

now stimulates the collection of folk-lore, the scrutiny of old records, and as it has sustained up to our time the fading delight in Romance. Much also has been due, and is still due, to the enormous influence of the religious sentiment, the lingering trust in supernatural interposition, the belief that in old days Divinity was nearer, was more manifest, spoke more clearly to human beings. In an unlettered and primitive age men accepted as true and authentic everything that was handed down and repeated to them of the deeds of gods and heroes; and thus the hazy atmosphere of the marvellous and miraculous obscures all early origins of race or religion, and clouds the beginnings of history. Soon the splendid visions which surround the youth of man begin to fade into the common daylight of growing civilization; the standard of what is credible goes on changing; we take fewer things for granted and demand more proof of them. Thus the dry land of authentic History emerges slowly out of the sea of Fable, until gradually things which appeared natural and acceptable to the elder generation become incredible or suspiciously improbable to ourselves; the love of wonders and of things that pass man's understanding gives way to a demand for the intelligible, for the reasonable, for what seems likely to ordinary every-day experience. The delight in awe and astonishment is superseded by a taste for accurate thought and rigorous evidence. In short, whereas at their birth History and Fable were twin sisters, so like that one could hardly distinguish between them, in their after-life the resemblance rapidly decreases until it disappears altogether. History becomes serious and accurate, Fable becomes artistic and romantic; they become greatly estranged though they are never entirely disjoined, for there is always a certain quantity of fable in history, and there is always an element of history in one particular sort of fable. We think that this kinship between history and fable may be traced through many centuries of myths, legends, romances, and historic novels, with various changes of relation down to our own day. And we propose to attempt some explanation of this view by a very rough survey of the general line and successive stages of the transition.

To begin with the Myth, which was originally a name for those common stories of the deeds and adventures of gods and heroes which were spread all over Greece in the earliest days. These popular tales were at first universally believed; History and Fable stood on the same level. Then, after a certain time, when the marvels and miracles in these stories were gradually seen to be extremely improbable if not incredible,

dible, the attempt began to be made to sift out what was probably true from what was probably false, to separate history from fable. Long afterwards, in our own day of scientific research, the idea sprung up that there is no truth at all in most of the myths, that a good many of them are entirely fabulous with no mixture whatever of history. Thus the attempts to explain these old stories have given birth to many theories and diverse methods of interpretation. One school of interpreters, of great authority, has declared that all tales of wonderful adventure or of the doings of divine personages are mere imaginary fabrications with no basis of fact, that the figures are mere phantoms of the sun and mist, and that the incidents were created out of unconscious allegory. According to this doctrine, when a primitive man saw light striving with darkness he called it a fight between gods and demons, or when he saw the sun setting behind dark clouds he figured to himself a hero dying conquered by enemies, or when he looked at the blushing dawn he made a story of some beautiful bride. Into this controversy we have neither time nor space for entering. We can only here indicate our opinion that the sounder conclusion, which is supported by much recent research and actual observation of the growth of myths in countries where an analogous state of society still survives, is that a very large proportion of the old fables have grown up round a kernel of truth. The kernel may be sometimes small, and the tree very large—there may be all the difference between the acorn and the oak. The point for which we here contend is that the early Fable was no mere fanciful invention, spun by some one out of his own brain, but that it almost always had an invisible root in some underlying fact, that it was an imaginative amplification of some real incident. The heroic myth repeated and preserved the far-sounding echoes of the noise made by some famous chief or warrior in the primitive world; it reflected the great shadows thrown upon the mists of tradition by some figure that had impressed its personality upon primitive men. And since the supernatural was in those days merely an enlarged copy of the natural, the divine myth represented no more than a later chapter of the same story, a further development of the Fable working upon true events and persons. It has been, we know, the universal practice, in modern as in ancient days, in China and India as in Greece or under the Roman Empire, among all polytheistic nations outside the pale of Christianity and Islam, to make gods out of men, to promote to the rank of divinities saints or heroes whose exploits or sufferings have

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impressed with awe or wonder the popular imagination. It is a matter of common observation that among the lower and more ignorant races at the present day the ghost of a man who was notorious in life is usually worshipped after death; he becomes a demon or a demigod to be propitiated or adored. His posthumous career as a divinity often becomes much more important and eventful than his mortal existence; it is confused and magnified by Fable. Thus a man who has made his mark upon his generation, who overtops the rest by bravery, piety, or some peculiar power of mind or body, becomes among unlettered folk the source and subject of legends, which rescue and transmit to posterity all that can be saved out of the flood of obscurity that has submerged the prehistoric ages of humanity.

Such, then, are the earliest relations between History and Fable. They begin with a common fund and joint stock of legends, traditions, and wondrous tales, with stories of the wandering of tribes, the adventures of heroes, of the terrible or splendid achievements of gods and men. At the commencement of their long partnership Fable is the prominent member of the firm; for though History supplies a small but solid capital of fact, it is the enterprise and versatile inventiveness of Fable that advertise the wares, put them into circulation, and attract customers. Not only are fact and fiction so intermixed as to be indistinguishable, but it is probable that the bare facts will in many cases not have survived at all if Fable had not published an enlarged and illustrated popular edition of them. On the other hand, it must not be supposed that these tales were credited among the earlier races in the serious, matter-of-fact, absolutely historical sense in which we of these days accept a properly verified narrative or record. Beyond the sphere of scientific research and established churches, the belief in things sacred and profane is still loose, easy-going, and carelessly indulgent. Our own English philosopher Hobbes, writing in the seventeenth century, defines Religion as consisting of Tales publicly allowed and Superstition of those not allowed; but such distinctions as these belong to a much later stage of civilization. And at a time when between the true and the apocryphal elements of a story no clear dividing line could possibly have been drawn, it is likely that the whole mass of legends obtained from readers or listeners the same kind of willing acquiescence and provisional acceptance that any one might now give to an interesting and probable story, the particulars of which he might have no means of verifying. Let us suppose for a moment that the authentic
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history of England were still unwritten, or unread except by a few learned scribes. What, in such a situation, would an enquiring Englishman, assisted only by tradition, make out of the queer apparition, on the 5th of November, of a grotesque scarecrow effigy carried about by people singing a strange chant, who eventually burn Guy Fawkes in a bonfire? The legend that this ceremony commemorated an attempt made two or three centuries ago to blow up the House of Parliament would be hardly credible, and the more acute intellects would discover in it some curious allegory, the corruption of some symbolic ritual, or the disguised personification of a nature god. Nevertheless, the conclusion of ordinary folk would be that such a story must have a good deal of truth in it, and we may guess that the mental attitude of our remote forefathers toward the Historic Fable was of much the same kind.

Having regard, therefore, to the true observation of Renan that all History begins with Romance, we may venture to add the remark that all Romance begins with History. Among unlettered people in all ages and countries Fable has given the poetical and fanciful rendering of great events; it is the popular and pictorial edition of their annals, the primitive form of a biographical series. So far, indeed, as yet are the true and the imaginary elements of a story from being disentangled, that there are no tests by which they can be extracted, and to the popular appreciation there is no difference between them. We have to remember, moreover, that in earlier times the actual difference was really much smaller than it would be in these modern days; for in an age that was full of violent incidents and sudden tragedies, when men lived in constant peril, and when the greater part of the world was unexplored and mysterious, the ordinary existence of mankind was often what we should now call romantic, agitated by passions, dangers, and hazardous uncertainties. The range of possibilities was so wide as to provide ample room for fabulous invention, and to make it very much more difficult of detection; and every one has noticed how any stirring or extraordinary event—a war, a great national disaster, a terrible crime or catastrophe—will at once excite and revive the latent spirit of myth-making among the people of our time, will for a moment confuse the boundaries between fact and fiction, and will suspend the faculty of discrimination.

But as the world grew calmer and more settled, literature and the advancement of learning gradually brought in the historic feeling, the desire for accurate knowledge, the first attempts to distinguish fact from fancy. The sphere of the knowable and credible assumed some distinct limitations, excluding the

outer darkness of mere conjecture ; the slow expansion of experience gave precision to thought and some fixity to standards of probability. And since the general tendency of these intellectual changes was to mark off a separate domain for History—for the exploration, that is, of the true facts that might be found embedded in the conglomerate mass of legends and traditions—it followed naturally that Fables began on their side to take up their own ground, and to draw slowly together as a separate department of literature. This process of dissociation and separate development may be said to have gone on in Europe throughout the period during which the nations were emerging out of the dark ages. Its effect showed itself plainly upon the sacred legends, the marvellous stories of saints and martyrs, which disconnect themselves from the heroic legend, form a class apart, fall under the control and censure of the Churches, admit very few fresh accretions, and show a disposition to subside into passion plays, or finally into allegory. In these symptoms we may perhaps trace the tardy and reluctant retreat of the confused army of fables before the disciplined advance of regular history.

We have now, therefore, passed clearly out of that long period when History and Fable were so blended, and resembled each other so closely, as to be practically indistinguishable. In the succeeding stage of their immemorial partnership, the grand outlines of history have become more or less settled, and the authentic existence, the general character and career, of the celebrated men whose names have been transmitted to posterity—whose figures have thrown a long shadow over succeeding generations—are at least incontestably ascertained. So far they are no longer subject to the caprice of Fable ; yet the true particulars of what they did, their real features, and the precise nature of the events and circumstances in which they took a leading part, are only known in bare outline. These outlines are still filled in, the victories, conquests, and personal exploits are still magnified and illuminated, by the free use of the fabulous art, which supplies imaginative details and the romantic colouring. The existence, for example, of Charlemagne, of Roland and Oliver, his famous paladins, and of the Spanish Cid, has by this time become matter of fact, has been definitely placed within the recognized province of History ; and they are thenceforward preserved like disinterred statues in the national museum, where the rubbish will in time be cleared away from them, and their true proportions set out and displayed. Nevertheless Charlemagne and the Cid continue through centuries to be the figure-heads for whole shiploads of legends, which are as good
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as real history for the people at large. When, in mediæval Europe, annals, chronicles, and biographies of great men first began to be composed, the writers did their best to collect genuine material: but they inevitably included a great deal of fabulous stuff, and they put down much that was obviously apocryphal, or at least unverifiable. Yet the Historic sense was evidently prevailing, for these chroniclers undoubtedly meant to write history; they spared no pains to extract and test the nuggets of fact from the mass of tradition and hearsay; they desired earnestly to part company with the Fables and Legends which had by this time become grouped under the form of Romance. It will be easily understood that the delimitation between these two great provinces, History and Romance, which have since become separate independent kingdoms, went on with much difficulty and delay, if indeed it has ever been finally completed. For a long time there was no formally acknowledged frontier, and each made constant incursions, for the sake of plunder, into the other's territory.

The romance, therefore, like the primitive myth, is essentially Fable founded upon fact, with this modification that the main facts of the romance are solid foundation stones, immovably laid down by authoritative History. So long as the records of the past are dim, confused, slight, and untrustworthy, they are constantly being transformed and twisted by the force of the prevailing popular sentiment. Accordingly, although in the early mediæval romances of Europe the events and personages are usually authentic, the true stories of kings and warriors, of saints and martyrs, are enlarged and re-arranged for the delight and astonishment of a credulous multitude in the various countries through which they circulate. History generates Fable; and then again the group of fables, having acquired credit and currency, become embodied into the uncritical history of those ages, so that History and Romance, borrowing material freely from each other, still remain throughout the greater part of the middle ages blended and interfused. Such chronicles as those of the Cid, or such a metrical romance as the Song of Roland, are evidently the popular and poetic renderings of real history, of history that has taken the only shape in which it could make any impression upon the mind of the people. One can see that the sound of a great reputation spread abroad into all lands, and gave rise to a cycle of fables, as a huge stone makes a number of widening circles when it drops into a pond. The myth of Alexander the Great, which is said to have originated with a fictitious history produced about the fourth century A.D., travelled with numerous ramifications all over Europe. The
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myth of King Arthur was expanded and multiplied in the same manner. The 'Chansons de Geste,' which embody the myth of Charlemagne, afford a striking example of the fantastic superstructure that the mediæval romance could erect upon an historic foundation. All the main events and personages have been recognized as the property of History, but the writers assumed full liberty of introducing upon this base such variations as might please them; and the battle of Roncesvalles is as mythical in characters and incidents as any that was fought under the walls of Troy.

Whereas, however, we have no sure proof that Troy town was burned, or that Achilles existed, we do know that one Hroland, a prefect of the Britannic March, lived under Charlemagne, and that a battle was lost by the Franks in the pass of Roncesvalles. By this time, therefore, History has so far shaken itself loose of Fable as to be able to fix and identify certain events and persons, and to save Roland and Oliver from being melted down into solar heroes. The principal landmarks and commanding points of the historical position are now firmly occupied, although Fable still lays claim to at least co-ordinate authority over all the open country and the debateable borders. No one as yet thinks worse of the historian who fills up his outlines with picturesque and probable details; and while he borrows freely from fabulous sources, the early romancer may do what he likes with Alexander the Great or with Vergil, with King Arthur or Charlemagne.

In short, the partnership of History and Fable during the middle ages was undivided, and to a large extent unlimited. The great fountain and reservoir for the supply of narrative or the composition of stories was still that broad ocean of floating traditions and changeable legends which as yet submerged the lower part of the slowly rising continent of recognizable fact. The historic warrior still performs fabulous deeds, and the real battles are perpetually decided by superhuman interference. We may suppose that it was long before any, save a very few learned men, cared to enquire how far the Romance did or did not purport to be an authentic account of what really happened, and we may be certain that the general mass of hearers or readers continued still to be very indifferent upon the question. It seems clear that Sir Thomas Malory's compilation of the Arthurian legends was regarded by the ordinary reader of his time as historical, for Caxton relates that he was much pressed to "emprynte the noble history of the Saynt Graal and of that most renowned crysten king, Arthur," but that he long hesitated because
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of the opinion that all such books as had been made of Arthur had been 'but fayned and fabled.' Here we may see History and Romance just beginning to draw apart and to disentangle themselves. Yet we may doubt whether in the much later time of Shakespeare his audiences knew or troubled themselves to ask whether King Lear or King John was the more genuine personage of the two; nor is it certain that Spenser's 'Faery Queen' or even Milton's 'Paradise Lost' was at first treated as a work of pure imagination beyond a limited literary circle. In fact the 'Paradise Lost,' which represents the latest stage of the divine myth, has largely coloured and confused the ideas of English folk in regard to the orthodox narrative, and to the exact proportions of scriptural and poetic inspiration in that magnificent poem.

Nevertheless the time came, though one must not attempt to define the precise epoch, when History is seen to have formally dissolved partnership with Fable, and to have set up her own rules and tests of what she claims or rejects. When a narrative of past events could be so far classed as authentic, that the attempt to introduce arbitrary details and variations, to place the real figures under the magnifying glass of Romance, would be resisted and disallowed, the watershed and dividing line between these two main currents of literature has been perceptibly demarcated. Not only is their union now in process of disintegration, but the widening divergence of aims and methods brings about a kind of antipathy on one side, for History is inclined to treat her ancient associate as a troublesome parasite. But though History now disowns Fable, Fable clings persistently to her inveterate connexion with History; she cannot yet afford to dispense with the aid and countenance of so respectable a dealer in hard facts. The old business, if we may continue the commercial metaphor, is still carried on, and has indeed had a long and successful career, under the title of the Historical Romance, upon the system of constructing stories compounded of historic material, that are deliberately fabricated by the writer, but are only by degrees, and in quite modern times, put forward openly and exposed to the public for sale as fictitious.

The phases through which this new development of the ancient art of story-telling has passed, illustrate curiously the subtle modifications of taste, of mental appetite, of literary craft and resource, that have been produced by the moral and material changes of national life and character which succeed each other from generation to generation. History, as we have said, has disowned Romance on the ground that she is not
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to be trusted, being too much given to speculation, and tells her to set up for herself. But Romance is still reluctant to venture forth alone; she even hesitates to admit that she is constructing a fictitious story upon historic material; she counterfeits the genuine products of History. One very curious example of this balancing attitude, of this inclination to lean upon the support of realities, may be seen in the works of Daniel Defoe, who wrote romances which he foisted upon the public as genuine memoirs, biographies, or narratives, and which constitute a singular link in the chain of the transformation of the Romance into the Historic Novel. In short, he was a fabulist who fabricated history.

It has often been said of Defoe, and rightly, that he is the direct literary ancestor of the modern novelist. It may also be affirmed that he can claim descent from and a strong family likeness to the primitive myth-makers. We have seen that the heroic myth was formed by imagining for some hero an appropriate career, or by enveloping some prehistoric war or adventure with a cloud of picturesque circumstances, interweaving the actual with the probable so harmoniously that they have ever since remained indistinguishable. Very much after this fashion did Defoe take some well-known personage whose biography he invented, or whose memoirs he fabricated; or else he embroidered upon such a famous incident as the Plague or the Civil War, winding round his hero a tissue of plausible details, and filling up the real outline of his pretended narratives with coherent and lifelike circumstances. He treated in this way kings, highwaymen, pirates, soldiers, and sailors—the popular characters of the day—trading upon their notoriety, taking the precise measure of the credulity of his readers, and carefully working out his mosaic upon the strongest features or types of a class or period. Captain George Carleton's *Memoirs*, which are now generally believed to be spurious, and the *Memoirs of Colonel Newport*, are perfect specimens of the modern myth, in which fact and fiction are so interweaved as to produce narratives which are imposed upon the whole world as authentic. It has taken all the acuteness and careful microscopic apparatus of the latest criticism to discover the deception, which could never have been detected at all a century earlier. The main difference between these works and the early fables is, in the first place, that Defoe was knowingly deceiving his public while the fabulist was not; and secondly, that while the myth-maker or romancer often employed unnatural exaggeration of real events, the secret of Defoe's art lay in his trick of reducing all his incidents

incidents to a natural scale, in his use of a quiet and level style of plausible narrative, commending itself to common sense, and conveying the impression of scrupulous exactitude in small particulars.

We may reckon, however, Defoe's works as the last examples of the long and inveterate confusion, unconscious or intentional, between History and Fable. We are now in the midst of the eighteenth century, a period of sceptics and critics, and the Historical Romance is assuming its modern shape of avowed Fiction, borrowing characters and events from the history of past times, and artistically working them into an imaginary narrative. It is curious to observe how at this stage the Romance does outward homage to the rising sovereignty of realism, to the increasing demand for probability, not only in outline but in particulars—by new devices and theatrical contrivances of language, costume, and sentiment. In the first place, the dramatists of the English Renaissance, who put early romance upon the stage, had been content that their characters should speak in the vulgar tongue, quite independently of the time or country to which the plot or scene belonged; so that Shakespeare's Greeks and Trojans use good racy English, Macbeth never attempts a Scotticism, nor does even Dryden's Aurungzeb, the Mogul Emperor, who appeared much later, imitate the metaphoric and quasi-biblical style of false Orientalism. But the later eighteenth-century romancer introduced a special language. That a monarch, or a crusader, or a monk should discourse like men of the writer's own day, seemed undignified and manifestly inappropriate, an anomaly to be corrected by the display of erudition. The dialogue of the Historical Novel thereby fell into a sort of stilted jargon, larded with quaint phrases and strange oaths supposed to belong to the particular period under treatment, or at any rate not modern, and the ordinary vernacular was carefully eschewed. Whether this queer dialect was ever really spoken by mortal man at any period whatever is exceedingly questionable; it seems to have been compounded of obsolete words and turns of phrase picked up indiscriminately out of old plays and chronicles, and of such obviously stage properties as 'Unhand me, Sir Knight,' 'By my Halidome,' 'Marry good morrow to thee,' and the like, while the use of Thou and Thy instead of You and Yours seems to have been thought an excellent way of giving to conversation the flavour of age. Then, again, the rising sensitiveness to anachronisms and incongruities produced a demand for local colour, theatrical scene-painting, and archaic costume. This was supplied by drawing upon
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false antiquarianism, antiquated wardrobes, old armour, dungeons, tournaments, feudal castles with their portcullises and barbicans, and a good deal of sham fighting. The author tried to persuade himself and his readers that this kind of varnish gave his picture a genuine historic colouring, and made it something like a true reflection of a past age. Horace Walpole's '*Castle of Otranto*,' written in 1764, is a remarkable instance of this phase. In his first edition the author follows the practice in vogue among myth-makers of the transitional period; he endeavours to delude his readers into the belief that his fable is true. He does not, however, rely, as Defoe did, upon consummate skill in fabrication; he adopts the easier trick of pretending to have found an ancient black-letter manuscript, writ in the purest Italian. In his second edition he throws off this cloak, and stands forth boldly as one who has produced a new species of romance by judiciously crossing the ancient with the modern kind. In the former kind, he observes, all was imagination and improbability; while in the latter 'the great resources of fancy have been dammed up by a strict adherence to common life.' His own simple rule was Nature, even in 'the deportment of servants.' 'I am content,' writes Walpole to a friend, 'if I have amused you by tracing with any fidelity the manners of ancient days'—as if Gothic castles, trap-doors, skeletons, a monstrous helmet, and all his mysterious horrors could represent anything in the world except a wild and fantastic extravaganza or pantomime. Yet in the early days of George III. this '*Gothic Romance*' struck polite readers with awe and admiration; and its author claimed special credit for having discarded the improbability of the old fables, whereas his own stories were in their own manner quite as improbable. He said that he had made his men and women talk as they might naturally do in extraordinary and dreadful situations, such as the sight of a horrid spectre, or in a moment of terrible peril; but as neither Walpole nor his readers had ever had the slightest experience of any such situations, it is manifest that his imitation of nature was mere guess-work.

Similar changes followed in the drawing of characters. The mediæval romances had breathed the simple spirit of chivalry, devotion, and love, as we find it for instance in the '*Morte d'Arthur*,' the story of the Knights of the Round Table. Their characters were straight and clear personifications of one or two single ideas, like the figures of saints and knights on the early stained-glass windows. Then had come the much more complex creations of the Elizabethan drama, when the kings and barons, the ladies and their lovers, express in the language
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of the author's day the feelings, passions, and moods that belong to human nature in all times. But to the later eighteenth-century school of historic romance it seemed to be an offence against polite taste, a breach of the unities, that the men of old time should so nearly resemble their own contemporaries; and this anomaly they tried to correct by a strong infusion of what they fancied to be mediæval manners and ideas. The consequence was an awkward jumble of artificial sentiments with modern ideas and conjectures, like an ill-arranged collection containing a good many counterfeits. The pursuit of Probability and Consistency in Art only led the writers of this period deeper into the Improbable and the Unnatural, for the plain reason that they were writing of times and describing situations of which they really knew little or nothing at all; they were travelling far outside their own experience, and they were copying from clumsy casts of originals that they had never seen. And it is interesting to observe how this dawning notion of conformity to Nature, which has since dominated and moulded the whole art of novel-writing, influenced the writings of Mrs. Radcliffe,—a lady who at the end of the last century wrote romances seasoned with mysterious and gloomy horrors, pictures with black veils, howling winds, secret prisons, skeletons, and rusty daggers. After perplexing and horrifying her reader through many chapters, she considers herself bound to provide at the end a natural and reasonable explanation of these portentous puzzles, and she always winds up with the triumph of Respectable Virtue.

We may say, therefore, of the Historical Romance in this stage, that it was something like an artificial myth; a myth that had not grown, but had been fabricated. It was a completely fabulous story of past times invested with a false air of plausibility, a hollow nutshell with its withered kernel of truth inside. That it still clung feebly to the skirts of History is shown by the device, which has lasted up to our own day, of setting out with a preface in which the author pretends to have found an ancient manuscript in a hidden chest, or to be merely editing papers confided to him by an old Italian monk. The Romance did not even yet stand forth boldly and candidly as a purely imaginary conception, although of course it was so understood to be by all intelligent readers. The prehistoric myths and the early romances had been conventional in the sense that the folk accepted marvels and miracles, gods and giants, with a kind of half-belief—such things were likely enough when the tale was of old times—and the eighteenth-century Romance, so long as its
scenes

scenes were put a few centuries backward, flourished upon a mutual understanding of the same sort. The truth is that the whole method now rested upon convention, upon a tacit agreement between the author and his public that they should accept, in the book or on the stage, certain assumed notions regarding men and manners of which little or nothing was really known exactly. They were false tokens which were allowed to pass in circulation as genuine ancient coins. The main point was to avoid being commonplace and modern; and thus exaggerations, absurdities, and a whole store-room of musty and rusty things and phrases, were brought in to produce the necessary illusion and the appropriate effects. A horse, for instance, must always be called a charger or a steed, a sword went by the name of falchion, a girl was a damsel, a servant was a trusty henchman, and so on.

But although the Romance of past times had fallen low towards the end of the eighteenth century, at the beginning of the nineteenth it suddenly rose to high-water mark, as an artistic creation, under the hands of Walter Scott. Romance has now finally abandoned the expedient of simulating History, and, instead of attempting to pass off her conceptions as genuine, she is content to take real personages and events as an acknowledged loan of material for the plastic art of undisguised fiction. By his picturesque descriptions, the force and individuality of his characters, his spirited battle-scenes, his men in armour and buff jerkins, and his thorough mastery of antiquarian lore, Scott did actually give life and reality to stories about the middle ages, and threw a luminous glow over certain obscure epochs of history. His plots were so good, his actors were so full of individuality, that his readers were abundantly satisfied. No one then cared to make the objection, which would certainly be made in these very exact and critical days, that the state of society in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries must have been essentially different from the splendid creations of 'Ivanhoe' or the 'Talisman'; that Scott's Richard the Lion-hearted and his Knight Templar are magnificent but fantastic, or that Saladin had nothing Arabian about him but a turban and a scimitar. In 'Ivanhoe' the knights in the famous tournament at Ashby dash full tilt at each other with the furious gallop of modern race-horses. If they had actually done so, both riders must have inevitably broken their necks at the first shock; but this troubled no one's delight at the vivid picture. Nor were the readers of Scott's metrical romances startled even at the grotesque image of knights carving at the meal with gloves of steel and drinking red wine through the helmet barred. The
convention

convention still existed, the fabulous element still dominated, there was a common understanding that matter-of-fact criticism would be out of place, and that a certain magical illusion might still hover over past times, when things might happen and deeds might be done which would appear absurd or preposterous apart from the enchantment of distance. The peculiarity of Scott's work is that it contains an unusually large proportion of real history; as for instance in *Anne of Geierstein* and *Quentin Durward*, where the great battles and figures are taken almost in block from the contemporary chronicles. Yet his mediæval romance is nevertheless a direct lineal descendant of the heroic myth, it is history disguised by fabulous accessories; it is a fictitious narrative embroidered upon the canvas of fact. The distinction lies in this, that in the myth the substantial facts cannot, never could, be verified, whereas in the later historic romance they are easily distinguishable.

But by this time the old partnership of History with Fable was almost dissolved; and Fable was receiving peremptory notice to quit the historical domain. There was a growing disposition to treat the handling of ancient records and mediævalism generally for the purposes of romance as unjustifiable; for, if the true circumstances were accurately known, the romance perverted them, and, if they were not known, the romance was sure to be unreal and probably absurd. Not even the erudition and transcendent genius of Scott could raise his Norman barons, gentle ladies, knights-templar, or Saxon thanes much beyond the level of very carefully costumed characters in a brilliant masquerade; and masquerades were now going out of fashion. To reproduce the real unvarnished crusader, or outlaw, or peasant of England who lived five or six centuries ago, was felt to be beyond the most consummate literary skill, at a time when the critical, exacting, naturalistic feeling of our country was protesting more and more against conventional and counterfeit workmanship, however good of its kind.

The long series of romantic story-telling was now evidently approaching its close. In the writings of Bulwer Lytton, who was in some respects the last novelist of the true historic school, we may perceive a vain attempt to bring about some reconciliation between History and Romance, by accommodating his fiction to the precise and earnest notions of the rising generation. When he took us back to the Norman Conquest and the Wars of the Roses, he endeavoured to persuade us that such stories as 'Harold' and 'The Last of the Barons' were written not merely for entertainment but for instructive and useful purposes. He pleaded, to use his own words, that historic fiction might
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be employed to elucidate fact, by increasing the reader's acquaintance with the habits and modes of thinking which constitute the true idiosyncrasy of the earlier ages. To this end he charged his tales heavily with philosophic views of the course of history, and his personages, instead of minding their own affairs, can be detected acting or conversing with the transparent intention of impressing upon the unwary reader some rather dubious modern theory as to social evolution, such as the gradual formation of the English middle class, or the dawn of scientific research. Here we have that very recent invention—the Novel with a purpose—applied to history. But this somewhat maladroit method of propitiating the stern spirit of Realism only exposed him more fatally to its indignation. It was impossible to argue seriously that imaginary conversations between Saxons and Normans, or the fanciful love-passages between Harold and his mistress Edith, would throw any true light on the manners and motives of warriors and statesmen in the eleventh century. Nor could anything save amusement, with a touch of the ludicrous, be gained from the scene in 'The Last of the Barons,' where the early man of science exhibits a rude steam-engine to Edward IV., which explodes in the royal presence. These ingenious illuminations of past ages were soon seen to be glaring fallacies, unendurable in an age which demanded accuracy in its history and probability in its novels; and the project of infusing new vigour into the antiquated romance by pretending to make it instructive only betrayed its decay and accelerated its dissolution. The taste for imaginary scene-painting, for conventional portraits of knights and fair ladies, for old armour newly furbished up, and the stilted jargon that did duty for old English, was passing away; and the whole phantasmagoria which Bulwer tried to foist on his public as a vivid reflection of a vanished society was irrevocably disappearing.

The school of conventional art closed finally with G. P. R. James, whose model seems to have been Scott's 'Quentin Durward,' and Harrison Ainsworth, who worked upon the horrors of history, the torture chamber, the headsman, and the burning of heretics. In the case of James his monotony of treatment, and in Ainsworth's case his crudity of invention and colouring, have relegated both these authors, once as popular as they were prolific, to the limbo of the unreadable. Bulwer, and even Scott, survive chiefly by reason of those stories which dealt with contemporary, or recent, or very well-known periods. Nothing could long sustain the interest and simple pleasure taken by the general reader of fifty years ago in the artificial myth, in the
attempt

attempt to show off history by a kind of literary magic lantern, to supplement our ignorance of a remote unlettered time by mere arbitrary inventions. The training of our mental apprehension, the extended knowledge of the real world in different stages of social evolution, the spread of accurate observation around us, and the increased precision of historic criticism, have been cutting away the slight ground still occupied by the historical romancer; burlesques and parodies have been trampling him underfoot; until the latest generation looks back upon him as an old-fashioned impostor.

The severe and laborious historian now rejects all aid from the romancer, and has not only dissolved partnership, but declares any connexion with him to be fatal to his credit. And if History does not always refuse to the Novel a small loan of useful materials, if historic events and personages are not yet banished absolutely from the land of fiction, they must belong to periods well surveyed and traversed in all directions, well furnished with documents, pictures, and memorials of every kind, so that all details and accessories can be rigorously scrutinized, and no liberties can be taken either with character, language, or transactions. These conditions are usually found too hard for the modern myth-maker: the cool scepticism and pitiless criticism of the present generation disconcert his aims and damp his ardour; they are to him what scientific analysis is to some sacred book, they dissipate the inspiration. And even if all these conditions are fulfilled, all these exigencies satisfied, the effect produced is often little more than a sense of elaborate effort, leaving an impression similar to that made by architecture carefully copied in every detail from the antique. The historical novelist of our own day does not mix his styles, he has abandoned the old jargon of Bulwer or James, he has abjured dungeons and spectres, his heroes deliver themselves like men of this world; but if he ever attempts to go back upon those obscure periods of history which were the favourite hunting-grounds of his predecessors, his work is certain to fail. The earlier romancer said: 'We know nothing accurately about the eleventh century, so I may indulge my imagination at pleasure, using the general historic outline as the frame of my picture.' Whereas the precise and realistic criticism of modern readers warns off the novelist from attempting to delineate the manners of the crusaders or society under the Plantagenets or even the Tudors, because everything except a bare outline must necessarily be conjectural, probably false, and certainly unhistorical. So the use of historic material is permitted only on condition that it shall not be tampered with, and that the
fictitious

fictitious embroidery shall be strictly in accordance with the ascertained and verifiable pattern of manners or transactions in some familiar period well lighted up by contemporary records. In fact, the Romance has by this time fairly become the Novel—a tale of real life, adjusted to the actual ordinary train of human events. And the same rules prevail whether the scene be laid in the reign of Queen Anne or of Queen Victoria; the plot must be probable and circumstantial; the fictitious incidents must be so interposed as to supplement without superseding the delicate and sparing use of history.

Such work can only be produced by artists of the first order; and consequently we find that only three writers of our own day have attempted it with indisputable success. Thackeray's 'Esmond' is a rare and striking example of what can be done by a writer who has mastered the secrets and correctly apprehended the limitations of the art of historical novel-writing; he has really accomplished what Bulwer Lytton professed in vain to do, the illustration of a famous chapter in the national history. Remembering that Johnson's dictionary defines Romance in its primary sense to be 'a military fable of the middle ages, a tale of wild adventure in love and chivalry,' we can measure the progress made in refinement of taste and literary workmanship during the last hundred years. The great wars of Marlborough are illuminated for us by the side-lights which Colonel Esmond's carefully arranged narrative of his personal experiences throws upon the battles, the camp life, the manners of the army, and the character of its various leaders. The tone and composition are subdued and realistic; the air of a modest memoir is sedulously preserved, except in certain passages where enthusiasm seems to break irrepressibly through the natural reserve, and Marlborough's godlike serenity amid the din of battle extorts Colonel Esmond's reluctant admiration:—

'Our chief, whom England and all Europe, saving only the Frenchmen, worshipped almost, had this of the godlike in him, that he was impassible before victory, before danger, before defeat. Before the greatest obstacle or the most trivial ceremony, before 100,000 men drawn in battalia, or a peasant slaughtered at the door of his burning hovel; at a monarch's court or a cottage table where his plans were laid, or before an enemy's battery vomiting flame and death and strewing corpses round him, he was always cold, calm, resolute, as fate . . . having, as I have said, this of the godlike in him, that he could see a hero perish or a sparrow fall with the same amount of sympathy for either. . . . He would be haughty, be humble, threaten, repent, weep, grasp your hand, or stab you whenever he saw occasion.

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But yet those of the army who knew him best and had suffered most for him, admired him most of all. And as he rode along the lines to battle, or galloped up in the nick of time to a battalion reeling from before the enemy's charge or shot, the fainting men and officers got new courage as they saw the splendid calm of his face and felt that his will made them irresistible.'

Here, in the historic novel of the present day, we have the spirit and the theme which inspired both the heroic myth and the mediæval romance—the glorification, almost the deification, of a famous warrior and leader of armies. Thackeray is doing for Marlborough what the Homeric legend did for Agamemnon or Achilles, and what the Spanish romances did for the Cid, he is clothing the historic figure with intense life and semi-divine attributes. The passage has the quality, so rare among latter-day novelists, of vibrating on the nerve and stirring the blood like those old ballads that handed down to a calm world the clash of arms and the true image of fighting men.

The second writer of our own day who has succeeded in the historic novel is George Eliot, whose '*Romola*' takes us back to Florence at the end of the fifteenth century. Modern taste dislikes and distrusts, as we have said, remoteness of time and place, nor can even George Eliot's consummate management of detail, or the care with which she had evidently studied her period, or her forcible delineation of civic life in the full glow of the Italian Renaissance, entirely win the confidence of her readers, or inspire strong permanent interest. Her method is indicated in the opening pages of her book.

'As we may be sure,' she writes, 'that in 1492 the sun rose upon a Florence resembling in broad outline of landscape and architecture the city that shone in the early dawn of yesterday, so the great river-courses which have shaped the lives of men have hardly changed, and those other streams, the life-currents that ebb and flow in human hearts, pulsate to the same great loves and terrors. As our thought follows in the slow wake of the dawn, we are impressed with the broad sameness of the human lot, which never alters in the main headings of its history.'

The idea is, we see, to locate a story of human love, passion, and suffering—feelings which never change, though they may become less common—amid the environment and tragic circumstances, the paganism and monkish fanaticism intermixed, of Florentine society three hundred years back. The historical facts are very skilfully worked up out of authentic documents; nevertheless we attribute the book's success not so much to the mediæval painting, or even to the terrible picture of Savonarola's mental anguish and fiery death, as to the careful preservation of

modern feeling, of what may be called naturalistic treatment, in the fine literary style, the philosophic sentiments, and the handling of character.

The last of the three successful novelists to which we have alluded is the author of 'John Inglesant.' The scene is laid in the seventeenth century, during the civil wars and Cromwell's Protectorate, and upon this ground the author has constructed what he terms a Philosophical Romance. It is, however, an excellent specimen of consummate art in the latest style of the historical novel. No better example could be found of the vivid interest and sense of actuality that can be given to a fictitious narrative by the skilful introduction of real events and characters. The battle of Edgehill, for example, is so described as to present the illusion that one is reading the account of an eye-witness; and the thread of John Inglesant's story is interweaved upon a tapestry that exhibits wars, intrigues, courts, scaffolds, portraits of kings and popes, of priests and assassins, in order to set out in relief the character of a man who in the midst of all this turmoil is little moved either by love of life or fear of death, but is intent mainly on things spiritual and on his search for the Divine illumination.

Another singular quality of this book is that it brings back again the supernatural element once so common in romance; and this is done with such reserve, with such fine shadowing of a mysterious inexplicable incident which might or might not be an illusion of the sense, that the incident of Strafford's ghost visiting Charles I. falls into just accord with the tone of a seventeenth-century narrative without jarring upon the sensitive incredulity of a nineteenth-century reader.

We have now run very rapidly along the whole line of filiation by which, according to the view here suggested, the latest historical novel claims kinship with and a kind of lineal descent from its antique forefather, the myth. At one end we have the primitive myth-maker enveloping a true story in imaginative circumstances, making no distinction between real and imaginary, so that the whole is equally true to his hearers and probably to himself. At the other end of the line we have 'John Inglesant,' the beautiful and lifelike representation of the scenes and manners of a past day, worked up out of close and sympathetic study of the authentic documents in which those scenes and manners have been preserved. No one can tell how much is real and how much is fable in the myth; in the novel this may be known quite easily by any reader. Yet although the constructive methods of the myth and the nineteenth-century novel are very different, the artistic result is much the same; for

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to those who knew nothing about English history 'John Inglesant' might be either a genuine chronicle or a complete fiction. And indeed to some of us who are saturated with modern scepticism the question may occur whether the rough old myth was not, after all, nearer to a true picture of events and characters than the most finished and carefully studied historic novel. For the old Fabulist lived in a society very similar to that which he was describing in his heroic legend; he painted from what was actually going on all round him, merely throwing in broadcast the marvels and miracles of tradition, or adding them at discretion to enhance his effects. But the modern novelist works upon records and documents and the mere relics of an age that is distant and totally unlike the actual scenes and feelings of which he has any experience. One is inclined to doubt whether mere Art can possibly possess the spell which calls up the dead men and vanished scenes of the past, whether they are not all lost irrevocably. How near is the very best acting of Richard II. or Julius Cæsar to the real men and their ways? How near indeed is the most authentic history? remembering that it is quite impossible to winnow the ancient records so as to separate with any certainty the hard grain of fact from the chaff of fable. Most of the learned men who pretend to accomplish this feat are taking too much upon themselves, and some of them are not very far behind the old myth-maker in imposing upon their audience enchanting pictures of what probably happened, as if they were photographs taken on the spot. It is true that the romancer's device of finding ancient manuscripts in family chests is obsolete; and that we are now ransacking the public record offices, in Spain and elsewhere, for authentic documents that have long lay hidden. Nevertheless the manner in which these papers are occasionally handled is apt to revive the half-suspected odour of Fable which still hangs about some of the most delightful of our recent histories.

- ART. III.—1. *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. 1701–1892.*
2. *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9–19, 1888).* Edited by Rev. James Johnson, F.S.S., &c. 2 vols. London, 1888.
3. *Conquests of the Cross. A Record of Missionary Work throughout the World.* Edited by Edwin Hodder. 3 vols.
4. *Buddhism in its connexion with Brahmanism and Hinduism and in its contrast with Christianity.* By Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., &c. London, 1889.
5. *Religious Thought and Life in India. An Account of the Religions of the Indian Peoples, based on a Study of their Literature and on personal Investigations in their own Country.* Part I. Vedism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism. 1883.
6. *Non-Christian Religious Systems.* Published under the direction of the S.P.C.K. : (1) Hinduism, by Sir M. Monier-Williams; (2) Buddhism, by T. W. Rhys Davids; (3) Christianity and Buddhism, by T. Sterling Berry, D.D.; (4) Buddhism in China, by Rev. S. Beal. London, 1890, &c.
7. *Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar, First Modern Missionary to the Mahommedans. 1781–1812.* By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London, 1892.
8. *Under his Banner.* By Rev. H. W. Tucker, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c. London, 1886.
9. *Among the Mongols.* By Rev. James Gilmour, M.A., London Mission, Pekin. London, *n. d.*
10. *The Story of John G. Paton told for Young Folks; or, Thirty Years among South Sea Cannibals.* By Rev. James Paton, B.A. London, 1892.
11. *The Story of the Life of Mackay of Uganda, told for Boys by his Sister.* Second Edition. London, 1892.
12. *Indian Gems for the Master's Crown.* By Miss Droese, of Landour, India. London, 1892.
13. *The Conversion of India.* By George Smith, Author of the 'Life of Henry Martyn,' 'Life of Carey,' &c. London, 1893.
14. *Premi: the Story of a Hindu Girl.* By Miss Fallon, Zenana Missionary at Faizabad. With an Introduction by Sir M. Monier-Williams. London, 1892.
15. *Once Hindu: now Christian. The early Life of Baba Padmanji.* An Autobiography. Edited by J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D. London, 1890.
16. *Periodical and Occasional Papers and Reports of the various Church Societies for Foreign Missions, S.P.G., C.M.S., &c., and other Works.*

THE proclamation of Christianity to all the world is, according to the teaching of its Divine Author, at once the goal of the human race and the purpose in which the present order will find its term. 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature' are the marching orders, as the Iron Duke pithily termed it, of the Christian Church; and 'the Gospel of the kingdom must be preached for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come,' is the Divine scheme whose consummation it is the avowed object of Missions to further. In the gradual fulfilment of this destiny great variety of secular consequences are involved, such as are of the deepest practical interest to the statesman and philanthropist, and which touch at almost every point the highest moral and intellectual ideals. There is hardly a branch of human study, as there is no exercise of lofty and self-denying effort, which has not found ample scope on the mission-field, or has not been enriched in the pursuit of missionary work. Philology, geography, and ethnography, our recent science of comparative religions, our extended knowledge of the world's surface, our clearer comprehension of the primitive state of man, have all been widely indebted to the labours of those who have gone forth to carry the Master's message into the depths of continents hitherto untrodden by Europeans, or who have been nerved to penetrate into territories where death would probably be the portion of the intruder. Nor have the material advantages of missionary work been less conspicuous. The extension of Christianity means the extension of a civilization which brings new ideas in its train, before which the walls of the most inveterate exclusiveness are falling, which opens out new markets for the world's products, and which, by the introduction of more humane and progressive principles into the government of savage and stationary races, ameliorates the condition and augments the happiness of a large proportion of mankind. Such blessings inevitably follow in the track of missions, and it would seem therefore to be the height of folly to sneer at missionary effort and the mark of culpable ignorance not to know what is doing in this noble field of human enterprise. It is too late to speak of efforts as futile or fanatic which have literally girdled the globe with a chain of missionary stations, and those who now speak scornfully of missions are simply men behind their age.

The pressing necessity for additional support to foreign missions is emphasized by the extraordinary openings presented during the last generation. The Church of England in this nineteenth century needs above all things the faith and self-denial to rise to the crisis of the greatest opportunities she has ever known. A shrinking back now may mean final exclusion
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from most promising fields. From every quarter invitations are pressed upon us. Japan, so long closed to Christian effort, is embracing the Gospel with a rapidity that alarms thoughtful missionaries, lest the faith so readily accepted should be as easily abandoned. China, despite occasional fierce outbreaks of fanaticism by the ruling class, becomes increasingly receptive of Western teaching, and the reports prove not only that medical and religious missions are largely welcome, but that its converts testify by their liberality that their profession is sincere. India is reproducing with startling identity the phases of the fall of Roman heathenism in the first three centuries. The weakening of traditional faiths, the cry that the Ganges has lost its power to cleanse from sin, the pathetic wail over the growing influence of Christianity, the attempts at compromise such as that of the Brahmo Somaj, the repeated defection of Brahman and Mohamedan leaders, the universal demand for education—these are some of the elements in the bewildering and intricate problem of India's future destiny. Every quarter of Africa from its coast-line to its central regions, opened up and parcelled out with confusing rapidity, presents fresh fields for missionary effort which call for immediate occupation. Old prejudices are melting away before the gradual diffusion of fuller light. The Nestorian and Coptic Churches under different conditions are amenable to Anglican influences. The stubborn antipathy of the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere, engendered by long years of oppression and contumely, is yielding before juster and more sympathetic treatment. China, India, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, Madagascar in the East, Melanesia and North America in the West, are throwing open a thousand doors. The heathen oracles are dumb, their temples are decaying, their philosophies are undermined, their creeds are honeycombed with distrust under the advance of Western civilization, and the one supreme question is whether their place is to be filled by the adoption of an agnostic morality or by the acceptance of Christian truth.

For, despite the poetic fancy which invests non-Christian religious systems with an aureole of sanctity and beauty, they have been weighed and found wanting in power to meet the deepest wants of mankind. Whatever their rightful place may have been under Providence in the education of humanity; whatever the virtues they are calculated to promote among peoples in a certain stage of mental or material development; however beautiful the theory, or elevated the ethics, which some of them embody or enjoin,—we cannot accept them as a substitute for Christianity, or withhold its higher light from those who sit beneath

beneath their shadow. Nor is this merely a question of dogmatic theory, it is one of world-wide practice involving the happiness or misery of many millions. As the result of her travels over an immense tract of country—the Polynesian Isles, Japan, Southern China, the Malay peninsula, India, Ceylon, Cashmere, Western Tibet and Central Asia, Persia, Arabia, and Asia Minor—Mrs. Bishop speaks of non-Christian lands as a great and howling wilderness, without hope because without God in the world. It is a mischievous delusion to hold that the sobriety of Islam or the ethics of the Light of Asia can restore, as Christianity can, the wastes of sin, shame, and sorrow.

We propose to enquire what part the Church of England is taking in a movement which is rightly regarded as a criterion of spiritual vitality, an *articulus cadentis aut stantis ecclesiæ*. As the acknowledged Church of an empire on which the sun never sets, does she bear her part in helping the nation to fulfil the sacred purpose for which every Christian must believe such unique influence has been entrusted to our hands? Does she show in her machinery and organization a ready power of adaptation to circumstances as they arise, or is she cabined and confined by an official formalism which seriously hampers her spontaneous working? All these are questions of deep importance, and to answer them effectually we must ascertain what is the character of her organization for missionary work both at home and abroad, what the measure of success which she has attained, what the promise of its permanence under the manifold conditions in which her ministers are labouring, what the hindrances that oppose a progress which we are warned by the teaching of analogy and experience is likely to be slow. The conversion to Christ of the Roman Empire occupied three centuries, and it is only a century since our missionary work in India was begun; and the relative condition of this and the other fields of missionary work, with all their diversities of language, civilization, and hereditary environment, must be taken into account before we can form a just estimate of the comparative advance of modern missions, or can draw a reasonable forecast of their ultimate result.

In approaching so wide a subject, our first difficulty arises from the overwhelming mass of materials with which we have to deal. Church Missions have assumed such vast dimensions, that we find ourselves pressed beyond measure. More than twenty Church Societies are exclusively engaged in Foreign Missions, and their work would be impracticable without the aid of such handmaids as the Bible Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Some devote themselves to

one small area ; of others it may be said that their field is the world. The titles of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, of the South American Missionary Society, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Nestorians, connote and define their respective spheres of labour. Egypt and the Cape, North China and Bombay, Maritzburg and Melanesia, Palestine and the Pongas, Zululand and Japan, have all their special missions. An associated brotherhood forms the nucleus of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta ; the Cowley Fathers have a strong centre at Poona, as well as smaller stations in India, Africa, and America ; a small body of fellow-workers carries the name of Cambridge to educational and mission work at Delhi ; and Trinity College, Dublin, has started a Community Mission in Chota Nagpur. Medical Missions are comparatively new, but are perhaps destined to become the most powerful form of assault upon the entrenchments of heathenism ; and whilst Church sisterhoods are occupying important posts as teachers or nurses, other women, no less consecrated although not bound by vows, are carrying light and love into the darkness of the Hindu Zenana and the Mohamedan harem. Two special Societies—one in connexion with the Church, the other undenominational—sustain and regulate this Zenana work. Behind and beyond all these, the two great Church organizations—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society—include the whole world within the sphere of their operations and typify the Church which they adorn : the elder in its careful ecclesiastical order, its special aim at permanent and concentrated work, its splendid reproduction of the Church in all its breadth of spiritual type ; the younger in its greater elasticity, its magnificent hopefulness, its spiritual audacity.

Nor are the labours of all these societies confined to the mere work of preaching the Gospel. Education monopolizes so large a share of their thought and expenditure as to arouse the jealousy of some of their adherents. Colleges and schools of every grade meet the wants of all classes, and jostle not unsuccessfully with purely secular seminaries in the competition for public grants and honours. Last not least, the department of mission literature requires Bibles and other books in 300 languages. The variety of agency by which Church extension is furthered at home affords a pattern for godly emulation which has been excelled by its imitators in the mission cause. Young children whose imagination is easily and deeply touched are *enrolled not only as contributors but as workers.* Nimble fingers

sew countless garments, which help to clothe half-naked savages, or when sold to swell the income of the mission. Schools unite to maintain scholars in Kaffraria and India, and infant lips lip in their evening prayer the name of some African or Asiatic sister who is being partly educated through their childish offerings. The subdivision of labour and the consequent employment of every available helper lessen the cost of production and dispersion and set able hands free for higher work. One Society—the Missionary Leaves Association—has been formed to supply the missionaries and stations of the C.M.S. with help of such requisites as it is not within the province of the C.M.S. to supply—maintenance of scholars, churches, schools, accessories of public worship, and contributions to diocesan funds. It also receives, packs, and forwards goods to mission stations; and for such purposes in seventeen years over 74,000*l.* have passed through its hands.

The Missionary Colleges and Studentship Associations of the Church form a branch of the work which is daily growing in importance, as the call for qualified men is pressed with increasing urgency. The very choicest of all ranks are not indeed too good to hold the outposts of the Church militant, and we shall see presently that the older Universities send some of their picked men to fill them; but the work is omnivorous, and the demand increases with the supply. St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, the Church Missionary College, Islington, St. Paul's at Burgh, St. Peter and St. Paul at Dorchester-on-Thames, and St. Boniface College, Warminster, are all devoted to the education of students who have offered themselves to mission work, and can accommodate one hundred and twenty inmates. About forty diocesan and archidiaconal associations help to feed the missionary colleges, and have already sent them over a thousand candidates. With the immense advance of education in England, the number of available candidates ought to grow proportionately, as the Church takes greater pains to impress on young men the wonderful openings which are daily offering for evangelistic effort, and which are capable of almost indefinite extension. The more important Sisterhoods have also entered upon foreign mission work; and branches from East Grinstead, the Sisters of Bethany, the Bristol Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of St. John the Baptist Clewer, of St. Mary's Wantage, and of the Church at Kilburn are carrying on schools of various grades, and are nursing the sick in distant lands. In the remarkable development of these communities of associated women it may not be idle credulity to see the promise and potency of work that two generations

generations ago would have been the wildest of dreams. It is the blessing and the strength of mission work that the aspirations of to-day are the accomplished facts of to-morrow, that its difficulties are largely diminished when they are faced boldly and firmly grappled with, and that there is abundant reason to believe in the accuracy of the Primate's assertion that the most hopeful field for working is not the purely savage races, but the reflective mind stored with knowledge. Through all these varied agencies the Church is sustaining a body of some 1400 ordained clergy, English and native, and over 8000 lay helpers, male and female, in the widely scattered regions of her Foreign Missions. The number is ludicrously insufficient when we remember the extent of even the British Empire; but it is not despicable, considering the conditions out of which it has sprung, and the quality of the agency thus secured.

Machinery so gigantic of course demands a corresponding outlay, and British contributions to Foreign Missions reach yearly the sum of a million and a half, of which about two-fifths are subscribed by Churchmen. To maintain and increase this missionary income, and to keep alive the interest upon which it depends, every means is exhausted which the most earnest and able executive can devise. Each organization has its own periodical literature, its magazines, occasional papers, and reports, which keep subscribers in touch with the latest phase of missionary effort, and a wide acquaintance with them enables us to speak in high terms of their general ability and power. The Church Missionary Society, with its income of a quarter of a million, holds the first place in this as in most other branches of mission activity; and its chief monthly serial, the 'Church Missionary Intelligencer,' for unflagging interest, for intellectual ability, for exhaustive information, for width of grasp and weight of brain, although issued at one-fifth of their price, may challenge comparison with the foremost of our first-class magazines. The 'Mission Field,' the organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is second only to the 'Church Missionary Intelligencer' in its narrower field of observation, not second in the missionary interest of its contents. These magazines do not represent a tithe of the periodical publications relating to Church Missions. Every class, every age, every branch of the work has its special serial, and their united circulation must be immense. No less than twelve different periodicals are published by the C.M.S.; and its latest venture, entitled 'Awake' and designed for working people, has deservedly reached in its second year an issue of forty thousand copies monthly.

The power of the missionary press is ably seconded by that
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of the platform. Lectures, sermons, and magic-lantern demonstrations inform the public mind and place the scenes of action visibly before it. Crowds throng Exeter Hall not only at the May meetings, but on every occasion when the champions of the Cross are dismissed to their destinations or return to tell what God has wrought by their means, as for instance at the S.P.G. meeting in November 1893. As we glance through the record of a year's engagements of the C.M.S., hardly a month but has its huge gatherings. In one, simultaneous meetings for prayer are held throughout several counties; in another, Sion College or St. Dunstan's Church is filled with the younger clergy or with young laymen to hear stirring words from Bishop Temple or some other leader in religious work. In September Exeter Hall could not contain the multitude that came to bid farewell to one hundred and twenty missionaries at once, whose number recalls the name-roll and whose work is identical with that of the infant Church on the morrow of the Ascension. Thousands of 'gleaners' meet in November to compare notes and contrive improved modes of action, and listen to words which make their hearts burn within them when such speakers as Mrs. Bishop, the famous traveller, better known as Miss Isabella Bird, or Colonel Monro, late chief of the Metropolitan Police, hold the audience, and all applause is hushed under a deep sense of the solemn work in hand. Above all, at the great May anniversary, four of the largest halls in London are taken up and filled simultaneously. The 'braying,' as Macaulay so scornfully termed it, has swelled into the trumpet-call, that summons the faithful to their part in a world-wide struggle, whose victory, though delayed, is eventually certain.

The rapid development of the missionary spirit within the Church is marked by incidents which testify to its depth and power. Every year an increasing number of educated men and women offer themselves to the work at their own charges; and some organizations, *e.g.* the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, only accept candidates who are content to live at a common table and to forego all remuneration beyond a trifling sum for clothes. Every year sees an extension of the system of sending out small bodies of workers to labour together instead of in the pitiable isolation of former days, and such little communities are sustained by mutual sympathy under trials that might otherwise be intolerable. Increased facility of communication with the mother country softens the sense of exile. The hearty and generous support of English officials of the highest rank helps to cheer the workers. Men of mark
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for scholarship in larger numbers than ever devote their talents to the labour or the literature of the mission-field and add to its prestige. The sons of English bishops no longer monopolize the richest livings at home, but give themselves to this most trying form of Church work abroad; and the Sees of Lichfield and Exeter and Hereford, and even the princely throne of Durham, are adding to their dignity by sending forth from episcopal palace and castle, those who might justly expect high honour and advancement here in England. An Archbishop's daughter maintained for years single-handed the work of educating Arab boys in Egypt, and daughters of lay peers superintend and cheer by their presence the Zenana workers in India. Cambridge despatched the most learned of its Arabic professors to try and win the Mohamedans at Aden, and the foremost of her cricketers to no less arduous work in China. One special element, as we study the different reports, however varied be the theological complexion and bias of the writers, is conspicuous throughout them all—from the members of the Oxford Mission at Calcutta, who join their Hindu undergraduates at cricket and football, to the Sisters of Bethany at Urmi, providing dolls for their girls, or the universal offering of tea for their guests—through every variety of clime and condition a spirit of happy and natural cheerfulness pervades their letters. A recent suggestion that young clergymen should go to English-speaking districts abroad for a limited period without forfeiting the standing gained through work at home, bids fair to enrich home work with added experience, and to promote a closer union between the mother Church and her distant children. If we do not dwell here upon the greater urgency and power with which the spiritual duty of missions is now pressed, it is only because the theme is too distinctly sacred, not because we undervalue or ignore it.

The special department of work embraced by Zenana Missions is of comparatively recent growth, and its rapid expansion is full of the brightest promise. In the strict seclusion to which higher-caste Hindu and Mohamedan women are condemned, they are utterly inaccessible to ordinary evangelistic effort; and even in case of sickness, the aid of male physicians is commonly denied them. Men very largely are what their women make them, and the women of the Zenana and the harem, shut out from all advantages of education and social intercourse, find natural vent for stunted intellects and distorted passions in intrigue or in crime. That this is no exaggerated picture is proved by the words of Mrs. Bishop, *than whom no one living can speak with more authority* :—

‘I have

'I have lived in zenanas and harems, and I have seen the daily life of the secluded women, and I can speak from bitter experience of what their lives are—the intellect dwarfed, so that the woman of twenty or thirty years of age is more like a child of eight intellectually, while all the worst passions of human nature are stimulated and developed in a fearful degree: jealousy, envy, murderous hate, intrigue, running to such an extent that in some countries I have hardly ever been in a woman's house, or near a woman's tent, without being asked for drugs with which to disfigure the favourite wife, to take away her life, or to take away the life of the favourite wife's infant son. This request has been made of me nearly 200 times. This is only an indication of the daily life of whose miseries we think so little, and which is a natural product of the systems that we ought to have subverted long ago.' ('C. M. Intelligencer,' 1893, p. 930.)

Already the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, formed twelve years ago, has 219 missionaries in home and local connexion, besides 537 native agents. A home income last year of £32,399, exclusive of £5,450 raised on the mission-field, sustained the work at 50 stations. The Ladies' Association of the S.P.G. carries on the same work in Africa and Japan as well as India.

The literature of missions is practically inexhaustible, and a bibliography of works connected directly or indirectly with them, added to the Report of the London Conference in 1888, includes many hundred volumes. Every thoughtful book on India or our other great dependencies casts some light upon so vast a subject; and the writings of statesmen, *e.g.* Sir Alfred Lyall's '*Asiatic Studies*,' are invaluable as presenting facts in the dry light of political and judicial experience and correcting the estimates of too enthusiastic advocates. The religions of the world supply an enormous field for study, which, although still far from exhausted, is more fully occupied each year: at one time with elaborate monographs, like Sir Monier Williams' ample accounts of Hinduism and Buddhism; at another in the form of lectures from such masters of their craft as Max Müller and Rhys Davids; at another in the briefer but admirably lucid series upon Non-Christian Systems which some of the experts we have named do not disdain to write for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. No effort is now spared to master the philosophy and to penetrate the secret power which these systems have wielded over the hearts of millions. The experience of a century, often purchased at terrible cost of human life and energy, is gradually forming a theory of missions, which takes definite shape in such condensed reports as the '*Classified Digest of the S.P.G. Records*,' and in such
discussions

discussions as those of the Centenary Conference of 1888, when a thousand delegates examined the most important problems of missionary work. In the field of biography every year, too, produces its harvest of lives new and old, from Henry Martyn—whose recent Memoir by Dr. George Smith, the historiographer of missions, contains much new matter besides his well-known journals—to those who have but just passed to their rest, such as Gilmour of Mongolia and Mackay of Uganda. It would be an easy task, from the books now before us, to suit every diversity of taste and of age. No brighter books for boys, more filled with stirring incident or more admirably adapted to kindle youthful ardour, can be found than the stories of Mackay and Paton and the martyrs of Blantyre and Uganda; and such works are sold by thousands. We cannot enlarge upon the merits of the other works of this class, although many of them deserve more than a passing word of praise. Mr. Gilmour's 'Among the Mongols' is written with a simplicity and startling vividness that rival the picturesque realism of Defoe. 'Premi,' and 'Once Hindu: now Christian,' each tells in simple graphic language the story of a conversion, and illustrates how much of sorrow it probably involves. The latter is exceptionally interesting, as its author, Mr. Padmanji, has done yeoman's service in the cause of vernacular Christian literature, and an appendix gives a list of seventy-three works and pamphlets of his, written (we are assured by Dr. Mitchell) in masterly Marathi style, and varying in subject from commentaries on Holy Scripture and elaborate comparisons of Christianity and Hinduism to school reading books and dictionaries, including one on the model of Roget's 'Thesaurus.' Of wider range are 'Under His Banner,' by the honoured Secretary of the S.P.G., a brief but spirited history of Church missions in every quarter of the globe; and the three handsome and profusely illustrated volumes of 'The Conquests of the Cross,' which tell the story of all Protestant missions throughout the world, from the labours of the Moravians among the ice-bound Eskimos to the planting of Christianity in Tierra del Fuego. It is a complete cyclopædia of missions, and admirably done.

One other book—the 'Classified Digest of the S.P.G. Records' for nearly two hundred years—not only deserves more than a mere passing notice, but also affords some quaint glimpses into the early history of Church Missions. Soon after its inauguration the King of Prussia established a Society of Philosophical Knowledge at Berlin, and at the solicitation of certain pious gentlemen assented to its being also a 'College for the propagation of the Christian faith, worship, and virtue. That upon

upon occasion of their philosophical observations which they shall make in the northern part of Asia, they shall likewise diligently endeavour that, among the barbarous people of those tracts of land as far as China, the light of the Christian faith and the purer Gospel may be kindled, and even that China itself may be assisted by those Protestants who travel thither' (p. 468). It would be interesting to know how his Celestial Majesty—the oldest sovereign in the world—would have relished the patronage thus designed by the youngest member of the royal brotherhood. At the outset of the work few save German and Danish missionaries were available, and difficulties arose from the incongruous relations of Anglican bishops to clergy in Lutheran orders. Over seventy years passed after the English gained a footing in India 'before they began to build a church, and the first Governor of Bengal degenerated into an avowed pagan' (p. 471). Every step towards the introduction of Christianity into India was hampered by the timidity, if not the open hostility, of the East India Company; and when the introduction of an English bishop was decided on, it was thought advisable to perform the Consecration Service in private and to suppress the sermon preached on the occasion. In the light of after-events it is hard to restrain from exclaiming, 'O fools and blind!' In the most critical moment of the British rule the native Christians were during the Sepoy Mutiny the one most trustworthy element of the native population. Though we cannot pursue a line of extract that might carry us beyond due limits, we must not omit the fact that but for the clergy sent by the S.P.G. to the Cape the English colonists would have sunk to a condition little better than that of the heathen whom they had married. Two anecdotes—not taken from the S.P.G. Digest—are irresistible. The King of Burmah, we learn from the 'Conquests of the Cross,' most liberally offered to build a church at Mandalay and to place his children under Christian instruction; his only request in return was that Dr. Marks should translate the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' into Burmese! The other story comes to us from a private source. A Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, admiring Livingstone's pluck, sent him three dozen of the famous College audit ale. On a subsequent visit to Cambridge, Livingstone was asked if it were of any use; he replied, 'It was invaluable. Any chief who had once tasted it would grant anything I wanted for a single thimbleful.'

The pages of missionary history literally sparkle with romance, with which we make bold to say no other field of
human

human effort can compare. In confining ourselves to the Church of England's share in this glorious roll of heroes, we do not wish for one moment to ignore what has been done by other Protestant communities. These have often occupied the ground before the Church entered upon it, and they still hold it in some quarters in much larger numbers. But to speak of Churchmen only, each continent is hallowed by the devotion of some martyred saint. Henry Martyn's long-drawn martyrdom consecrates Asia; Bishop Hannington's, Darkest Africa; Bishop Patteson's, the Melanesian seas. Each of these were pioneers into whose labours the Church is even now entering. Each sacrificed in England a position which combined almost all that makes life worth living, and counted not their lives dear unto themselves for the sake of the Cross. Each embodied the very highest type of heroism, the voluntary and sustained struggle of man against circumstance in the spirit of absolute self-sacrifice. Martyn, senior wrangler, scholar, and saint, in utter loneliness of spirit, living with a Persian moulvie whom he half distrusts, and painfully eager, with health rapidly failing, to complete a worthy translation of the New Testament, which he shall never live to see in print; his motto 'Let me burn out for God,' and the flickering lamp of life just expiring as his work is done. Hannington, the bright athletic country clergyman with ample means and sweet domestic joys, burning to return to the savage land where fever and dysentery had already more than once left him half-dead by the roadside; and yet amidst the foul horrors of his prison-hut—the wounds, the fever, the stench, the filth, the brutal clamour of his jailers—more than conqueror; his last meditation the words, 'I will magnify Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast set me up, and hast not made my foes to triumph over me.' Patteson, Fellow of Merton, only son of a distinguished judge—who in his own touching words 'felt he had in some sort made a present of him to the work of our Lord Jesus Christ'—murdered by the very men for whom his life had been given, and by anticipation forbidding that his death should be avenged. It was of a small Scotch stocking manufacturer's son—sent forth by the Free Kirk—that Bishop Selwyn wrote:

'Talk of bravery! Talk of heroism! The man who leads a forlorn hope is a coward in comparison with him, who on Tanna, thus alone, without a sustaining look or cheering word from one of his own race, regards it as his duty to hold on in the face of such dangers.'*

* 'The Story of John G. Paton,' p. 156.

Can the world's chronicles produce brighter examples than these, which are only types of many more—some illustrious, some unknown to fame? And yet the next globe-trotter who touches the Loyalty Islands will probably include the missionary and the spirit-cooper in one sweeping condemnation, and point a cheap sneer at the white man's whiskey and Bibles.

Needless to say that the tale of missionary heroism is not exclusively made up of those who have died by violence: its chronicles record many instances of lifelong perseverance, some crowned with marvellous success, others blighted with apparent failure, borne without repining. The names of Bishops French of Lahore and Caldwell of Tinnevely, and Feild of Newfoundland and Horden of Moosonee, and Austen of Guiana, each and all signify a lifetime spent in mission work, which was only laid down at the call to go up higher, and many of their lives were as picturesque as they were saintly. Think of French, the seven-tongued man of Lahore, the founder of half-a-dozen Indian colleges, working sixteen hours a day, knowing Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Sanscrit, Hindu, refusing to use a carriage because a missionary should go on foot (India, writes one, is full of tales of his unworldliness), and then after forty years' labour resigning the episcopate and starting in his sixty-seventh year as a simple missionary to the Mohamedans, 'in perhaps the most arduous and dangerous post that could be found on earth.'* Think of Caldwell's fifty-three years of unremitting toil, during which his flock increased from 6000 to nearly 100,000. At once priest and leader, teacher and organizer, he found the native converts sneered at as 'rice Christians'; he so raised them that the Director of Public Education in Madras declared shortly before his death that they would before long engross the chief professional positions in Southern India. The chiefest European scholar in modern Indian vernaculars, the same hand which penned the monumental 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,' worked from day to time for thirty-three years on a stately church at Edeyengoody, for which he moulded everything of full size in clay, to be copied by the native stonemasons. There are giants in the earth now as before the Flood, although the world knows little of them.

Such examples are not confined to the bench of bishops. Turn over the pages of missionary records and you light on them continually. Mr. Jones of Tollygunge works for

* As we go to press the news reaches us that Bishop Stuart of Waiapu, French's old colleague, has resigned his See to devote himself to the C.M.S. Mission in Persia.

twenty years, and his flock of 66 baptized converts grows to 1031 and 609 catechumens. Mr. Batsch finds Chota Nagpur without a single Kol Christian, and leaves it with more than 42,000. Nor do such results follow only upon the efforts in exceptional spheres of labour. Of course there are disappointments and defections at times. Of course Christianity sometimes fails amongst peoples predisposed against it through centuries of unrestrained evil, as it does nearer home after long hereditary Christian training. Give one man the superintendence of 50 or 100 villages some twenty miles or more apart; subject his half-educated flock to a thousand adverse influences; let the heathen landlord promise a remission of rent, or the leader of a rival sect sustained by the purse of some Roman propaganda offer tempting bribes in times of famine as the reward of perversion; let the Church at home, as alas it does too often, turn a deaf ear to his earnest cry for help; and then, if the work of years breaks down under the strain of such accumulated pressure, pronounce complacently that the mission is a failure. One is far more disposed to marvel at the growth of Christianity in some regions where it is easier for Europeans to sink into savagery than for the natives to rise from it, than at the report of occasional stagnation or decline. So far as we can judge, the leaders of Church missions do not disguise their difficulties. Why should they? Man can only work and wait, and the deeper results cannot be measured by statistics; but there has been so much success, and there are such abundant openings, as to justify a very sanguine forecast for the future if the Church will but seize on its magnificent opportunities.

‘From all the missions,’ says the O.M.S. Report for 1893, ‘appeals for more labourers are being constantly received. In view of the several populous and apparently healthy districts passed through on his journey to the Lake through the British sphere of influence, Bishop Tucker prays that God may rouse His people to a deeper sense of their responsibilities. . . . The Bishop designate of the Niger writes that the whole west coast from Lagos to Akassa is now, as never before, opening wide doors to the Gospel. . . . From India, Mr. Eugene Stock, after visiting many of the missions, writes: Everywhere we find one sore need—men!’ (Page 7.)

Let us take a survey—it can only be a rapid and imperfect one—of the Church in distant lands. First in order comes her work in the Colonies, which is really but an extension of Home Missions beyond the seas. Had any reasonable spirit of churchmanship guided our early colonization, had the sacred fire from the altars of the fatherland borne by the fully-equipped threefold order of her ministry accompanied or
speedily

speedily followed the first settlers, how different would the Church's position have been now? The history of legislative dealing with the Colonial Church and episcopate for nearly a century is a record of brutal neglect, of almost incredible absurdity, of ecclesiastical establishments destroyed on brief notice, of grants made and capriciously withdrawn, of restrictions asserted and prerogatives claimed which, on appeal to the courts, have been shown to be untenable.* The first Bishop of our Church in America (Seabury) was actually obliged to go to Scotland for consecration, the legal and other difficulties in England were so great. It is just half a century since the Church, at the call of Bishop Blomfield, in 1841, woke to the importance of providing episcopal superintendence for her members in foreign lands. There were then but ten bishoprics of the Anglican Succession beyond the British Isles. In that year the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was launched, and in the next ten years the Colonial Episcopate had overtaken the Colonial Empire. No brighter pages can be found in the chequered history of our Church than the record of this work, which is yet far from complete. Eight hundred thousand pounds voluntarily subscribed, and an addition of eighty-four new colonial and missionary sees within half a century, have redeemed in some degree the apathy of earlier years, and are leading to further plans for Church government and consolidation, the need of which they at once reveal and are able to supply.

The results of this vast extension of the episcopate correspond, as might have been anticipated, with the advantages which have sprung from the subdivision of English dioceses. Men gather round a central authority which gives stability and permanence to Church work, and in the more settled Colonies endowments are being provided which secure a lasting supply of qualified ministers, and relieve the strain upon the missionary purse at home. Already many of the Colonies are passing beyond the need of help from England. They are displaying a manly spirit, not merely of self-reliance for the support of their own clergy, but are contributing to missions in other lands. Under the guidance of Bishop G. A. Selwyn, the Church in New Zealand set the example of government by synod, and in about fifteen years all the dioceses that were free to do so followed his example. 'The result is that of the eighty-four dioceses in foreign parts, sixty-three have been grouped in seven Provincial Synods, the remaining twenty-one being still

* *Vide* Rev. H. W. Tucker's Ramsden Sermon for 1892.

suffragans of Canterbury.* The Church in Canada has made great strides in the way of Provincial organization, the most striking fact being the appointment of two Archbishops, one of whom (Rupertsland) is Primate of All Canada. Even those who are familiar with the consolidation of the Church in the Colonies may hardly have realized its direct missionary effect :

‘It is a fact,’ says Mr. Tucker, ‘that all our efforts to win new lands for our Lord have had their origin and found their point of departure in the Churches which have been planted in our Colonies, and have had the power of free expansion. The Melanesian Mission—founded by the patient fervour of George Augustus Selwyn, and afterwards directed by John Coleridge Patteson and the noble son of the noble founder—was the child of the Church of New Zealand. It was the Church of South Africa and the restless zeal of Robert Gray that sent missionaries into Central Africa, into Zululand, into Kaffraria, into Madagascar, and into the Territory of the Free State, one of whose bishops has recently traversed Mashonaland from south to north and established missions to the chiefs, the guidance of which will now devolve on him. It was from the footing that the Church had in our colony in China, that there originated the idea, but not the carrying out, of the missions to Japan and Corea.’†

The one signal exception to the satisfactory extension of the Anglican Episcopate abroad has been in India. The need of further provision is flagrant, and the efforts of the Indian Bishops and of the S.P.G. to promote it have been incessant, but at the present moment the Church of England has only nine bishops in all India, whereas the Roman Catholic Church some fifty years ago had no less than ten bishoprics in South India alone. The whole question unhappily bristles with difficulties and complications. The Home Government has decided that Indian dioceses constituted by Act of Parliament can only be subdivided under the authority of another Act, which the state of parliamentary business makes it hopeless to obtain. This decision confines the Church, in territories acquired before 1833, to the employment of assistant bishops, and these do not meet her requirements under all conditions ; in more recent acquisitions new bishoprics can be created. Had the heart of the Church been deeply stirred and the need been fully realized, these hindrances would surely have been long since swept away. As matters now stand, the work progresses slowly. Since 1877 six additional bishoprics have been founded, and several assistant bishops have lessened the crushing burden of our Indian prelates. In gratifying contrast with this dilatory progress, it is satisfactory to know that the

* Tucker’s Ramsden Sermon, p. 11.

† Ibid. p. 10.

Church's latest missions—those to Corea, Mashonaland, and Lebombo—are being led, instead of followed, by a bishop, and the haphazard efforts of earlier days are abandoned in favour of deliberate and well-concerted action.

A very striking estimate of the influence of Foreign Missions is contained in Dr. George Smith's latest work, entitled 'The Conversion of India,' a volume of the deepest interest towards the solution of the problem of Asia. The veteran worker in this special field of literature brings to his subject all the charm of a well-practised pen, and all the breadth of induction founded on wide and minute acquaintance with the particulars of a subject almost limitless in extent and importance. He rightly holds that the conversion of India, including as it does the victory over Islam, is the first and greatest mission to which Western Christendom is called. Nor is his vision bounded even by so magnificent a forecast. 'Hinduism and Islam once fairly grappled with, the millions of China and Japan, of Africa and Oceania, must follow willing captives in the triumphal train of the Christ.' The nineteen centuries of Christianity have been the time of unification, of elevation, of hope, and the realization of the unity of man is being worked out by the modern enterprise of Foreign Missions. It is easy, of course, to urge objections to this conclusion, and pessimists would sternly reject it. What ground, it would be asked, is there for such sanguine expectation? Christianity has only touched as yet the fringe of India, and is little better in that huge province than a failure. It may well be questioned whether those who scornfully pronounce missions to be a failure have ever fairly estimated either the difficulties of the work or the measure of success which has attended it. The proclamation of the Gospel among degenerate and corrupt races, inheriting the vices and conceit of ages of triumph and violence and unrestrained lust, has been a test of no ordinary severity. That amongst peoples so terribly degraded faith and hope should be awakened, that unselfishness should become the highest ideal of the soul, that purity should be recognized as the law of humanity, that woman should assume her rightful place, that peace should smile over regions which for generations have been devastated by remorseless strife—such results are to most minds conclusive evidence of the supernatural origin of the cause which has engendered them, and that evidence is not rebutted by the slowness with which these results may have been secured, nor yet by the imperfect faith or practice of some of the recent converts. In these respects the spread of Christianity in modern times has but repeated the tenor of its history in earlier ages, and we are bold

to assert that any difference which may be noted in its power either to win assent or to reform character is at least not unfavourable to modern missions.

No study could surpass in interest a carefully worked out comparison between the gradual steps through which Christianity progressed in the Roman Empire during the first three centuries of our era, and the order of its advance through the heathen world in our own times. Whilst each age has to sustain its own part in the conflict, there are yet certain great lines of advance along which the influence of Christianity travelled under the Cæsars, which are being traversed with remarkable similarity at the present day.

‘The history of the first three centuries,’ writes Bishop Westcott, ‘is the history of a threefold contest between Christianity and the powers of the Old World, closed by a threefold victory. The Church and the Empire started from the same point and advanced side by side. They met in the market and the house; they met in the discussions of the schools; they met in the institutions of political government; and in each place the Church was triumphant. In this way Christianity asserted once for all its sovereign power among men by the victory of common life, by the victory of thought, by the victory of civil organization. These first victories contain the promise of all that future ages have to reap.’

The writer then proceeds to emphasize the special order in which these triumphs were won.

‘The victory of thought,’ he urges, ‘is the second, and not the first, in the order of accomplishment. The succession involves a principle. The Christian victory of common life was wrought out in silence and patience and nameless agonies. It was the victory of the soldiers and not of the captains of Christ’s army. But in due time another conflict had to be sustained, not by the masses, but by great men, the consequence and completion of what had gone before. . . . It is with the society as with the individual. The discipline of action precedes the effort of reason. The work of the many prepares the way for the subtler operations of the few. So it came to pass that the period during which the second conflict of the faith was waged was, roughly speaking, from the middle of the second to the middle of the third century.’*

The principle which is thus enunciated has remarkable confirmation in the actual position of Christian missions in India; and the terms in which the condition of the Roman Empire at the accession of Marcus Aurelius is sketched, would justly describe the state of India at this moment. It is a period of unrest and exhaustion, of ferment and of indecision. Now,

* ‘Religious Thought in the West.’

as then, local beliefs have lost their power. Now, as then, men take refuge in a compromise between Christianity and heathenism; and the question of Numenius, 'What is Plato but Moses speaking in the language of Athens?' might have been asked by a modern Deist of Bengal. *Mutatis mutandis*, the parallel is strikingly exact. The first stage of the conflict has lasted in each case over more than a century, and the road has been made illustrious through the endurance of a noble army of martyrs, whose heroism, far from the arena of the world's applause, will only be fully known when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed. The preaching of Christianity has influenced thought far beyond the definite area of the Christian Church, and the philosophy of Neo-Platonism finds its parallel in the creed of Brahminism, each affording an example how very near a religion may be to Christianity, and yet how very far from it in real Christian teaching. Those best acquainted with the Indian mind at the present moment are persuaded that the leaven of Christianity is working secretly in unsuspected quarters, and that, in the words of an experienced missionary, many Christians will arise from Mohamedan graves. Meanwhile in some quarters a strange mixture of Christian morality and heathen superstition is put forth, and Archbishop Thomson's forecast is verified, that the extravagances of the first century are in danger of repetition with Buddhist and Brahman.

A remarkable illustration of this fact is supplied by one of the volumes now before us, entitled 'Indian Gems for the Master's Crown,' and containing the story of an Indian devotee and his disciples.

It is of the utmost importance in the present critical posture of Indian thought that the advocates of Christianity should have mastered the religious systems prevalent amongst our Indian fellow-subjects, and that they should have made personal investigation into their creeds and practices in their own homes. This department of the *Præparatio Evangelica* has been materially advanced by the works of such writers as Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Monier Williams, and it is noteworthy how exactly the wide experience and sagacity of the practical administrator confirms the judgment of the learned professor. For the general acceptance of Christianity by the educated Hindus it will be necessary that the Christian apologist should be able to understand and sympathize with the Oriental mind, to examine the Hindu sacred writings from their own point of view, to acknowledge whatever of truth is contained in them, and to be prepared for many a mournful
disappointment.

disappointment and many a recrudescence of failing faiths before the triumph of the Cross is finally secured. It is no slight task to which the missionary is summoned, even after all that has been done for him by so able a pioneer as Sir Monier Williams. Buddhism, Brahmanism, Hinduism, as portrayed in his elaborate volumes, are not milk for babes; but the work of mastering them is indispensable.

'I am deeply convinced,' he writes, 'that the more we learn about the ideas, feelings, drift of thought, religious development, eccentricities, and even errors and superstitions of the natives of India, the less ready shall we be to judge them by our own conventional European standards. . . . The simple truth is, that we are all more or less ignorant. We are none of us as yet quite able to answer the question—What are Brahmanism and Hinduism, and what relation do they bear to each other? We have none of us yet sufficiently studied them under all their Protean aspects, in their own vast sacred literature, stretching over a period of more than three thousand years. We under-estimate their comprehensiveness, their super-subtlety, their recuperative hydra-like vitality; and we are too much given to include the whole system under sweeping expressions such as "heathenism" or "idolatry," as if every idea it contains was to be eradicated root and branch.'*

However difficult the task of thus entering into the Hindu mind, there is a remarkable consensus of opinion that the work is urgent as well as indispensable. The extraordinary political and social changes wrought in India through its relations with England; the widespread education, bringing with it into India every phase of European thought; the rapid dissemination amongst a subject race, vain of its thin veneer of Western science, of the levelling and democratic tendencies now so prevalent through Europe, with the bias towards a secular and material utilitarianism rather than a high ideal of self-sacrifice and holiness—all these are helping to shake the fabric of Hinduism to its foundations without substituting Christianity in its place. Sir Alfred Lyall, who has described more graphically than any other statesman the working of these disturbing forces, still thinks it not unlikely that a great revival of Brahmanism may yet occur. He holds, in opposition to Max Müller, that Brahmanism is still a living and a growing creed; that to regard it as dead or dying is to miscalculate the power of the enemy; and that whilst India will most likely be the amphitheatre in which the decisive battle between the religions of the world will be fought out, those who go to war there must for many a day take Brahmanism into their strategic calculations.

* 'Religious Thought and Life in India,' Introduction, pp. v-vii.

Abundant and trying experience indeed shows that the hindrances which impede the growth of Christianity in India are serious and manifold. First and foremost stands the insuperable barrier of caste. This doctrine, so unintelligible to Western thought, is deeply engrained into the Hindu, and breaks out repeatedly after conversion to Christianity, to the disturbance of the church and the despair of the missionary. Among the higher castes renunciation of his position by a convert involves, in the convictions of his family, not only utter personal degradation, but the discontinuance of observances which parents claim after death from their children and on which (as they believe) their future happiness depends. The religion of the Hindu, under whichever of its many subdivisions a votary may be enrolled, is not so much a creed—belief in which may, and often does, sit very lightly on him—as a minute ceremonial, ordained for the conduct of every-day life, which grasps him with all the tenacity of prescription and prestige, of ancestral pride and present convenience. Despite the law which enjoins perfect religious liberty, fanaticism is perpetually breaking out into personal violence, and most high-caste converts make open confession of Christianity at serious risk of their lives. Outrageous persecution alternates with pathetic entreaty. Wives threaten to repudiate their husbands; mothers to commit suicide on the baptism of their children. The sternest boycotting pursues a recreant. Every malignant device is exhausted to bring about a relapse or to cover the neophyte with shame. A recent convert was invited with seeming cordiality to a last farewell banquet with his former Hindu comrades, whose purpose was with repeated toasts to press him into intoxication and then to cast him out. The mysteries of Hindu law afford openings for religious oppression, and the headman of a village is able to contrive that native converts do not lead happy lives. Loss of employment, threats of starvation, burning of homesteads, plunder or devastation of crops and cattle, are among the ordinary risks at which a Hindu of any or no caste accepts Christian baptism. These obstacles are still in full operation, and make some provision for maintaining any recruits almost indispensable in many districts. If such aid is offered, the calumny flies forth that the converts have been won by bribes; if it is withheld, they are likely to starve. Let all these barriers be passed, one further cause—a disgrace to the Christian name—may wreck years of patient labour. The exercise of necessary discipline in an infant church may be destroyed by the heedless admission of its recalcitrant members into a rival Christian community, or advantage may
be

be taken of their imperfect knowledge to allure them by open bribery to pass to some competing sect.

Whilst the class of hindrances which we have portrayed affects the natives of India individually, the attitude of the British Government towards Christianity must have strangely perplexed the mind of both Mohamedan and Hindu. To the Mohamedan politics and religion are two sides of the same medal, so that it is impossible even to approach the religious side of the Mohamedan position in India without surveying it first in its political aspect. To the Hindu there is no separation between things secular and sacred. His religion is a polity in which the average Hindu believer acquiesces as a divinely constituted order, and into which the devotees (a large class all over India) are perpetually enrolling members of the nomad and aboriginal casteless tribes. To these millions the past oscillations of our religious policy in India and our present legislative indifference are utterly unintelligible. The perplexity even now caused by our absolute neutrality is aggravated by the fact that the Government interferes in and regulates a thousand other things about which Oriental despots have always been supremely indifferent; and in so doing the English, as has been quaintly remarked, have taken upon themselves what Asiatics have hitherto regarded as the business of the gods. It may be questioned whether the coming over of non-Christian people in masses is desirable in the interests of religion; but we cannot wonder if the masses regard a creed as incomprehensible or unimportant about which the Government which professes it is absolutely neutral, whilst it legislates for the promotion of the public health and education, exerts all its energies to suppress infanticide or cholera, and spares no pains to alleviate the miseries of inundations and famine.

Despite such accumulated hindrances, the latest phase of mission work in India is full of promise. From every quarter of that enormous territory reports are sent which indicate that Christian thought and teaching are gradually leavening vast masses of the community, and that the high-caste and educated classes are gradually becoming more accessible than formerly to Christian influences. It is exactly a century since Carey, the first English missionary, embarked for India, where he found a languishing mission with a few thousand converts.

‘Sixty years later the Protestant Indian Christians numbered nearly a hundred thousand. Now they are considerably over half a million.’ (C.M.S. Report for 1893, p. 2.)

At the decennial Missionary Conference which met at Bombay

in 1892, nearly seven hundred persons attended, and it was remarked that no other object could have mustered so large a gathering of Europeans. Under an overwhelming sense of the vastness of the work before them, and of the utterly inadequate supply of workers, the missionaries then issued an appeal which is one prolonged and earnest cry for additional helpers. The class room, the hospital, the Zenana, and the Sunday school afford openings for thousands of cultured workers. Especially

'amongst the rural population, in hundreds and thousands of villages,' they write, 'there is a distinct mass-movement towards Christianity. There are millions who would speedily become Christians, if messengers of Christ could reach them, take them by the hand, and not only baptize them, but also lead them into all Christian living.' (Ibid. p. 76.)

Nor are these merely the ill-founded anticipations of too sanguine and irrational partisans. In the very remarkable chapter of 'The Conversion of India' which treats of the results of Christian missions to that country, Dr. George Smith points out that the proportion of Christians in the doubled population of the world has risen since Carey's *Enquiry* in 1789 from one in six to one in three, and the proportionate growth of Christianity in India during the last ten years has been still more remarkable.

*The last decennial census of India, taken in February 1891, revealed the following as the divisions of the 287½ millions of our fellow-subjects there, according to religious belief or custom:—

	British Provinces.	Native States.	Totals.
Hindus	155,171,943	52,559,784	207,731,727
Mussulman	49,550,491	7,770,673	57,321,164
Animistic	5,848,427	3,432,040	9,280,467
Buddhist	7,095,398	35,963	7,131,361
Christian	1,491,458	792,714	2,284,172
Sikh	1,407,968	499,865	1,907,833
Jain	495,001	921,637	1,416,638
Zoroastrian	76,952	12,952	89,904
Jew	14,669	2,525	17,194
Minor and unspecified ..	20,645	22,326	42,971
Grand Total	221,172,952	66,050,479	287,223,431

*These figures show that Christians have increased by 316,033 in the Provinces and 105,713 in the States since the census of 1881, and that their advance has been 22·65 per cent., compared with a growth of only 13·1 per cent. in the entire population.' (Page 201.)

'No statistics,' adds Dr. G. Smith, 'can show the growth of these native

native Christians in wealth, in social position, and in official and professional influence. They are pushing out the Brahmans, many of them being simply Christian Brahmans, by character, by ability, and by intelligent loyalty, till the Hindu press confesses the fact with apprehension, and the local Blue-books report it continually to Parliament.' (Page 204.)

Two more facts of deep significance must be recorded before we pass from this most engrossing subject. Among the sources of encouragement none is more animating than the increase of native-ordained ministers, from 21 to 797 in forty years. Out of 19,298 adult baptisms in India in the year 1890, only from 200 to 250 were Mussulmen. The Mohamedan is still the forlorn hope, we had almost said the despair, of the Christian missionary.

This difficulty is most fully realized in mission dealings with the African continent. Of that immense area stretching over nearly a quarter of the habitable globe, and comprising fertile regions twice as large as those of Europe, how marvellously our acquaintance has increased during the last fifty years! Half a century ago the map of Africa was a mere blank interior with a fevered coast-line; now it is filled with recently discovered and often fertile districts, out of which the foremost nations of Europe are carving for themselves new kingdoms. How inscrutable the gradual development of events which has brought every quarter of Africa in turn into immediate contact with England, and in large measure under its direct supremacy! So rapid has been the march of international policy and of geographical discovery, of missionary enterprise and of commercial eagerness regarding it, that the public mind is bewildered with the multitude of protocols, and works of travel, and consular reports that flow in perpetually growing volume before it. Yet amidst the conflicting claims of Germany and England, of Portugal and France and Belgium; through the clamour of accusation and denial and rejoinder that rages round the occupation of Central Africa; beside the feverish search for gold reefs and diamond fields and pasture lands that is sending the sons of Japhet by thousands into the land of Ham from the south; under the working of the statecraft by which all the coast-line of the north is falling inevitably under the control of the Mediterranean Powers,—through all these influences, and their combined effect is almost incalculable, a silent revolution of more lasting influence than the actors in the varied parts of the drama ever conceived, is already begun. It is not too much to say that the inspiration which led to our abolition of the Slave-trade was the first link in a chain

chain of events which has opened up a continent, and will ultimately lead to its conversion to the Christian faith.

But in connexion with this thought there follows a second which is yet more astounding. In view of the slow progress of Christianity in Africa and of the deadly influence of a climate which has made it the graveyard of so many of England's most gallant missionaries, it is too often forgotten that the African race in America is the largest result of missionary effort of modern times, consisting as it does, if we include the West Indies, of some ten millions of nominal Christians; all brought within the Church within a period of two hundred years. On the West Coast of Africa, again, a settlement formed of released slaves has become the scene of one of our most successful Church missions; and on the Isle of Zanzibar, the site of the slave market is now held by a Christian colony, with a handsome church and mission-houses, in one of which some forty boys taken from slave dhows are under careful training by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Mysterious indeed is the Providence that has made slavery the means of bringing these idolaters under any kind of Gospel influence. The peculiar extravagance of a warm-blooded race, and the failings engendered by years of degradation, superstition, cannibalism, slavery, and want, tend to hide many of the noble qualities which lie beneath the dark skin of the African races, and which it is well to remember in judging whether the freedmen of America may not hereafter take a special part in the evangelization of Africa.

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, founded in 1859 by Dr. Livingstone, is a good example of mission work conducted on distinct Church lines. Planted at a point on the Eastern coast which was formerly the head market of the Slave-trade, the mission receives all liberated slaves committed to its care, and trains the most promising among them to supply a native ministry. With this work has been combined direct missionary efforts from these special centres, and the more general work extends over 250,000 square miles. The romance attaching to Livingstone's career; the noble self-sacrifice of Mackenzie, its distinguished and devoted first bishop; the wise controlling influence of Bishop Steere, who laid so well the foundations of a great indigenous Church; the self-denial of its European agents, lay and clerical, who receive no stipend and fare all, rich and poor alike, at one common table; the judgment and perseverance with which amidst the jarring dialects around it, the mission made itself the *lingua franca* of Central Africa, and not only

Holy Scripture into the language thus reduced to symmetry, but supplied through grammar and dictionary the means of communication for European commerce; the head-quarters of the mission at the gate through which half Europe passes to its new acquisitions in the centre of the Dark Continent—all these together invest the mission with an interest that endears it to many English churchmen. Already over 3000 adherents are enrolled, and a band of 2 Bishops, 25 English and 5 African clergy, 6 European ladies and laymen, and 97 native teachers are extending moral and spiritual influences. The story of Mr. Johnson's pioneer-work on Lake Nyassa is one of unsurpassed heroism and self-sacrifice. It is a mark of the confidence which the Church at home feels in the conduct of this mission, that an appeal last year for an endowment for a second bishopric was met by the gift of over 11,000*l.*, gathered in five months, a very large proportion of which was contributed by the English clergy.

If the work to be done in Africa be stupendous, its first-fruits and its promise are of no common order. In no quarter of the world have abler pioneers laid down the lines along which the squadrons of the Cross should advance, and in no region has life been offered more lavishly for the faith. It was the Church which struck the first blow at heathendom in Eastern Equatorial Africa; which sent the first Christian embassy to Uganda; which planned missions to Kaffraria and Zululand; which even now is exploring and mapping out Mashonaland and Lebombo. Other Protestant communities, British and American, have also borne their part; and everywhere in the hour of trial, teachers and converts equally, even youths and tender women, have sealed their testimony with their blood so freely that Africa might well be called the land of martyrs. No mission-field presents so large a proportion of native bishops and pastors. No converts show such liberality or rise so rapidly to the position of independent Churches; none display greater ability when their native talent has been fully trained. When to these high qualities is added the strong negro *physique* which can endure the scorching sun of the tropics without giving way, who can question that in them we have the destined agency with which to combat the stubbornness of Islam, and to bring the Gospel message to their coloured kinsmen?

A sketch of Church Missions would be sadly imperfect which omitted all notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians, as it affords a unique example of a work with which only the Church of England could hope successfully

cessfully to deal, and whose issues may be of far-reaching importance in years to come. In a remote corner where the kingdoms of Persia and Turkey meet, far from the protecting influence of European and Christian opinion, and crushed beneath the grinding despotism of their Mohamedan tyrants, a feeble and scattered remnant in deepest poverty and degradation still represents the old Assyrian or Nestorian churches. Some years ago an urgent request for help was forwarded from the Nestorian Catholicos to the Primate of England, but the circumstances of the time were adverse, and it was only in 1886 that a small mission band was despatched to Urmi. The condition of the native Church was truly deplorable. Through the Middle Ages it had undergone a long series of persecutions, and it had been almost exterminated by Tamerlane, the remnant being driven into the mountains of Kurdistan and North Persia, where it still lingers and maintains almost unchanged the customs and manners of the fifth century. Established in a country almost inaccessible to Europeans and far less advanced in civilization than many parts even of the unchanging East, with a priesthood so deeply sunk in ignorance that some of its members are unacquainted with the meaning of one single word of the liturgies which they have used since apostolic times, in such abject poverty that their mud-built churches are but huts from which as from their homes they are frequently expelled by the Kurds, this scanty residue of the great Missionary Church which once spread Christianity throughout all Asia—through China and India, through Tartary and Arabia—still clings to its faith and ritual with singular tenacity. Beset on the one side by the fierce intolerance of Islam, adhesion to which would bring them absolute security; besieged on the other by the solicitations of Romish and Presbyterian proselytizers, who would fain draw them within their own forms of obedience, the task of the Nestorian priest in keeping his congregation together is no light one, and the temptation to yield to the material advantages of secession must be sore indeed. How could the Church turn a deaf ear to the plaintive petition of their clergy?

‘Beseech for a teacher for us; we are blind guides; we know nothing, and our people are as sheep lost upon the mountains. When they go down into the darkness of their graves, we know not how to give them any light, and so we all perish.’ (Extract from the Petition of Malek Isher and certain priests and deacons sent through Mrs. Bishop, the well-known traveller.)

No mission, when all its circumstances are realized, should awaken deeper interest or call forth a readier response. In
other

other fields the work is necessarily an assault from without ; in this it is entirely a friendly strengthening from within. With the most careful regard for the prejudices of the Assyrians, no step is taken without the express leave and approbation of the Catholicos ; and the purpose of the mission strenuously persisted in, despite misrepresentation, opposition, and rebuke, is not to make proselytes to Anglicanism, but to build up the waste places of Assyria. Already through the unwearied labours of a small band of clergy and a few Sisters of Bethany hundreds of children are gathered into schools, the ancient liturgies and formularies of the Assyrian Church are being printed, books for the instruction in various grades are provided, order and reverence are spreading through the services, and the tone and education of the priesthood are much improved. As yet the work is only in its infancy, but it is steadily growing. Two years ago the position was thus graphically portrayed by the Catholicos :—

‘The Easterns once were as a fortress, now they are like a field covered with great stones, and these are now being removed, so that the plough will no longer be broken nor the labour vain.’

One consecrated life, that of Mr. Jervis, has already been cheerfully laid down for the Nestorian Church. Has it been poured out to fertilize a soil that shall eventually produce missionaries to the Mohamedans of Central Asia, and so enable the Church to grapple with a task that Westerns cannot effectually accomplish? But great reforms are first necessary in a Church wherein, among other anomalies, the episcopate is hereditary, before any such bright anticipations can be realized.

We have almost exhausted our allotted space, and cannot enter upon other spheres of Church Mission labour. We would gladly have said something of the South American Missionary Society, whose success in Patagonia, where Allen Gardiner died so tragically, extorted the admiration and help of Charles Darwin ; something of the advance in China, where, despite innumerable difficulties, Christianity moves forward steadily, and now numbers thousands of adherents ; something of Japan, where the two Churches of England and the United States, each under its bishops, work fraternally side by side ; something of the Melanesian Mission to the South Sea cannibals, and the Oxford Calcutta Mission to the undergraduates of Bengal, and the Cambridge work at Delhi, England’s most fitting form of vengeance for the Sepoy Mutiny. A whole paper would not suffice to review the educational work carried on side by side with the more distinctly spiritual, and of whose influence most singular proofs from time to time appear. It was stated not long since that half the Bulgarian deputies had been educated
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in American Mission schools; and in the hospital at Aden a Mohamedan asked for a piece of paper and wrote on it, 'If you want the people to walk in your way, then set up schools.' When this man was offered a copy of St. John's Gospel, he declined it, saying, he liked the historical part, but there were parts that made him tremble lest he should be obliged to follow in the way of the Messiah.

It has been in no spirit of complacency that we have drawn up this statement of the position and prospects of Church Foreign Missions; for, as Dr. Smith severely puts it, the comparative success of these last fifty years only increases the responsibility and the reproach of those hereditary Christians—the writer estimates them at two-thirds of the whole number—who are still doing nothing in so noble a cause. Never in all its history has the Church had such facilities. Never has success been so largely obtained. At the present rate of progress in India it is calculated that the Protestant faith will absorb the entire population by the middle of the twenty-first century. Such a thought suggests deep searchings of heart about the form of Church order which is to prevail there and in the other lands which our divided, and sometimes competing, missions are conquering. No reasonable Churchman would wish to see a mere slavish reproduction of Anglican ceremonial or standards; but are the miserable divisions of Protestantism to split up Christianity the wide world over as they are weakening it at home? Yet with whatever imperfections the work may be pursued, only one conviction can, we think, be fairly reached about the workers and the spirit by which they are inspired. As we read the record of missionary exploit and suffering—work achieved so patiently, suffering borne so willingly—in this our nineteenth century, we almost question whether we have emerged from the heroic childhood of our race: we are persuaded that we still have in our midst heroes as true and trustful as those who in time past

'ever with frolic welcome took
The thunder and the sunshine; and opposed
Free hearts, free foreheads.'

We are persuaded that the same Divine power which worked mightily in the early days of Christianity is working in the Church still; and that if the most sanguine hopes inspired by mission history are not fulfilled, it will be not because the fortress assailed, whether Hindu or Mohamedan, was impregnable, but because the attack was deficient in earnestness, in perseverance, or in faith.

- ART. IV.—1. *Guide to Cookery*. By Miss M. Harrison. London, 1891.
2. *Mrs. A. B. Marshall's Cookery Book*. London, 1890.
3. *Antiquitates Culinaræ*. By Rev. R. Warner. London, 1791.
4. *A Noble Boke of Cokery ffor a Princes Houssholde, or any other Estately Houssholde*. Reprinted from a rare MS. in the Holkham Collection. Edited by Mrs. Alexander Napier. London, 1882.
5. *Liber Cursæ Cocorum*. Edited from Sloane MS. 1986 by R. Morris. Issued by the Philological Society in their Early English vol. for 1862-64.
6. *A Propre new Booke of Cookery*. London, 1575.
7. *The Good Huswive's Handmaide*. London, 1588.
8. *A Delightful Daily Exercise for Gentlewomen*. By John Murrell. London, 1621.
9. *The Whole Body of Cookery dissected*. By William Rabisha. London, 1675.
10. *Royal Cookery*. By Patrick Lamb. London, 1710.
11. *The Complete Practical Cook*. By Charles Carter. London, 1730.
12. *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*. By Mrs. Hannah Glasse. London, 1747.

FEW things during late years have undergone more rapid change than the general character of English cookery, and various causes, social and economic, might be mentioned as having contributed both to foster the extinction of the older school and to awaken a new interest in the art of food preparation among various classes of society.

With the results of this interest we are familiar, not only in the different and more exacting standards of taste which prevail now than formerly, but in the rapid multiplication of cookery schools, and the increasing number of books of instruction on cookery, which are addressed primarily to educated readers, and which deal with the subject in a scientific or quasi-scientific spirit hitherto unattempted.

If we compare, for instance, such books as those of Mrs. A. B. Marshall or Miss M. Harrison with others which formed the oracles of the British housekeeper some forty or fifty years since, we shall find a difference in their several methods of dealing with their subject scarcely less marked than would be the difference between a dinner of to-day and a dinner of a century ago. The instruction, whether practical or theoretic, given in such manuals as the two just quoted, is intended

intended mainly neither for professional experts nor for mere cooks and housekeepers; and the atmosphere to which the reader is introduced is that rather of the lecture-room or laboratory than of the kitchen. Quantities are given with the accuracy of a medical prescription. Theory and practice everywhere go hand in hand, and no detail, however seemingly trifling, on which success depends, is left unnoted. In every case operations are directed to securing the best results with the smallest waste, whether of time, trouble, or material; and a kitchen, we feel, so regulated instead of being as it often is a school of reckless extravagance, should become one of intelligent economy.

As guides to any one who may wish to master the art of modern cookery, both these two books deserve the highest praise. In effective description of some of the finer processes, Mrs. Marshall's volume is, we think, unique, whilst Miss Harrison's 'Guide to Cookery' is not only remarkable for its comprehensive practical usefulness, but derives a special value from the excellence of its more theoretical portions.

Few economists could now be found who would deny the superiority of the newer school of English cookery over that which prevailed during the earlier part of the present century; while few *gourmets*, could they compare the two, would wish to change the *cuisine* of the present day for that of any former period. Apart, however, from considerations of thrift or taste, the dinner tables of the past present us with a study which is by no means devoid of interest, whether picturesque, social, or domestic. Materials in abundance lie easily within reach for the reconstruction of these forgotten banquets, and we need only avail ourselves of them to find in so doing much that is illustrative in a high degree of ancient habits, sentiment, and manners, and of the conditions of a life very different from our own.

In an age of rapid change like the present, the features, even of the near past, become quickly blotted out. It requires not merely an effort of memory, but an effort of imagination also, to enable people now old to recall the dinner tables of their youth,—the succession of 'courses,' as the word was then understood, the removal of the tablecloth, and the dessert on the polished mahogany. Of the five o'clock repasts to which our great-grandfathers sat down, little survives beyond some traditional recollections of 'side' and 'corner' dishes: while if from the days of Pitt we go back to those of Lord Chesterfield, from the times of the Georges to those of the Stuarts, the Tudors and the Plantagenets, there is still less for the imagination to work on, and except for a few fantastic figures of
G 2 jesters,

jesters, minstrels, and oxen roasted whole, the idea of a feudal feast presents little to the minds of most of us beyond a confused scene of noisy revelry.

There is no exercise of the imagination more fascinating than that which serves to recall the homelier aspects of the past, and nothing so much assists in doing this as a knowledge of those minuter details by which it differed from the present. With much that belonged to the daily life of our ancestors we are well acquainted: we know what their castles and manor-houses were like; contemporary portrait-painters have made us familiar with their faces and costumes; we may see the armour they wore, the weapons they fought with, and the horns, black-jacks, and standing cups from which they drank their wine and ale: but of the character of the meals round which their social and domestic life was centred, of the elaborate etiquette of the medieval dinner table, and of the survivals and extinctions of the medieval *cuisine*, hardly any popular memories survive. The corner of archæological research which thus offers itself, though an obscure one, is by no means difficult of access; and if with the aid of contemporary records we set ourselves to explore its recesses, we shall be surprised as we do so at the life and colour which start back into the past, and into the dim ghostly figures with which that past is peopled.

Between the two recently published books of which we have just spoken, and 'The Forme of Cury,' by the Master Cooks of King Richard II., there is an interval of no less than five hundred years. The original copy of this very curious treatise was written upon a vellum roll, and, as appears from a Latin memorandum at the end, was subsequently presented to Queen Elizabeth by Lord Stafford. Later on it came into possession of the Earl of Oxford, from whom it passed first to a Mr. James West, and afterwards to a Mr. Brander of Christchurch, Hants. At the request of this gentleman, it was published in the year 1790 by the learned antiquary, Mr. Samuel Pegge, and again a few years later by the Rev. R. Warner, in whose preface and appendix a good deal of curious information is contained. Bound up with it in this last edition, under the title of 'Ancient Cookery,' are two other collections of cookery recipes of slightly earlier date; a treatise on pickling and preserving; and an account of the enthronization feast of Archbishop Neville at York, with the order of ceremonies used on that occasion, the whole being published under the collective title of 'Antiquitates Culinariæ.' Amongst cookery books dating from the fifteenth century, we find 'A Noble Boke of Cokery ffor a Princes Houssholde,' a modern edition of which has been published by
Mrs.

Mrs. Alexander Napier, and also the '*Liber Curæ Cocorum*,' a collection of recipes in verse. As the character of the preparations set forth in these works differs but little, we may conclude that the art of preparing food, as understood and practised in England during the Middle Ages, is fairly represented in all.

The sensation we experience on first turning over the leaves of these old volumes is a curious one. We seem to be entering into a sort of medieval Herculaneum, though a Herculaneum which is by no means a city of the dead; but where fires are blazing, pots boiling, spits turning, and cooks and scullions sharpening their knives and bustling to and fro; where old gardens are blooming with roses and clove gillyflowers, and redolent with the scent of rue and rosemary, and of the many other old-fashioned pot-herbs whose names are now forgotten.

In studying the service of the ancient dinner table, the amount of ceremony which invested the meals of our forefathers is one of the first things which strikes us; a peculiarity, however, which is easily accounted for when we recollect that during the Middle Ages, men separated from one another in rank so widely as were the feudal baron and his retainers were accustomed to eat together in common,—a practice which could scarcely fail to have resulted in the growth of an elaborate system of etiquette. The ancient fashion of arranging the tables for a meal is still preserved in college halls, where the 'high table' stands transversely on a raised platform at the upper end of the room. It was the further side of this 'table of dais' which at a feudal feast was alone occupied, the master of the house and his chief guests thus emphatically dining in public before his vassals. Everything pertaining to the service of this table was conducted with a ritual of almost ecclesiastical minuteness. At a time when, from the Crown vassal to the petty baron, a man's safety and consequence depended on the number of followers he could muster, the greater part of the revenues of an estate were spent in the support of retainers and hangers-on; and there being thus no lack of service, the various duties of a household were much subdivided. The modern term 'butler's pantry' marks the coalescence of two offices formerly distinct, when the butler or 'boteler' presided over the buttery or 'botellerie,' and the 'panter' or 'pantler' over the pantry or bread closet. The duties of carver, sewer, and cupbearer were held to be very honourable ones, and could be discharged by men of high rank; and in great establishments, the butler, the pantler, the porter, and the officers of all the several household departments had each his own contingent of grooms and yeomen.

The ceremonies of a great banquet must have been exceedingly tedious. They are described at great length in the account of the enthronization feast of Archbishop Neville, and some further light is thrown on their intricacies by the 'Booke of Carving,' a curious little black-letter volume dating from the sixteenth century. The laying of the table, though in an empty hall, was conducted with reverential observance. Special ceremonies attended the placing of the bread and salt by the pantler in front of the seat of honour; and in the place which the salt occupied, on the lower edge of the high table, the full force of the expression 'beneath the salt' becomes visible.

When the guests had entered the hall, and not before, the sewer (whose office combined the functions of taster and head waiter) ascertained whether the cooks were ready, and if so, he and the carver, having first washed at the 'ewrie,' a sideboard specially furnished with jugs and basins for this purpose, were accoutred with long towels passed over the right shoulder and under the left arm; and each having been furnished besides with a couple of napkins, was ready for his several duties.

In the execution of the manœuvres which followed, the advancing and retreating, the bows and genuflexions of the various attendants must have resembled the movements of a solemn dance. The pantler first came forward and tasted the bread and the salt. Next, water previously 'assayed' or tasted, to avoid suspicion of poison, was brought by the cupbearer for the lord of the feast to wash in, the towel on which he was to dry his hands being kissed as a similar precaution. Thereupon the rest of the company also washed, either at the ewrie, or at a lavatory at the lower end of the hall, before taking their places.

The dishes of the first course meantime had been carried by the servants to the dresser or beaufet, and thither the sewer now went, to superintend the tasting of every dish by the steward and the cooks, who waited there for that purpose. While this ceremony was going forward, the ministers of the Church 'did after the old custom, in singing of some proper or godly carroll'; and when it was over, each dish in its turn was carried to the high table, where 'assaye' was again carefully taken of it by the sewer himself and carver. Small pieces were cut from each loaf of bread, and from all solid meats. Every pie was broken open, and into salt, gravy, sauce, and pottage 'cornets' of bread were dipped in three or four different places and then eaten by the tasters. Except with the connivance of a very large number of people the crime of poisoning at meals must have been a very difficult one to accomplish. As each dish *was tasted* at the high table, it was cut up by the carver, and, having

having been first presented to the lord of the feast and the chief guests, was carried to the table next in dignity, which went by the name of the 'rewarde,' because thus 'rewarded,' or supplied, from the high table. The carver's office was no sinecure. Every dish had to be operated on in strict accordance with the rules of the art; and as these differed for every bird, beast, or fish that came under his knife, he had a good deal to remember. Certain parts of meat and birds, such as skin, bones, heads, sinews, and legs, were to be put aside when carving for distinguished guests; and these inferior parts went by the name of 'fumositives.'

In carving before his lord or his lady, especially the latter, the carver is instructed to exercise great discretion in the size of the pieces to which he helps them; 'for ladies . . . will be soon angry, and their thoughts soon changed, and some lords are soon pleased and some not, as they be of complexion.' The terms formerly in use for the cutting up of different creatures are curious: thus venison was said to be 'broached,' a swan 'lifted,' a pheasant 'allayed,' a peacock 'disfigured,' a rabbit or a woodcock 'unlaced,' a crane 'displayed,' and a crab 'tamed.' And even in a late edition of Mrs. Glasse's *Cookery* (1803), we find some of this antiquated phraseology still in use.

To return, however, to the service of the banquet. As soon as the first 'roast,' whether of meat or fish, had been cut, the cupbearer's part began. His duty was to receive the lord's 'great covered cup' from the butler, and kneeling at the high table to taste its contents by drinking a few drops first poured into the cover. The placing of this cup on the high table was the signal for ale to go round amongst the rest of the company; and whenever during the meal the lord drank, it was the business of the cupbearer to hold the cover of the cup beneath it, so as to catch any spilt liquor.

When this last dish of the first course had 'set in' (was going round, that is to say), the tasting of the second course at the dresser began; and when the second course was at last over, the chaplain brought the alms dish, and received in it a loaf for the poor, to whom also the broken meat from the tables was distributed under the direction of the almoner. Trays or 'voiders,' as they were called, being now brought, the tables were cleared, and dessert in the shape of wafers, spices, and hypocras* made

* The following is the simplest among the recipes for making hypocras or 'Ipocrasse,' a drink used probably rather as a liqueur than a wine:—'Take 1 oz. cinnamon, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. ginger, $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. grains of Paradise, long pepper (a plant possessing well-known narcotic properties) *quantum suff.*, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. sugar. Put all these ingredients into a woollen bag, and strain through them 1 quart of wine.'

its appearance, and when these had been disposed of 'the chaplains said grace and the ministers did sing.' Hands were again washed, and ale drunk sitting, the person highest in rank being the last to rise. Then all stood up, the cloth was removed, a parting grace-cup of wine was passed from hand to hand, and every one departed 'according to his gode pleasure.'

As regards table furniture, forks we know were not in general use until the seventeenth century, though as early as the thirteenth we find instances of gold and silver ones being kept for special purposes. Six silver forks and one of gold occur among the list of the valuables of Edward I.* John Duke of Brittany is mentioned as using one to pick up 'soppys,'† and Piers Gaveston had three for eating pears with.‡ The custom, however, was considered an effeminate one, and for the general accommodation of guests nothing but trenchers, napkins, and spoons were supplied; knives—a broad knife and a narrow one—were indeed laid by the pantler on the high table along with the bread and salt, but these were for the use of the attendants only in cutting and removing pieces of bread. For cutting up their own meat the guests had recourse to those they themselves wore, and the carver carried his, which were of a particular pattern, in a case. A very handsome set of carver's knives, with handles of ivory and silver, may be seen in the British Museum.

Earthenware was not commonly used for plates until the seventeenth century, its place being supplied by wood, pewter, or precious metals. Wooden or 'treen' platters were often merely square boards, a fashion which was retained in the dining hall of Winchester College until very modern times.

Relays neither of plates nor spoons entered into the order of service. Every one had to clean his own spoon as best he might; whilst the office of fresh plates was at least to some extent discharged by slices of bread called trenchers or *tranchoirs*, which were cut from 'trencher loaves' made for this special purpose. In the 'Booke of Carving' a separate knife is ordered to be kept by the pantler 'for the making of smooth trenchers,' and we learn from the 'Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household' (published by the Society of Antiquaries) that the cutting of these trenchers in large establishments furnished work for two 'grooms of the pantry,' who are specially admonished to cut them as large as the loaves will allow: an injunction rendered necessary by the fact that all 'chippings' of trencher loaves were pantry perquisites.

* Proceedings Royal Commissioners, p. 552.

† Dom. Morice, 'Hist. Bret.,' Preuves, i. 1202.

‡ Rymer, 'Fœdera,' vol. iii. p. 392.

Besides trenchers, little salt-cellars of bread were also made, and placed at the high table and the 'rewarde,' within reach of every guest. The salt in each was 'planed smooth' and marked crosswise with a knife, and in pictures taken from the Cotton MSS., and elsewhere, we may often see these little cross-cut patens represented.

The rules of good manners to be observed during the meal were well defined, though perhaps we should not now consider them exacting. From an old versified treatise on etiquette (Sloane MS. 1986, p. 21), we learn that a man should not bite his bread, but break or cut it, that he must not spit across the table, and that he should not munch his food noisily, or speak with his mouth full. He must not leave his spoon lying on his trencher, but clean it on his bread. To pick his teeth during dinner with a knife, straw or stick, or even to rub them with the tablecloth, is bad manners; so too is putting his elbows on the table, and taking the chief place unless invited to do so. In drinking (an important precept where the cup passed from hand to hand), he must be careful not to stick his thumb into the wine. He must not dip his fish or his meat into the salt-cellar, and at the end of dinner, when he goes to wash, he must not spit upon the floor. From the attendants, too, very great decorum was exacted. Let what will happen, they must always preserve 'a good countenance.' Nothing is to be laid hold of with the bare hand, but always with a napkin. Dirty trenchers (those of bread probably) were to be removed on the blade of a broad knife; and the use of two fingers and a thumb only was allowed in steadying bread or meat while cutting it.

In the 'Booke of Carving,' great care of his lord's health is enjoined on the major-domo or principal attendant, who should know what meats are to be taken fasting, and what after supper. Amongst the former are butter, plums, cherries, and grapes; amongst the latter, roasted apples, pears, 'blanche powder' (sugar) and hard cheese. He must beware of offering strawberries and cream, hurtleberries, or junket after supper, for these things 'close the maw,' and will make his lord sick; but hard cheese, on the contrary, 'hath this operation, that it will keep the stomach open,' and butter for the same reason 'is wholesome first and last. Also of divers drinks, if their fumosities have displeased thy lord, let him eat a raw apple, and these fumosities will cease.'

We have lingered, however, long enough in the dining hall, and proceeding now to the kitchen, we will see what was the composition of the various dishes which were eaten with so much ceremony. Such hackneyed phrases as 'the Roast-beef of Old England' give by no means a correct notion of the prevailing

prevailing character of English diet during the Middle Ages. For game, and wildfowl especially, roasting was undoubtedly much practised; but for butchers' meat and poultry, at any rate during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, it was by no means the staple method of preparation. In the opinion of Mr. Pegge, the editor of the earliest edition of the 'Forme of Cury,' large joints of roast meat did not become common till towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and as a matter of fact by far the greater number of mediæval cookery recipes are for stews and *purées* of minced and pounded meats, variously combined with flour, rice, eggs, dried fruits, wine, and other ingredients.

Before forks came into common use, 'spoon-meat' of this kind must have been very convenient, and possibly the introduction of forks helped to make large roasted joints more popular. So far as the mediæval cook was concerned, however, his prevailing desire seems to have been the reduction of everything to as fine a pulp as possible.

For nine-tenths of the dishes in which meat or poultry formed a part, the pestle and mortar were in requisition. 'Hew hom (them) smalle and grinde hom well' is an injunction constantly recurring in the poetical 'Liber Curæ Cocorum.' And where pounding was not sufficient to give the desired smoothness of consistence, this was secured by pressing the pulped meat through a cloth sieve or strainer, usually called a 'sarse.' In the 'Noble Boke of Cokery' mention is made of a 'heyren siff' (a hair sieve) as used for this purpose.

Down to the sixteenth century the extraordinary mixtures, both as to ingredients and seasoning, which prevailed, give an indication of the tastes of the period. Thus Blamange, or as it is generally spelt, 'Blank-manger,' instead of being merely a jelly of milk or cream, was formerly composed of the pounded flesh of poultry, boiled with rice and milk of almonds, and sweetened with sugar, while a mixture of the same kind, but coloured with blood or sandal-wood, was called a 'Rose.' 'Buckuade' was the name of another typical preparation, and this was made of meat 'hewn in gobbets,' pounded almonds, raisins, sugar, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, onions, salt, and fried herbs, thickened with rice-flour, and coloured yellow with saffron. 'Momene' or 'Mawmony' was a sort of porridge for which the *cuisine* of our own day affords no parallel. Its components were 'plenty of wine and sugar, a quart of honey, a gallon of oil, a pound of powdered spices, together with ginger, cinnamon, and galangale' (*Cyperus longus*), a plant much used for flavouring. All these were boiled together with the pounded flesh of eight capons, and the mess served in bowls like porridge,
with

with (according to one recipe) a lighted wax candle stuck in the middle of each. 'Mortrews,' a dish mentioned by Chaucer in his 'Canterbury Tales,' was held in great estimation. It derived its name from the mortar in which the meat used in making it was pounded; and as the recipe is a representative one, we will here give it as it stands in the 'Forme of Cury':—

'Take hennes and pork and sethe hom togydre. Take the lyre (flesh) of the hennes and of the porke and hack it small and grinde it all to doust. Take bread ygrated, and do (add) thereto, and temper it with the self broth (i.e. the broth in which it was boiled) and alye (mix) it with zolkes of ayern (yolks of eggs), and cast thereon powder fort (pepper) and boil it; and do thereto powder of gynger, saffron and salt, and loke that it is standing (stiff), and flour it all with powder of gynger.'

This favourite dish therefore was a combination of pounded meat and bread-crumbs, mixed with broth and yolk of egg, seasoned strongly with pepper and ginger, coloured yellow with saffron, and boiled to the consistency of pease pudding.

These few examples are enough to show the prevailing character of medieval cookery so far as its 'made dishes' are concerned. For nearly all of these, cooked meat or fish was 'hewed in gobbets' or 'ground all to doust,' and boiled into a kind of mash with broth, eggs, and either 'sweet milk of almondys,' or 'sweet milk of kyne,' according as the dish was *maigre* or *gras*. For giving consistency to these messes,—rendering them 'standing' or 'chargeant,' as it was called,—a special preparation of wheat-flour, called 'Amydon,' was made, by first steeping the flour in water and then drying it in a slow oven; and this was kept in stock, as modern cooks keep 'roux.' Most dishes were flavoured indiscriminately with salt, sugar, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, and cloves, and other herbs and spices; and nearly all were coloured with saffron, sandal-wood, alkanet (*Anchusa tinctoria*), or some other vegetable dye.

In the delight thus manifested in mere brilliant colouring there is no doubt an element of childishness; and considering how impervious the taste must have been which could be gratified with such powerful seasonings, it is with some surprise that we find what a number of special sauces and condiments were in use, all of them carefully appropriated to different articles of food. Thus pork, beef, and mutton were all of them eaten with mustard; and this, as in one of the old pantry inventories we read of a 'mustard quern,' seems to have been sometimes ground, like coffee, for immediate use. The proper sauce for boiled chicken was 'verjuice' or sorrel; for a capon, bread sauce and ginger. Herons and pheasants were eaten with ginger and
salt,

salt, and a swan either with a giblest sauce called 'chaldron,' or with 'sauce gamelyn,' composed of bread, ginger, vinegar, mustard, cinnamon, and saffron; while for sparrows and small birds the accompaniment was salt and cinnamon.

Homage to superior rank was conveyed in the composition and serving of various dishes. A pike thus was sent in 'whole for a lord, but in slices for the commonaltye.' For a lord, a pig was served up, not only whole, but overlaid with gold leaf. A lord's cabbage was 'thicked' with yolk of egg, while for inferior company only bread-crumbs were used; and a kind of ragout is mentioned in which, if it was for a lord, squirrels were to be substituted for rabbits. A lord again had the privilege of eating new bread, but no one else got any under a day old, and it had to be three days old for the servants.

Much of the attention of the medieval *chef* was occupied by 'gala' dishes, and certain of these which were appropriated to special occasions were served with particular ceremonies. Thus the great Christmas dish, the boar's head, when brought into the hall, was preceded by music, and followed by knights, squires, and ladies, the sewer who carried it singing the following old carol in mixed Latin and English:—

'Caput afri differo
Reddens laudem domino
The bores heed in hand bring I
With garlens gay and rosemarye,
I pray you all sing merely
Qui estis in convivio.

'The bores heed I understande
As the chief service of this lande,
Loke, wherever it be fand
Servite cum cantico.

'Be gladde lordes both more and lasse (less),
For this hath ordeyned our Stewarde
To cheer you all this Christmasse,
The bores heed with mustarde.'

Another dish of state was the peacock, which also was preceded by music, and it was the privilege of the noblest lady present to place it on the board, and of the most valiant knight to carve it. In 'Ancient Cookery' directions are given for serving up the bird in its plumage. In order to do this the skin with the head adhering was removed, spread out featherside downwards, and strewn with spices. The body while roasting was 'endored' or basted with yolk of egg, and sewn up again in its skin before being sent to table. A remnant of this custom still survives

survives in some college halls, where a few of the tail feathers are stuck into the body of the roasted bird.

Sometimes the crown only was left on, and this was preserved from injury during cooking by the head being wrapped in a wet cloth. When dressed in this fashion, the body of the bird was overlaid with gold leaf, and a piece of lighted cotton-wick placed in its bill. At a grand banquet, a 'subtilty,' or 'sotelty,'—an elaborate device in sugar or pastry,—closed each course, and this usually bore some reference, humorous or complimentary, to the occasion of the entertainment. At the enthronization feast of Archbishop Neville at York (1465), one of these 'subtilties' represented a doctor of divinity being led into his pulpit by a demon; whilst at the banquet given about forty years later in honour of Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, St. Augustine and his attendant appeared in the act of petitioning King Ethelbert for leave to preach Christianity in his dominions.

Different dishes, as with the 'boers head' at Christmas, were early appropriated to different seasons of the year. 'Mynched pies of the best' are mentioned by Tusser, in his 'Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry,' as forming part of the farmers' Christmas fare. At Easter a gammon of bacon was a usual dish, as testifying a pious horror of Judaism; and on the same feast, a red herring, so manipulated as to bear some sort of resemblance to a man riding away on horseback, was placed in the middle of a salad, as an expression of natural relief at the time of fish diet being over.

Many native productions, now disused, were formerly employed in cookery. All manner of leaves, buds, herbs, and flowers were eaten under the common name of 'sallets.' Cowslip and violet blossoms were made into syrups for colouring different dishes, and were also cooked in custards and omelets. Elder tops, 'ash-keys,' burdock roots, broom buds, and marsh mallow continued to be used for pickling even so late as the end of the seventeenth century; and honey so largely took the place of sugar, that bee-keeping must have been a considerable industry. Considering the great expense and difficulty of transit, however, which then prevailed, the amount and variety of imported goods consumed for household purposes are really surprising. Quantities of almonds, which could have come from no nearer than the South of France, supplied a very important ingredient in *maigre* cookery, since, owing to the extreme severity of the older ecclesiastical rules for fasting, almond milk—a gruel or *purée* of boiled or pounded almonds—had often to take the place of cows' milk. Rice, too, which could not have been brought except from the East, enters either whole or ground into

the composition of numberless dishes, while the spices so highly esteemed were brought from Damascus by way of the various Mediterranean ports. The art of dressing one thing to look like another was much cultivated, especially with regard to *maigre* cookery. Almost every meat dish had its counterpart, into which meat did not enter. On days when eggs were inadmissible, imitations of these were produced by blowing out the contents of the egg-shells, washing them in warm water, and filling them with rice-flour boiled in almond milk; the middle part being coloured with saffron to represent the yolk. And another composition of pounded eels and almonds, made into a jelly with stockfish sounds, was used for the same purpose. From one recipe in the 'Noble Boke of Cokery' we may learn 'how to make a kidde out of a pigge,' and from another how to make two capons of one,—a dish not quite so economical as it sounds, as it is by the skin of the original capon well stuffed with sausage meat that the boasted duplication is accomplished.

Turning now from the specialities of medieval cookery, we will see what points it has in common with that of a later period. Nearly all culinary processes have no doubt been somewhat refined since the days of which we have been speaking, but few have been actually invented. Of the pestle and mortar we have already spoken as a most important item in the ancient *batterie de cuisine*; larding with bacon too has long been a well-known process; 'cranys and heronys,' we learn from the 'Forme of Cury,' being 'enarned (larded) with lardons of swine,' so long ago as the fourteenth century. Certain existing combinations of food-stuffs again are very old ones,—such, for instance, as the mixture of fat or butter with flour in making pastry, the mixture of eggs, milk, and flour called 'batter,' and the varying combinations of eggs and milk, eggs and butter, or butter, milk, and eggs, which result in buttered eggs, custards, and omelets. Mixtures of this latter class have undergone but very little change, the omelet or custard of five hundred years ago being substantially the omelet or custard of to-day, whilst many of the fourteenth and fifteenth century recipes for fritters and pancakes might, we think, be reproduced among ourselves with very good effect.

Nice thin crisp pancakes were made with a batter in which 'sack' partly took the place of milk. Slices of apple, and also of 'pasternakes,' or parsnips, were dipped in batter, and fried in hot fat like modern 'berguets.' Plain omelets, as we have said, were made much as at present, but there were several dishes, also of the omelet kind, which were called by other names. Thus, the addition of chopped pork, fish, or fruit converted the omelet
into

into a 'fraise,' while the sweet dish called 'tansy' or 'tansy pudding,' which we find mentioned in 'Pepys' Diary,' the 'Spectator,' and elsewhere, was originally a mixture of eggs and butter, cooked like an omelet in a frying-pan, and flavoured with the juice of the tansy plant. In some of the later recipes, milk and bread-crumbs are added, and the tansy itself is often replaced by pounded cowslip or violet blossoms, gooseberries or spinach; the result being a cowslip, violet, gooseberry, or spinach tansy, as the case may be. Custard was employed in no end of ways, whether alone or with other things.

A somewhat primitive joke common at City feasts consisted in the placing of an enormous pan of custard in the middle of the table, into which the clown at an unexpected moment took a header. 'Haggis' and sausage mixtures were common. Rissoles and croquettes had also their prototypes in balls of chopped meat, raisins, and suet, which were either rolled up in pastry and fried, or else dipped in yolk of egg and roasted on spits. In the former case they were called 'Raysolles' or 'chevets,' in the latter 'Pommes dorées,' from the yolk of egg with which they were 'endored,' or gilded. 'Galantines' are often mentioned; but as the word was applied to any dish in which the flavour of the galangale root predominated, it is the name rather than the thing which has here survived.

Many of the kinds of food once common have either only recently died out or still maintain a local popularity. 'Fur-mity,' or 'frumenty,' a preparation of boiled wheat, made something like the American 'samp,' and once a favourite accompaniment to mutton and venison, was at the beginning of the present century still eaten as porridge. We ourselves know a house in which the art of making 'tansy pudding' still survives. The 'squab' pie of Devonshire and Cornwall—a mixture of apples, mutton, and onions—is an evident relic of the past; whilst the 'black puddings,' which in some country districts signalizes the death of the farmer's or cottager's pig, furnish a rare survival of the use of blood in cookery, once very common.

Judging from the character of the older recipes, the art of making very light pastry is probably a modern one; but pastry of several different varieties was anciently used for different purposes. Thus in baking meat or game, a coarse paste of rye flour was wrapped round it to prevent it from being dried by the heat of the oven. A paste such as is now used for the raised pork pies so common in the Midlands, was made by dissolving butter in boiling water, pouring it thus hot upon the flour, and working the mixture into a putty-like mass, which as it cooled
would

would set in any form required. This was 'hot butter paste.' 'Flaky' paste again was made much as it is at present, while for another kind called 'pam-puff' no water at all was mixed with the flour, but only yolk of egg.

The place occupied in the older bills of fare by game and wildfowl is relatively a very large one, and testifies to the important part played by field sports in providing for the medieval household, as well as to the wide tracts of forest, field, and fen, in which birds and beasts now rare, or verging on extinction, could yet find shelter.

Six wild bulls, probably of the aboriginal Chillingham breed, formed part of Archbishop Neville's enthronization feast; for ordinary occasions, bustards, bitterns, herons, cranes, and egrets were common articles of diet, and venison in one shape or another was seldom absent either from the dinner or supper table. Even in the 1803 edition of Mrs. Glasse's *Cookery*, instructions for 'choosing a bustard' are still given; whence we may infer that the bird now so completely extinct in this country might at that time be seen in the poulterers' shops.

Judging from the recipes which have come down to us from this period, the medieval *chef* must have belonged to that class of artists who can safely trust themselves to work by 'rule of thumb,' for *quantities* are very rarely given; the evidently free-handed use, however, of fowls, eggs, and dairy produce making it seem likely that these were more plentiful in comparison with other things than they are at present. But though most of the old recipes would be now considered extravagant, plain and simple dishes were not wanting; and the pottages and *bouillons* of peas, beans, rice, cabbage, and other vegetables boiled in 'faire broth,' for which directions are given, may possibly have formed the staple diet of the poorer classes, whose cooking utensils, consisting mainly of an iron pot, would not have allowed of anything much more elaborate.

The early kitchen vocabulary is a curious one. A recipe was formerly called a 'Nym,' from the Saxon word *nym* or 'take,' with which it generally began. To give a pot a 'walm,' meant to let it boil up, from the Saxon verb *veallan*, to boil or bubble.* To 'swing' eggs meant to beat them. Currants and raisins were distinguished respectively as 'raisons of Corrance' and 'raisons of the sun.'

A dish was called a 'trap,' and a pastry-case of any kind a 'coffyn.' To 'raise a faire coffyn' was the first process in making a venison pasty or a game pie; while if you wanted a

* 'Angel. Sachsisches Glossar.' (1877). By Leo. 'Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words.' By Halliwell.

dish of custards, the proper number of 'little coffyns' must be got ready to receive them.

In its higher branches, the terms of the ancient, as of the modern art, were French, or of immediate French derivation. Thus to stew as in our French is usually called 'to stove' (*étuver*), the primitive meaning of a 'stove' as a stewing apparatus being thus made evident. A dish dressed with a sauce at once sweet and acid is called an 'Eger-douce' (*aigre-doux*), or, as in one instance the word is still further corrupted, an 'Egg-douce.' An ox tongue is a 'lang-de-beef,' and a leg of mutton, as at the present time in Edinburgh, a 'gigget'; cinnamon is invariably called 'canell' (*cannelle*), and a white mixture of pounded chicken and almonds is a 'Blank-desire' (*blanc de cire*).

In the matter of utensils, the kitchens, at any rate in large houses, seem to have been very well furnished. That of Sir John Fastolfe, according to an inventory taken in 1453, contained, among other things, fourteen brass pots of different sizes, three brass fish-kettles under the name of 'pike-pans,' a pestle and mortar, both of brass, a sars (sieve or colander) of brass, and another of 'tree' (wood); a dropping (dripping) pan, a gridiron, a frying-pan, two 'grete square spittys,' and two little round 'brocheys' (spits for small things), a caldron, a flesh-hook, two pot-hooks, eleven trays, and a strainer.

From pictures in the Bayeux Tapestry, we see that movable grates or grills, and movable hot plates, both resting on legs like tables, were very early used for standing over the open hearths; a circumstance in which the name 'grate' as applied to a fireplace probably originated. Here, too, we find flesh-hooks armed with a double claw, and the primeval pot or crock, in exactly the same form as still hangs in cottage chimneys, wherever an open hearth survives.

In a copy of the 'Forme of Cury,' now in the Bodleian Library, there is an interesting little woodcut of a fourteenth-century kitchen, in which the cook and the turn-broche are represented sitting on either side of a raised hearth in the middle of the room; the latter seeing to the roasting, the former superintending a number of little covered pots or casseroles, which are standing round the fire. Frying-pans of various sizes hang against the wall, and dishes and trenchers are ranged in a rack beneath.

The roasting apparatus as here given is of a very simple pattern,—merely a rod with one end bent into a crank and, resting on a couple of low supports, three on either side of the fire. Some much more elegant, and at the same time much earlier examples of these 'spit-rests,' are, however, at present to be seen

in the Ethnological department of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. In these, which were taken from a tumulus at Hey Hill, near Tunbridge Wells, in Kent, and are supposed to be of Saxon origin, two iron uprights supported on spreading feet are joined together about four inches from the ground by a cross-bar of from twenty to thirty inches in length, while their upper ends are curved outwards, and each terminates in the beautifully finished head of an ox, between whose horns the spit would have revolved. In the more ancient dwelling-houses, the only fireplace both in the hall and kitchen was in the middle of the room, with a louvre or fumitory above it to let out the smoke, and these remained long in use, even after they had been supplemented by others with open chimneys at the sides. In the hall of Penshurst Place, in Kent, a perfect specimen of one of these central hearths is preserved.

According to Alexander Necham, a writer of the thirteenth century, the kitchens and offices were at that time detached from the main body of the house, and situated near the road or street. Later on, however, they occupied a uniform position behind the screen which crossed the lower end of the great hall and supported the minstrels' gallery.

The structure of early dwelling-houses was very simple. The great hall was the main feature of the building, and served not only as a general living and eating room, but as a sleeping apartment for servants and guests; while leading from the upper end of this, and built generally over the cellar, a room called the 'solere' chamber or *solarium* afforded some degree of privacy for the heads of the household. These two rooms, when Necham wrote, constituted the whole available accommodation; and according to the Exchequer accounts of the time of Henry II., even the royal manors at Clarendon, Kennington, Woodstock, Portsmouth, and Southampton were no better provided.

As habits became less primitive, however, and a desire for privacy increased, additional rooms were added. The 'solere' chamber was supplemented by the 'withdrawing-room' and the ladies' 'bower,' and by the middle of the fifteenth century an inclination was plainly showing itself among the higher classes to abandon the feudal custom of feasting in the hall with their retainers. Frequent protests were made against this decay of ancient manners, but in spite of exhortations addressed to heads of households for 'eating in the hall before the menye,'* in spite of rules for the 'ordering and setting of

* Sloane MS. 1986, p. 197.

the hall after the old custom,'* and of condemnations passed on such noblemen, gentlemen, and others, as 'delighted and used to dine in corners and secret places,'† the old order shared the fate of other anachronisms.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, few houses of any pretension were built without a separate dining-parlour or banqueting-hall, and to this innovation we may at least in part attribute the gradual disuse of the older ceremonies which had attended a feudal meal.

From the year 1575 to 1621 was a time remarkably prolific in cookery books, and, judging from the character of their contents, the sixteenth century was an era of change in culinary as well as in more important matters. Thus, 'A propre new Booke of Cookery,' 'The Good Huswife's Handmaide,' 'A delightful daily Exercise for Gentlewomen,' and some others, all give tokens of a transition period. Most of the old pounded mixtures we find have vanished; joints of meat, both roast and boiled, are more conspicuous in the bills of fare; and a large crop of genuine sweet dishes, notably jellies, creams, and fruit-tarts, have sprung up. Seasoning again is not applied so indiscriminately or profusely; and though meat and poultry are still stewed with prunes and raisins, after the manner of the still surviving 'cock-a-leekie,' the general character of the mixtures is, according to modern notions, less incongruous.

In 'The Whole Body of Cookery dissected,' by William Rabisha, a *chef* of some eminence, we have apparently a very complete treatise on the art as it existed at the end of the seventeenth century. In the general character of its contents this book shows a decided advance in the modern direction, but many tokens of ancient taste still linger. Thus, omelets and pancakes are highly coloured with saffron, musk and ambergris are used in flavouring sweet dishes; while for a 'Grand Sallet' a temple of wax or pastry is erected in the middle of a dish, and on the steps of this, elder buds and broom buds, primroses and violets, almonds and raisins, anchovies and olives, together with barberries, samphire, brook-lime, lettuce, and watercress, are arranged tier above tier, according to their several colours. On the other hand, 'Mortrews,' 'Bucknade,' 'Marmeny,' and their like, have quite disappeared, and we catch one of the older mixtures of chopped raisins, egg, and bread-crumbs, in the very act of being tied down with a cloth into a wooden bowl, and boiled into a modern pudding—a 'Quaking pudding,' it is called here, 'very rich and handsome.' It is

* Lansdowne MS. No. I., fol. 76a.

† Collection of Ordinances for Government of Royal Household, 1526.

ornamented on its outside with 'citerne and all manner of suckets,' and the novelty of the cooking process is indicated by the fact, that the wooden bowl has had to be ordered from the turner on purpose.

'Pudding,' regarded in the light of a typical English dish, has its own history. Until comparatively recent times 'plum' pudding was only represented by minced figs, dates, prunes, raisins, and citron, either baked with custard in open dishes under the name of 'torts,' or else boiled into porridge with bread-crumbs, wine, and spices. Combinations of rice, milk, and eggs, such as we should now call puddings, for a long time went by the name of 'Whitepots,' and the word pudding was principally applied either to mixtures used for 'stuffing,' or to mixtures boiled in skins like sausages.

Thus, in 'The Book of Cookery' (1620), we find directions for 'making a pudding in a carrot,' for 'making a pudding in a turnip,' by hollowing out these vegetables, and filling them up with forcemeat, while nearly a century later Patrick Lamb in his 'Royal Cookery' speaks of custard and bread-crumbs cooked in sausage skins, as a 'dish of puddings the English way.' Exceptions to this rule there were no doubt, for the great, great, great grandmother of Sir Roger de Coverley, a lady who wore the wheel farthingale of Queen Elizabeth's time, left behind her an excellent recipe, we are told, for a 'hasty pudding'; but the above nomenclature is evidently the common one. Of the ordinary 'suet' pudding or dumpling—a paste, that is, of flour and suet boiled to solidity in a cloth or bason—we find no mention made till early in the eighteenth century; and to the subsequent union of this suet pudding with the old-fashioned 'plum porridge,' the 'plum pudding,' that crowning triumph of English cookery, apparently owes its birth.

Among sweet dishes 'jellies,' in the present sense of the word, are also of comparatively modern date. In the language of 'The Forme of Cury,' jellies or 'gillys' mean simply jellied meats; but in 'The Propre new Booke of Cookery' (1575), we already find directions given for a 'wine jelly,' and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries particular pains were bestowed on the making and clarifying of jellies of calves' feet or isinglass, and in 'running' them into glasses in variously coloured stripes or ribbons, the practice of turning them out of moulds having been to all appearance a late introduction. Soups again, as we now understand the word, are another recent development. In mediæval cookery they were represented either by sops (sewps) of bread or toast covered with sauce of *some kind*, or else by thick pottages. In the bills of fare given by

by Rabisha (1675), we find the present place of soup at the beginning of dinner taken sometimes by a 'bisk' or 'olio,' a sort of compromise between a soup and a stew, consisting of boiled meats smothered in thick sauce: but it is not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that what we should now recognize as soup forms a regular prelude to the meal; and even then it was poured over a very solid substructure of fish, poultry or game, as the case might be.

The disuse of the ceremonies of the feudal banquet could have scarcely failed to follow sooner or later, on the withdrawal of the high table from the common hall, but, like many other customs from which the meaning has departed, they died a lingering death. During the earlier part of the seventeenth century the custom of bringing each dish separately from the sideboard to the dining-table had at any rate not been abandoned; for in one of the books of this date ('A delightful daily Exercise for Gentlewomen') an arrangement of dessert or 'banqueting stuff' is prescribed, which shows the whole table during the meal, except for a single space left vacant at one end, to have been covered with dishes of fruit and confectionery; and certain directions from 'The Booke of Carving,' which we find reprinted by Rabisha in his 'Whole Body of Cookery dissected,' indicate that even at this date (1675) there were at least some households in which many ancient formalities were retained.

With the eighteenth century, however, if not sooner, the old order of service finally disappeared; the word 'course,' instead of meaning as it had formerly done a *succession* of dishes placed singly on the table, signified from this time forward a *relay* of dishes placed on the table together; and excepting that the presence of fish was not so much *de rigueur*, nor its place so constant as these afterwards became, all the essential elements of a modern dinner were now included in an entertainment of two full courses. Soup, usually at each end of the table, formed a prelude to the meal, and this was 'removed,' as the phrase was, by substantial dishes of meat and fish, or meat and poultry; half a dozen side-dishes or *entrées*, almost equally solid, being placed on the table at the same time. This was the first course. For the second there were top and bottom dishes of roast lamb, game, poultry, or wild-fowl, and the *entrées* were replaced by a mixed collection of *entremets*, in which fish and any delicate kind of meat, besides sweet things, vegetables, and savouries, might find place. The following *menu* of a dinner given by 'Squire Hill,' at Teddington (1707),
may

may serve as a specimen of one of these eighteenth-century entertainments: *—

‘1ST COURSE.

- ‘*Soups* . . (1). Purée of ducks. (2). Bisque of partridges.
(Both served with entire birds.)
‘*Removes* . (1). Chine of mutton. (2). Three ducks.
‘*Side-dishes*. (1). Pullets with eggs. (2). Fillet of beef and
collops. (3). Turkey “dobéd” (braised). (4).
Stewed carps. (5). Veal à la Royale. (6).
Fricaseed chicken.
‘*Centre dish*. Ham and pigeons.

‘2ND COURSE.

- ‘*Roasts* . . (1). Two pheasants and four partridges. (2). Six
teal.
‘*Side-dishes*. (1). Sweetbread and marrow. (2). Four woodcock
and ten snipe. (3). Salmon and smelts. (4).
Marrow pudding (sweet). (5). Forequarter of
lamb. (6). Oyster loaves.
‘*Centre dish*. Mince-pies.’

Bills of fare equally voluminous remained the rule throughout the century; and to guarantee the guests still further against all danger of starvation, some such additional provision, as a round of beef or a venison pasty, was usually placed on the sideboard. The changes from the mediæval to the modern order of service brought other alterations in its train. With the setting of a whole course upon the table at once, the principal duty of carving devolved upon the host and hostess, the honours of the ‘side-dishes’ being done by the guests before whom they were placed; the duty of the servants meanwhile consisting in handing plates and sauces, filling glasses, removing anything spilt, and putting the dishes straight when disarranged.

Dessert had necessarily been banished as an ornament during the meal, by the new arrangement of the ‘courses,’ and the custom of removing the cloth before placing dessert on the table probably arose early in the eighteenth century, since it was about this time that the use of mahogany for furniture became fashionable. The custom of having written or printed *menus* is an entirely modern one. From ‘The Honours of the Table,’ a little book on etiquette published 1790, we learn that it was incumbent on the hostess, if there were two courses, to tell her guests what was coming; while if there was only

* From ‘Royal Cookery.’ By Patrick Lamb.

one, it was equally her duty to let them know 'that they saw their dinner.' Great discretion had to be observed in carving, in order that without giving offence, the quality of the various helpings should be proportioned to the dignity of the guests; the safer plan indeed being sometimes to cut up a whole bird and send it round, so that no one should be able to resent being given the worst piece. Each guest being free to help himself as he pleased from the dishes in front of him, was expected to show when he had had enough by pushing the handles of his knife and fork into his plate; but even then it was good manners on the part of the hostess, to enquire 'if he would not please to have something more.'

In comparing our own dinners with those of our forefathers, the want of structure in the older meals is one of the first things that strikes us, and the further we recede from our own times the more noticeable this becomes. Just as a series of cookery recipes marks the changing taste of successive generations, so does a series of bills of fare mark an increased desire for the arrangement of different classes of food in a certain order. The germ of the sequence at present prevailing in this respect is an ancient one, but it is only gradually that it has been fixed and elaborated. Thus the bills of fare given in 'The Forme of Cury,' and 'A Noble Boke of Cokery,' show at least a predominance of heavier meats in the first course, and of poultry, game, &c., in the second; and though a sprinkling of custards, tarts, and tansies pervaded the whole repast, a sweet dish of some sort invariably brought up the rear.

Passing on to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we find that as flavouring became more specialized, and sugar ceased to be put into almost everything, such sweet things as there were became relegated to the last course; while this received a further addition, as the custom of after-dinner drinking gained ground, in such *hors-d'œuvre* as might prove incentives to thirst—smoked ham, caviare, olives, or anchovies. Soup, as we have seen, was established in its present place either by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the position of fish gradually though slowly became more determined. Early in the present century, a change in the older etiquette of the table began to show itself. The custom of having the side-dishes helped by the company fell out of date, and fashion began to ordain that these should be so constituted as to require no carving and should be handed round by the servants. For those who possessed an accomplished cook, this presented no difficulties; but dishes which can dispense with preliminary dissection, and at the same time escape the charge of 'messiness,'
require

require proficiency of a higher order than will suffice perfectly for plain roasting, baking, and boiling; and people of limited establishments thus found themselves at a much greater disadvantage than before in the matter of dinner-giving.

We have already spoken of the change which has taken place within a recent period in the character of English cookery, and we think that in its origin, at least, this change may be partly attributed to the determined struggle which ensued on the part of the middle classes to keep pace with the new mode; the spirit of social imitation, which it was Thackeray's delight to satirize, having thus at least supplied a vigorous incentive to improvement.

In the modern introduction of the dinner *à la Russe*, a reversion has to some extent occurred, since in some of its arrangements this has considerably more in common with the Elizabethan or Jacobæan than with the Georgian meal. The word 'course,' however, now applied often to no more than a single dish, has lost its original meaning; and the one remaining point in a dinner of to-day, which marks the beginning of what was once the second service, is to be found in the entrance of the Rôt, which thus, if it survives long enough, may become an archæological curiosity.

In a reconstruction of the past, such as we have here attempted, the chief interest of the picture must necessarily lie in its points of contact with, and difference from, the present. In tracing the successive phases through which the art of cookery has passed during the last five hundred years, we see on the one hand the antiquity of many of the processes with which the modern expert is most familiar, and on the other the increase of susceptibility which the actual nerves of taste have evidently by slow degrees been acquiring. The high-coloured, pungent, and heterogeneous compounds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were as much the products of skilled labour as are the *chefs-d'œuvre* of a modern *cordon bleu*, but the palates of our forefathers, which required to be so coarsely stimulated, must have been obviously less sensitive than our own. In the gradual specialization, both in its mixtures and flavourings, which the cookery of successive generations has undergone, we have probably one instance at least of the indirect effect of general cultivation in rendering particular senses more acute; whilst in local delicacies, still common in out-of-the-way places, in 'safron' buns, 'squab' pies, and highly spiced black puddings, the relics of a once universal taste may still be seen surviving.

ART. V.—*The Glacial Nightmare and the Flood; being a Second Appeal to Common Sense from the Extravagance of some recent Geology.* By Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. 2 vols. London, 1893.

THESE volumes, which are continuously paged, form the second instalment, a third being yet to come, of Sir Henry Howorth's impeachment of what is technically styled the Glacial Theory—that is, the theory of ice-action on a stupendous scale—originally suggested half a century back by an obscure German naturalist, named Schimper, and since elaborated by some of our leading geologists, to account for the phenomena of the great Pleistocene Drift. Of the first portion of his argument, published about six years ago under the title of 'The Mammoth and the Flood,' a notice will be found in the number of this Review for January 1888; and only a brief reference to the earlier work will now be needed to show the connexion with it of the continuation at present before us. The previous dialectic rested on the fossil remains—superficially entombed in enormous quantities over large areas of Northern and Central Europe, Asiatic Siberia, and both divisions of the great American continent—of the gigantic proboscidian Mammals of the Pleistocene age, which in all probability roamed through the valleys and plains contemporaneously with palæolithic man, and with him finally disappeared from the terrestrial scene under the operation of the same causes which produced the Drift. It was urged with great force, that the characters which for the most part distinguish the remains of those ancient elephantoids from the fossils imbedded in earlier and more solid matrices combine to point, not to any slow wasting away and extinction of their race, such as gradual changes of environment might produce, but to some sudden and overwhelming catastrophe, in the form of a mighty flood rushing with resistless force over vast areas of the globe, drowning man and beast, and burying their carcasses in the deposits of boulders, clays, and gravels with which it strewed the devastated earth.

It is obvious, however, that the hypothesis of a flood, whether in a single rush, or in successive waves of translation, of such terrific energy and bulk as to 'sweep with the besom of destruction' nearly half the habitable surface of the globe, cannot satisfactorily rest on the sole witness of a single class of phenomena, even though it be as speaking and suggestive as the appearances presented by the entombed fossil remains. Such an enormous catastrophic torrent, if it ever burst on a doomed world, must
have

have permanently impressed its traces on soil and rock. It must have torn masses of solid material out of their original sites, scored unyielding surfaces with the grinding action of its movement, and swept away the softer covering of many a rounded prominence by its erosive violence. Here it must have filled up depressions and hollows with vast heaps of *débris*, and there spread blankets of gravels, sands, and loamy clays over comparatively level areas of boundless extent. In a word, if the flood-hypothesis be true, evidence for it must be forthcoming from the geological features of the regions over which the waters dashed headlong in their desolating fury, as well as from the fossils entombed in their superficial deposits. It is this geological evidence which the new volumes undertake to gather together and lay before us.

About the bare facts, indeed, on which the induction must rest, there is scarcely any dispute. The great Drift has been searched out and examined, in the various countries where it lies open to the sky, by many hundreds of quick-eyed explorers: it has been described and discussed in as many scientific treatises and occasional papers; its main features have attracted the earnest attention of geologists ever since their science began to take form. Even so far back as the early years of the eighteenth century, before geology in any serious sense was, we find the famous Emanuel Swedenborg publishing his views on one of its most striking characteristics. At the present time it may be safely affirmed that no features of the terrestrial surface are better known than those of the regions which are covered by the Drift. The puzzle is the interpretation. And as our author, in his laudable ambition to 'make his book a fairly complete monograph on the controversies with which it deals,' finds it necessary to work his laborious way through a discussion of the many previous guesses or theories which have been thrown out and contended for as solutions of the problem, before building up his own induction from a survey of the vast mass of ascertained particulars, we cannot be surprised that his scheme overflows even the present volumes, and that corroborations from additional quarters, as well as a crowning discussion of the ultimate cause of the Drift, still stand over for future publication.

But what, it may be asked by the unscientific reader, is this puzzling enigma of the Drift which so strenuously invites yet has hitherto coyly evaded a completely satisfactory solution? In a brief and general manner the Drift may be described, to use our author's words, as a 'superficial mantle of gravel, sand, clay, &c., which covers the ragged and ruined surface of the older

older rocks, and gives to the earth its generally smooth and undulating outline.' These superficial and soft beds, he adds, are incongruous and heterogeneous in structure: they mantle the country irrespective of its contour, and often contain blocks of stone which have travelled hundreds of miles from their original home. This peculiar covering of large portions of the terrestrial surface is certainly of very recent date as measured by geological time; for lying over all the other rock-formations it is obviously the last term of the long series of deposits by which the earth's exterior has been gradually moulded since its condensation into a solid crust. In thickness the Drift varies according to the characteristics of the contours on which it lies; being thinnest generally over the plains, especially near its southern limits, while in localities favourable to the accumulation of the transported material it attains occasionally to the depth of five hundred feet, and even more. In mountainous countries, as for instance in the Scottish Highlands, it is sometimes found climbing the sides of the lesser hills, and crowning their rounded summits. Of all its features, the one most attractive of notice and stimulating to the imagination is the presence on its surface, or slightly imbedded in it, of blocks or boulders of different kinds of stone, varying in size from mere pebbles to great masses weighing thousands of tons, and occasionally occurring in such enormous quantities as to cover many square miles to a considerable depth, and to suggest the bare wreck of a shattered world which has lain bleaching under sunshine and frost for thousands of years.

Of these boulders, whether massed so thickly as to render a district uninhabitable, or scattered at intervals over long reaches of plain, or perched conspicuously on the hill-sides, the general and most peculiar feature is their foreign character—foreign, that is, to the localities where they lie; for by the unerring indication of the material of which they are composed, they may be traced back with absolute certainty to their original sites in localities scores, or even hundreds, of miles away. Nor does the mere fact of distance from their origin exhaust the puzzle of their present locality. Frequently between their source and their actual site lie deep depressions, extensive lakes, obstructing ridges, tortuous valleys, across or through which they must in some way have been borne; and, to complete the marvel, many of them have been finally deposited on the slopes of mountain ranges facing their original elevated homes. Thus, to refer to one of the most familiar instances, vast quantities of granite blocks, torn from the Alpine ranges in the neighbourhood of Mont Blanc, now strew the opposite
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face of the Jura, to the height of 2000 feet above the level of the lake of Geneva. That these erratics, as they have been designated, really belong to and form parts of the Drift is incontestable; for the body of the Drift on which they lie contains, mixed up with its gravel and clays, multitudes of worn fragments of the same kinds of rock, so thoroughly incorporated with it as to testify to a common origin. Whatever force, therefore, carried along and strewed the soft parts of the enveloping Drift over a large portion of the earth's surface, must be credited also with having transported, through long distances and across formidable obstacles, masses of rock whose weight can only be measured in hundreds and even thousands of tons.

But what force, what agency, adequate to the effort, can modern science suggest, when it has turned with a smile from the old popular conceits which gathered round the more conspicuous or curiously balanced of these large boulders or rocking-stones, and associated them with primeval giants or uncanny witches, or numbered them among the freaks of the malign disturber of nature's order? Some of the earlier guesses, which appear to have been begotten of despair of finding any rational solution, may be dismissed at once from serious consideration. No scientific man would now risk his reputation by maintaining that the boulders are aerolites—fragments of some shattered planet hurled down in stony ruin on our globe; or that they were the product of tremendous subterranean or submarine explosions which vomited them forth from the bowels of the tormented earth; or that colossal mud-torrents wrenched them from their native mountain ridges, and by the violence of the impact shot them like gigantic cannon-balls across lakes and valleys till they pitched on the slopes of distant hills, or spread them, like streams of grape-shot, over long stretches of plain. Such guesses were too manifestly mere flights of an excited imagination which had no real grasp on the conditions of the problem to be solved. It was not the promiscuous scattering of a certain amount of rocky masses which had to be explained, but the transport and distribution over the terrestrial surface in an almost uniform direction, varying slightly about a line drawn from north-west to south-east, of enormous quantities of the sediments, gravels, and boulders of which the great Drift is composed.

To soberer and more reasoned thought the first agent which presented itself was water in exceptional movement. To this the sorted and stratified beds of the Drift seemed clearly to point. Hence local river-floods of unusual magnitude, in an
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age when the rivers were probably larger than they are now, were invoked as the desired cause: and when these were felt to be insufficient for the magnitude of the task assigned to them, huge ocean-waves, produced by some unexplained set of the waters southward from the north polar sea, were pressed into the service of the puzzled geologists. But ocean-waves unfortunately have little power of transport, and leave undisturbed everything that lies a few fathoms below the surface; and how they could heave up the erratic blocks and place them on the slopes of mountain ranges was inconceivable. Then the lifting and floating power of ice was brought into the problem; and it was conjectured that the boulders, being encased in a frozen envelope, or caught in icebergs and ice-rafts, may have been buoyed up and borne along on the surface of the swollen currents, till loosed by the melting of the ice they were dropped on the elevated levels where they now lie.

This introduction of ice-action into the solution of the problem gave a new turn to speculation about the origin of the Drift. It was soon ascertained that in countries such as Switzerland where glaciers now exist, they were vastly more numerous and extensive in the Pleistocene age than they are at the present time; and that in countries where they are now absolutely unknown, as Great Britain, they were tolerably plentiful at that period. This extension of the localities occupied by these frozen masses, in the epoch at the close of which our problem emerged, rests partly on the discovery of the ancient moraines, or heaps of stony débris, which each glacier bore along on its surface and accumulated at its lower extremity, and which it left behind for its memorial when it receded or melted away; and partly on the indelible record of the peeled, striated, and polished surfaces of the rocks over which the glaciers slowly ground their way down from their mountain birthplaces into the surrounding valleys and plains. There can be little doubt, to use our author's words, that

'alongside of these glaciers, and in contact with them in all these latitudes, were wide champaign and wooded districts in which the Mammoth and the woolly Rhinoceros were the most prominent animals in North Asia and Europe, the Mammoth and the Mastodon in North America, the Mastodon and the great Sloths in South America, the various species of gigantic Kangaroos and Wombats in Australia, the great wingless birds in New Zealand. They lived and thrived in the near neighbourhood of the antediluvian glaciers, just as the apteryx now thrives in the luxuriant forests near the great glaciers in New Zealand, and just as the tiger and the rhododendron thrive close to the Himalayan glaciers.'

Based on these discoveries of the wide prevalence of enormous glaciers in the temperate zones during the Pleistocene period, there grew up a new theory of the Drift, according to which it was slowly formed in the course of ages by the droppings, so to speak, of these plentiful glaciers, which scraped and ploughed and ground down the surfaces over which they crawled or slid, like colossal ice-pythons. But no sooner had the champions of ice formulated their theory in this shape, than formidable doubts arose as to its sufficiency. Glaciers after all were but local and scattered phenomena, while the Drift covered whole countries. The theory might account for much that occurred in plains and valleys that lay round the feet of the mountain ranges, the slopes of which might well be the nurseries in which glaciers were born and bred; but what about the wide plains of Germany and Russia, or the rolling prairies of North America, many hundred miles distant from any mountain-chain? How, too, about the scraped, polished, and striated surfaces on the very summits of hills, over which it was scarcely possible to imagine that the eroding foot of any glacier had ever passed? How about the great boulders perched on slopes or eminences of such altitude, that if they were borne up thither by a glacier it must have been thousands of feet thick; or if they were floated thither and dropped by ice-rafts on which some glacier had launched them, the intervening country must have been sunk beneath the waters of a deep ocean, of the existence of which at that late epoch of geological time no other trace is left? How also about the carcasses of the great Pleistocene pachyderms, suddenly ingulfed and frozen into the soft bed of the Drift, just as they stood in their massive, clumsy strength, as if caught by the rush of an overwhelming flood? So it soon was brought home convincingly to the minds of even the most ardent advocates of ice-action that something more than isolated glaciers, however numerous, must be invoked; and then the happy thought flashed into their perplexed brains, Why not for *glaciers* substitute *glacier*? Why not suppose one tremendous ice-sheet to have been formed over the northern hemisphere, and another over the southern, and thus bring together all the sporadic evidences of ice-action in a portentous glacial age, by which the greater part of the earth was desolated for some hundred or two of millennia?

Thus grew to its maturity what our author satirically, but perhaps with an unwise provocativeness, brands as the 'Glacial nightmare.' The following account of it by one of its most strenuous elaborators, the celebrated Agassiz, will bring it forcibly before the reader's imagination:—

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'The earth had already assumed its present contour, with the exception, perhaps, of the principal range of the Alpine chain, and of the mountains which rose simultaneously with it. . . . Then numbness seized the light "sailors of the atmosphere," the clouds and vapours; icy winds drove them in a solid form to the earth, and like a huge winding-sheet they enveloped the polar regions, the north of Europe and of Asia. The British Islands, Sweden, Norway and Russia, Germany and France, the mountainous regions of the Tyrol and Switzerland, together with the continent of Northern Asia, formed undoubtedly but one ice-field, whose southern limits investigation has not yet determined. And as on the eastern hemisphere, so also on the western, over the whole continent of North America, there extended a similar plain of ice, the boundaries of which are in like manner still unascertained. The polar ice which at the present day covers the miserable regions of Spitzbergen, Greenland and Siberia, extended far into the temperate zones of both hemispheres, leaving probably but a broader or narrower belt around the equator, upon which there were constantly developed aqueous vapours, which again condensed at the poles; nay, if Tschudi's observations in the Cordilleras and Newbold's at Seringapatam shall be confirmed, and to these we may subjoin those made by earlier travellers upon the Atlas and Lebanon chains, the whole surface of the earth was, according to all probability, for a time one uninterrupted surface of ice, from which projected only the highest mountain ridges covered with eternal snow.' (*Edinburgh Phil. Journal*, 1843.)

So much for the ice-sheet over the land. If now we turn to a later writer of great scientific eminence, Mr. Croll, we learn how the theory extends also to the water surface of the globe. Speaking of the so-called Glacial age, he says:

"All the northern seas, owing to their shallowness, must at that period have been blocked up with solid ice, which displaced the water, and moved along the sea-bottoms the same as on dry land. In fact the northern seas, including the German Ocean, being filled at the time with glacier-ice, might be regarded as dry land."

And afterwards, warming to the play of the scientific imagination, and almost trembling at his own audacity, he exclaims:

'Is it possible that the entire Atlantic, from Scandinavia to Greenland, was filled with land ice? Astounding as this may at first appear, there are several considerations which render such a conclusion probable.' (*Climate and Time*, 1875.)

How the idea of the two great ice-sheets, the northern and the southern, was worked out by English and American geologists when once it had taken possession of their minds, we find clearly displayed in the numerous passages from their writings which Sir Henry Howorth lays before us. The primary step
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in the development of the reign of ice was supposed to be a long succession of inordinately heavy falls of snow, year after year, round about the earth's poles, such as no summer heats could materially reduce or check, until stupendous frozen caps were produced over the circumpolar regions, some fifteen or twenty thousand feet thick. These, it was urged, would form the heads from which the respective ice-sheets would proceed and glide over the surrounding surfaces towards the equator, just as the snows which fall on an Alpine crest originate the glaciers that creep down its lower slopes. For the immense and unrelenting pressure of the polar snows, as they were accumulated to that portentous thickness, would necessarily—so it was calculated—not only convert all the subjacent portions into an enormous mountain of solid ice, but also thrust them outwards on all sides, and press them onwards with an irresistible impulse in the form of an expanding ice-sheet, several thousands of feet in thickness. On and on, according to the hypothesis, the precipitous edges of this frozen ocean would spread and travel under the transmitted pressure, mowing down the forests, ploughing up the plains, choking up the valleys, tearing and grinding the surfaces of the lower hills, scooping out beds for new lakes, crushing out animal life, submerging everything terrestrial within their range except the summits of the loftiest eminences. Century after century, millennium after millennium, would the desolating march be continued, the frozen flood only shallowing from exhaustion as it neared the tropical zone, until some change in the balance of heat and cold arrested the exuberant snow-falls, and allowed a warmer atmosphere to gain a slow victory over the tyranny of frost. Meanwhile, to complete the picture, it was suggested that the upper surface of these awful ice-sheets would probably, in the lapse of ages, become covered in many parts with enough rubbish and soil to render it habitable; and if primitive man were led by curiosity or the pinch of a precarious existence to venture out from his equatorial habitat and explore new tracts of country, he might have built his rude huts and gathered his scanty sustenance on some promising spot of the accumulated débris, unaware that he had pitched his dwelling on the top of an ice-sheet extending thousands of feet below him, which was slowly gliding onwards and bearing his settlement back towards his native home!

Such, in brief generalities, was the nature and method of the Glacial age, called into hypothetical existence to explain the phenomena of the Drift. That the theory is a startling one cannot be denied—even its authors were conscious of its apparent improbability; and it is obviously open to plausible impeachment

ment at almost every point and every step of its construction. There is the primary question, whether under the existing constitution of the solar system the formation of the assumed polar snow-caps was physically possible; for if not, then the whole theory collapses. But here it is not only 'le premier pas qui coûte.' Granted the growth of the snow-caps, there is the further question whether any outward pressure which the mountainous ice-mass produced by them could exert would have been competent to impel for thousands of miles, alike over plains and valleys and hills, the tremendous frozen sheets which they are credited with having originated, and started on their desolating journey. Once more, supposing that neither the originating snow-caps nor the pressure-driven ice-sheets were outside the sphere of the physically possible, it would still remain to be examined whether the phenomena of the Drift as a whole can really be accounted for by any such action of ice upon the earth's surface. These are the questions which our author sets himself to discuss at great length, and to answer with as many negatives; what we have now to do is to show how he deals with them.

The initial difficulty of the theory centres in the formation of the enormous polar snow-caps postulated by it. They presuppose abnormally great falls of snow: but excessive snow-fall presupposes excessive evaporation from the oceans to form the clouds from which the snow falls; and excessive evaporation presupposes excessive heat. Hence it is clear that no general lowering of the earth's temperature could produce the polar snow-caps, or give rise to the Glacial age of the theory. A thoroughly glaciated world would be a thoroughly snowless world. Any climate which could produce the polar snow-caps must be a climate in which great heat alternated with great cold, or prevailed contemporaneously with it in different regions of the earth's surface. This obvious fact disposes at once of the relevancy of several hypotheses invented by speculative physicists to show how the earth's general or mean temperature may for a time have been greatly lowered, under the impression that this was equivalent to proving the possibility of the so-called Glacial age. Some, for instance, have invoked, as an adequate cause, a decrease by radiation of the internal heat of the earth attended by a corresponding effect on the climate; forgetting that if they were justified in ascribing the triumph of frost to that process, we ought still to be suffering under the severities of an epoch of ice; for any subsequent renewal of the earth's internal heat, so as to bring about a return to a genial climate, is out of the question. Equally idle are the

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hypotheses that the sun may have appreciably cooled down, at least for a time; or that the solar system in its secular movement in space may for ages have been passing through an abnormally frigid region of the universe; or that a cosmic period may have occurred, during which vast clouds of meteoric bodies may have permanently obscured the sun and intercepted a considerable fraction of his heat; or that the capacity of our atmosphere for transmitting the sun's heat-rays may for many thousands of years have been seriously diminished by some unknown cause. That such changes as these in our physical environment ever came about there is not the slightest evidence: they are but the random guesses of ignorance. But even had they happened, and had curtailed for a time the supply of heat, they would not, as we have already seen, bring us in the smallest degree nearer to the complex phenomena of the Glacial age.

What is wanted is of a very different kind. Not an alteration in the amount of the earth's supply of heat from the sun; but such a modification of the ordinary distribution of it through the seasons as would, for some long cosmical period, have added to the total amount of evaporation on the one hand, and thus provided the circumpolar regions with an abnormally large supply of snow, while on the other it diminished the power of the polar summers to get rid of it. A balance of snow might thus have been provided every year towards building up at each pole, in the lapse of centuries, a sufficiently high and extended frozen protuberance or mountainous ice-cap, to start and feed the postulated ice-sheets. Such a cosmical shifting of the earth's climatic conditions is the desideratum; but before it can be accepted as the probable characteristic of a long-past age, some cause adequate to its production needs to be discovered. Here then emerges the first puzzle of the Glacial theory.

In seeking a solution of it attention has been attracted to the familiar fact, that fossil remains of tropical plants and animals have been abundantly met with in temperate and even Arctic latitudes; and conversely that similar remains of an Arctic type occur far to the south of their present habitat. A tempting explanation of this fact has been found in the conjecture that the axis round which the earth spins in its daily round may have considerably shifted its position within the terrestrial mass; and that long ago, in the Glacial age, our globe may have been rotating round an axis which pierced its surface many degrees distant from the present poles. By such a *shifting* of the axis of rotation, supposing it possible, great changes

changes of climate could obviously be produced; regions which once were Arctic might have become temperate, and regions which were temperate might have become tropical; on the other hand those which had once been tropical or temperate would have found themselves nearer to the *foci* of intense frost. But when such a change of the earth's axis of rotation is brought to the test of mathematical physics, it appears to be absolutely chimerical. If we realize to ourselves how enormous is the rotatory momentum of the globe as it spins with a velocity that carries round the equatorial surface more than a thousand miles in every hour, it soon becomes evident that any force which could arrest that movement and substitute for it rotation round a different axis, even a few degrees distant, would be likely to dislocate and shatter a large area of the earth's surface,—a catastrophe which has certainly never happened at so late a period in the earth's history as that to which the ice-age is assigned. Besides, as a shifting of the axis implies a shifting of the centre of gravity, and that implies the piling up of a considerable portion of the earth's mass in a new position, so as to overbalance the equatorial protuberance which is inseparably connected with the spin round the present axis, we should have to postulate an upheaval and subsequent depression, through many thousands of feet, of a vast continental area,—a phenomenon that is scarcely conceivable, and certainly cannot have occurred at the required epoch. Moreover, no appreciable shifting of the axis of rotation is reconcilable with the testimony of the fossil remains. When the climate-marks as vouched for by the fossils have been carefully dotted down on a globe or map both in the northern and southern hemispheres, it has been found impracticable to pick out new positions for the poles in harmony with the climatic indications. If one pole is steered into a new locality where a cold gap seems to be left for it, the new Arctic circle is sure to cut into a region which instead of being of an Arctic character, as it ought to be, must at the epoch in question have been at least semi-tropical; and the pole at the other extremity of the new axis finds itself equally transferred to some region which must have been a locality of high temperature. The result of such experiments to discover a suitable resting-place for a new axis of rotation, as regards the northern pole, is amusingly expressed in the following extract quoted by our author from a paper contributed to the '*Geological Magazine*' by Professor Haughton:—

'My contention in brief is that the tertiary plant-remains, indicating a climate similar to that of Lombardy, are so situated round the north pole that no possible change in the position of that pole (even
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were such permitted by mechanical considerations) would give them the climatic conditions as to temperature which they require. . . . I claim to have surrounded the north pole with such a network of Lombardic plants, requiring Lombardic heat but not Lombardic light, as to render the escape of the pole from its present position as difficult as that of "a rat in a trap surrounded by terriers." ('*Geol. Mag.*' 1875.)

The hypothesis of a new but temporary axis of the earth's rotation having been found untenable, our resolute glacialists in their search for a cause have appealed to those small secular variations in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and in the obliquity of its axis to the ecliptic, which are due to the perturbations caused by planetary attraction; and also to the tilt of the equator under the pull of the sun and moon on the earth's equatorial protuberance, which gives rise to what is called the precession of the equinoxes,—a cycle of change accomplishing its round in twenty-one thousand years. Concerning the effect which these slow secular variations may, in certain conjunctures, produce upon the terrestrial climates, our physicists are far from being in agreement with each other; and the subject is a very intricate one, quite unfitted for discussion in these pages. We can only say that out of the conflict of arguments one conclusion, and that a very important one for our present inquiry, seems to emerge as certain; which is, that the total annual heat received by our globe from the sun remains the same under all circumstances, and that the sole climatic change due to the causes above enumerated is a slight variability in the distribution of the heat as between summer and winter. But the transference of a few days from one season to the other appears to be a very insufficient basis on which to rear the hypothesis of the perennial polar snow-caps; and as a set-off against the cumulative effect which any small prolongation of either season might be supposed to produce on the polar snows, there is the consideration well expressed by our author in the subjoined passage:—

"Inasmuch as all parts of each hemisphere would share in the changes of temperature simultaneously, it follows that while the equator was made hotter in summer, so would the polar area; and if this change tended to increase evaporation at one end of the machine, it would also impair the efficiency of the condenser at the other end by making it warmer. On the other hand, while the condenser was made more efficient in winter by being made colder, the increment of cold would extend also to those regions where the vapour was being made, and thus diminish the evaporation; so that these would be a *compensation* all round."

In addition to these difficulties which encumber the snow-cap theory, another arises from the noticeable fact that the vapour-charged clouds raised over the tropical oceans, and travelling northwards and southwards respectively, are not able to carry their moisture so far as the poles, to deposit it there in the form of snow, but are compelled by the rapid decrease of temperature in the higher latitudes to part with it much earlier in their course. The great falls of snow are found to occur, not at the poles nor very near them, but in latitudes distant by fifteen or twenty degrees from the poles, leaving the more immediate circumpolar regions comparatively open and free; the result, so far as it can be ascertained, being that no more snow falls within those regions during any winter than can be melted by the long day of the succeeding polar summer. What the polar sun can accomplish in the way of snow-melting may be learnt from the fact that the snow which yearly accumulates to an average depth of six feet on the Siberian tundras in the neighbourhood of Yakutsk, where the coldest winters in the inhabited world are found, always disappears completely in a few days beneath the summer sun.

Summing up, then, all that has been urged both for and against the postulated polar snow-caps, our author seems to us to be justified in coming to the conclusion that very serious doubt still hangs over the possibility of their formation, the relations of the earth and sun being what they are. But granting now that the doubt were given in their favour, and further that the two polar regions did actually become covered with snow and ice to the depth of some twenty thousand feet or thereabouts as the glacialists suggest, we have still to inquire whether we are brought any nearer to the realization of the tremendous ice-sheets, which are supposed to have irresistibly and remorselessly crept forth from those mighty reservoirs of frost, to lie like a desolating incubus over a large part of both terrestrial hemispheres. Here the crucial consideration is the law of ice-movement in large masses, and to ascertain this recourse must be had to the phenomena of existing glaciers. These frozen rivers, as they have been called, certainly move slowly down the mountain slopes in such ravines or other channels as are accessible to them; and careful observation has shown that their motion is not uniform throughout as of an absolutely rigid mass, but is somewhat quicker in the centre than at the sides, and in the upper part than at the bottom, so that the superior portions slide slowly over the lower, and the central mass slides past the outer portions which are in contact with the adjacent rocks. But why do they move, and move in
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this particular way? Many have been the answers propounded, some depending on the expansive power of heat, others on the dilatation of water in freezing, others again on the familiar force of gravity. Of all these attempts at explanation our author gives a detailed and interesting account, leading up to this conclusion:—That the view which after long years of observation and experiment has won general acceptance represents a glacier as a semi-solid, partially viscous body, which, although its separate portions are rigid and brittle, and fracture under tension, yet as a whole is more or less plastic in proportion to the temperature and the quantity of water infiltrated through it, and therefore moves downwards by its own weight, as all plastic masses tend downwards on sloping surfaces; but unequally in different parts, owing to the retarding effects of friction on the portions in contact with its rocky bed and flanks. The consequence of this downward motion under the impulse of gravity is that the general movement of the glacier varies in rapidity according to the degree of the slope over which its course lies. While the slope remains steep, as it usually is at first, the more rapid movement carries down the ice before it can accumulate to any great depth, and this part of the glacier is thin or shallow. When the descent is checked by the slope becoming more moderate, the ice is pressed together and pushed up in great masses, and the glacier becomes thick and crested with pinnacles. If the slope becomes steeper again, the ice as it streams over the edge cracks and is torn asunder so as to produce deep crevasses. Lastly, when the glacier reaches the bottom of the valley or ravine and can descend no lower, the motion, though it may be continued for a short distance over a level surface through the impulse from behind, soon dies away and the lower extremity comes to rest.

Now if the action attributed by our glacialists to the supposed polar ice-mountains, in producing and impelling forwards the ice-sheets of their theory, is compared with the ascertained action of ice in modern glaciers, the contrast is very marked. For here there is no question of the ice sliding by its own weight down descending slopes. The impelling pressure is derived from the colossal ice-heap at its origin, ever renewed by the superabundant snows; and this pressure, to fulfil the function assigned to it, must act horizontally and travel not merely hundreds but thousands of miles through the ice-field as it lengthens out, and not only push the brittle mass across vast level plains but up lofty ascending slopes; nay more, must compel it, as it passes between the feet of contiguous mountains, to plough out lake beds scores of fathoms deep, and crawl
upwards

upwards again from their lower ends to pursue its irresistible career. It will be observed that whereas in the glacier the force of gravity causes the movement, in the ice-sheet the same force retards it. The enormous weight of the frozen sheet, taken at only a mile in thickness, would make an almost incalculable pressure necessary to force it on in spite of friction even over level ground, to say nothing of upward slopes; and it is as certain as anything physical outside of actual experience can be, that such pressure, instead of propelling the congelated mass, would simply crush it up and destroy it. The only forward movement of the ice within the range of experience would be the slow sliding of the upper portion over the lower, which remained immovably rooted to the ground. But this, though it might produce a limited extension of the ice near the polar cap, would entirely fail to satisfy the problem. For the hypothetical construction of the Glacial epoch rests mainly on the supposed evidences of the scratching, denuding, erosive action of the ice-sheet, as its bottom under intense pressure ground over the terrestrial surface, leaving behind pervading tokens of its work, to be laid bare when the ice-age had passed away. But discard the grinding motion of the whole frozen incubus over the earth's rocks and soils as something beyond explanation, leaving only the sliding of the upper portions over the lower, and the very marks and tokens which the theory is invented to explain would never have come into existence. We say 'beyond explanation,' because a sufficient upheaval of the circumpolar regions to give the ice-sheets an uninterrupted descent as they moved towards the equator, is beyond the reach of the scientific imagination, unduly vigorous as that faculty sometimes evinces itself to be.

An appeal, indeed, from such theoretical objections as the above has been made to the frozen covering which lies over the greater part of Greenland, and of the southern lands within the Antarctic circle. Here, it has been urged, are actually existing ice-sheets of profound thickness covering the surface of the land, and thrusting ice-streams and icebergs into the surrounding ocean. No doubt the appeal would be pertinent if those ice-covered lands were low-lying levels on which the ice was piled up in mountainous masses. But that supposition is opposed to all the evidence we possess. 'Greenland's icy mountains' are not mountains of ice, but mountains of rock mantled partially with a frozen envelope moulded to their contours, and creeping down from them glacier-like by the force of gravity. So also earlier explorers of the Antarctic regions have told us that although the mountains there appeared, as far as could be observed, to be of spotless white, unbroken by protruding

protruding rocky peaks or hummocks, and in that respect unlike the better-known Greenland scenery, yet 'the irregularities of the surface, the numerous conical protuberances and inferior eminences, and the deeply marked valleys' showed plainly that it was not on literal mountains of ice that the spectator was looking, but on snow-sheets moulded by the elevated terrestrial surfaces on which they lie. That even there rocky peaks must exist, lifting their heads above the eternal snows, appeared from the fact that the enormous icebergs which float away into the ocean from the surrounding glaciers frequently carry, lying on their surface or partially imbedded in them, rocky boulders and frozen mud, which could only have fallen from uncovered peaks rising above the snow, just as the *débris* falls which forms the moraines of Alpine glaciers. Of the correctness of this inference direct testimony has lately come to hand; for among the notes of an Antarctic voyage of 1892-3, communicated to the meeting of the British Association at Nottingham last September, we find the following record:—

'Danger Islets were sighted and passed on December 23, and on Christmas Eve we were in the position Ross occupied on New Year's Day, 1843. Until the middle of February we remained roughly between 62° S. and 64° 40' S., and 52° and 57° W., the western limit being Terre Louis Philippe and Joinville's Land. All the land seen was entirely snowclad, except on the steepest slopes, which were of black, apparently igneous, rocks. The few specimens of rocks obtained from the ice and from the stomachs of penguins bear this out; Professor James Geikie finding olivine, basalt, basalt lava, and possibly gabbro among them. . . . On January 12 we saw what appeared to be high mountainous land and glaciers stretching from about 54° 25' S. 59° 10' W. to about 65° 30' S. 58° 00' W., which, I believe, may have been the eastern coast of Graham's Land, which has not been seen before.'

There is, indeed, one sense in which the appeal to Greenland is pertinent, but its cogency is exerted in the opposite direction. It brings into relief the failing and extinction of the pushing and eroding power of ice when once it has reached the bottom of the declivity down which its weight has carried it. A crucial instance of this, worth any amount of conjectural theories, is adduced by our author in the following passage:—

'The glacier north of Frederichshaab is fifteen miles broad. It has made no fiord and launches no icebergs, and for this reason it has brought down a lot of loose material to a reefy coast, and formed a beach at its base; and this great ice-power which we are asked to believe has excavated fiords in granitic rocks, 100 miles long and 3000 or 4000 feet in depth, is overcome by loose *débris* and sand. *Why does it not cut its way through these, by far the easier task?*'

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Upon the whole, then, we feel constrained to allow great force to the physical objections urged by our author against the stupendous and devastating ice-sheets demanded by the Glacial theory. To the sober imagination, chastened by contact with facts and realities, is there not, we ask ourselves, something staggering in the idea that any possible accumulations of snow could have originated them, or any conceivable pressure could have forced them onwards for thousands of miles, not only across plains but even over mountain barriers, and have compelled them to scoop out deep beds for lakes and fiords, at the same time with a delicate discrimination leaving isolated prominences to form the islands of the future? Can we quarrel with our author for applying to them his favourite reproach of being 'transcendental,' as opposed to 'verifiable by experience'? Yet even if we could surmount the impression of unreality which the hypothesis of such ice-sheets begets, we have to bear in mind that the grounds and materials of our author's polemic are not yet exhausted. It still needs to be shown that the ice-sheets of the Glacial theory, granting both their existence and their assigned modes of action, are capable of explaining the phenomena of the Drift: and what he has to urge against this part of the theory must now be briefly considered.

His first objection rests upon the limitation of the area over which the appearances of ice-action, other than local, can be plausibly said to extend. After discussing the evidences furnished by the southern hemisphere, he arrives at the conclusion that while the South American and Australasian continents exhibit abundant tokens of the work of local glaciers, in carrying boulders, forming moraines, and polishing and striating rock-surfaces, they do not present any trustworthy indications of such unbroken glaciation as the theory of the ice-age postulates. Turning to the northern hemisphere, he deduces from a survey of the existing land-surface that all across Northern Asia, and throughout that part of North America which is west of Hudson's Bay—that is, through half of the circumpolar region—the phenomena relied upon to prove the existence of a true Glacial age are entirely absent. Thus the only areas that appear to be left for the hypothetical ice-sheets are comprised in Northern Europe and Eastern North America. But if there were really ice-sheets propelled from the poles by the enormous pressure of accumulated snows, this very partial and unsymmetrical distribution of the witness to their existence seems to be inexplicable.

Two other objections of a more local kind are based respectively on two comparatively minute but speaking facts. The first

first is that in a considerable section of the upper or northern parts of the Drift-region the direction of the ice-scratches on the rocks and of the transport of the boulders is not southwards, as by the theory it ought to be, but on the whole towards the north. The second is that in places over which the ice-sheet, if it existed at all, must have passed and sheared off effectually every fragile or slender prominence, there are found, still standing intact, lofty weathered pinnacles of ancient rock-formations, making (as it were) a silent protest against the Glacial hypothesis.

Again, the work assigned to the ice-sheet in forming and distributing the Drift is shown to be contrary to our experience of the action of ice. Glaciers, like porters, carry their loads on their shoulders; but the ice-sheet is required to roll along its boulders beneath its feet, as there is no source from which they can be derived other than the earth-surface over which the frozen monster is grinding its path. The only deposit, besides the stones and gravels from its upper surface, which a glacier is known to make, is what is called glacier flour or mud, being a fine sediment formed by the rubbing of its foot on the rocks over which its unwieldy mass glides, and the rounding by friction of the stones which are carried along by it after they have fallen into its crevasses. But what the ice-sheet is credited with doing is the carrying along beneath itself of pulverized and soft materials sufficient to cover whole countries with gravels and clays, to the depth sometimes of hundreds of feet, and frequently arranging these materials in continuous and sorted beds, notwithstanding that it is supposed to be eroding and ploughing deep into the surfaces over which it forces its way. The question surely is a pertinent one which our author asks: 'If an ice-sheet is an eroding instrument, pressing with enormous weight on its bed, polishing and striating it, how can it at the same time deposit a layer of soft *débris* under its foot?'

Once more, the hypothesis of a long Glacial age, whether intercalated or not with milder intervals, is said to be contradicted by the fossil remains of the Drift, which are inconsistent with such a low temperature as the ice-sheets demand. This is an argument of such detail that we cannot attempt to present it here even in the merest outline, but we may connect it with another interesting point in the discussion. The Glacial theory, it will be remembered, so far as it concerns the formation of the Pleistocene Drift, is based potentially on the supposed consequences of a peculiar combination or coincidence of the *maxima* or *minima* of certain variable elements in the *earth's position* as it circles round the sun. Now, the Drift belongs

belongs to the very latest epoch of geological chronology; and by the sure witness of the strata we know that the process of clothing and peopling the earth with the successive forms of vegetable and animal life had been going on for countless previous ages, compared with which the eighty thousand years that are supposed to have passed away since the ice-sheets disappeared are almost insignificant. During that enormous lapse of time the combination of epochs on which a Glacial age is said to depend must have occurred at least several times over. Hence, if the theory is valid, other Glacial ages must have at long intervals preceded that of the Drift period, and left their traces engraved on the earth's rocky tablets. But when search is made in the earlier formations for evidences of such foregoing Glacial epochs, they are not forthcoming. As our author remarks:—

‘Let us remember what kind of evidence we ought to have, if we are to believe in a recurrence of such conditions as are evidenced by the Drift phenomena. These phenomena need no microscope to discover them. They are among the most stupendous and the most cosmopolitan monuments furnished by geology. Within the geographical limits of the Drift phenomena we can hardly examine a rood of ground without finding traces of them, either in the striated boulders, scratched rocks, clays, muds, or in the animal remains. They are present everywhere, and most of them are among the most indestructible of witnesses. Where can we find at any earlier geological horizon facts to parallel these? The earth has been diligently searched for them, but with the exception of a few uncertain and sporadic and dubious cases of the occurrence of some boulders in old conglomerates, which are compatible with other explanations, where are we to look for evidence? What a strange thing is this! If the so-called Glacial age has been a recurring one in all geological time, assuredly we ought to find at every horizon not merely evidence, but unmistakable proof. We have not to do with fragile materials which could be destroyed by denudation, but with tough boulders, with rounded land-surfaces on crystalline rocks, &c. &c. Nowhere, except in the very local instances to be presently referred to, is this forthcoming, but the contrary. The evidence of the animal and vegetable *débris* again, of which we have so much from every horizon, is perfectly consistent with that of the lithology, and consistent in protesting against a theory which makes so many demands on our credulity.’

It may be added that the fossil remains of the anterior ages, when submitted to a general scrutiny, lead to the conclusion that the earth's climate uninterruptedly throughout those ages was warmer than it has been since the Drift epoch, and that plants and animals belonging to orders which are now confined

to tropical or semi-tropical regions found a congenial habitat in most parts of the world between the Arctic and Antarctic circles. This fact and its bearing on the controversy cannot be expressed more tersely, yet forcibly, than it is in the following passage quoted by our author from Professor Le Conte's 'Elements of Geology':—

'Of the recurrence of many Glacial epochs in the history of the earth there is as yet no reliable evidence, but much evidence to the contrary. It is true that what seem to be glacial drifts with scored boulders, &c., have been found on several geological horizons; but these are usually in the vicinity of lofty mountains, and are probably therefore evidence of local glaciation, not of a Glacial period. On the other hand, all the evidence derived from fossils plainly indicates warm climates, even in polar regions, during all geological periods until the Quaternary. The evidence at present therefore is overwhelmingly in favour of the uniqueness of the Glacial epoch. This fact is the great objection to Croll's theory.'

Having followed our author's destructive polemic thus far, we must avow our conviction that he has succeeded in proving at least this—that the glacial explanation of the Drift bristles with very great difficulties, of which no adequate solution is as yet forthcoming. When tested either by astronomical or physical science, or by the records of climate and vital statistics engraved on the earth's surface, it seems to break down more or less at each critical point. Whether the difficulties are absolutely insuperable, or may some day yield to further investigation, may perhaps be a reasonable matter of opinion; what we mean is that for the present the balance of probability appears to be distinctly adverse to the theory. The history of the controversies through which the modern conception of the 'Great Ice-age' has been elaborated points to the same conclusion, for it is a history of internecine war among its advocates. No sooner did one master of science adventure an hypothesis in its support, than another equally qualified found it necessary to insist on a material modification of that hypothesis, and a third rushing into the fray dismissed with scarcely concealed contempt both the original and the modification. The one point of agreement was the assertion that somehow, in a time comparatively recent, there must have been a protracted reign of ice over the greater part of the globe: but why it occurred, or having occurred ever came to end; what was its *modus operandi*, its extent, its precise relation to the Drift,—these were questions to which those who sat at the feet of the doctors vainly sought an accepted answer. And so long as such questions as these remain in this unsatisfactory state, we cannot help thinking that the theory of a great ice-age

ice-age rests on a precarious basis. Of course, we are ready to allow that if the theory, however far from being sufficiently supported by the available evidence, held the field alone, without any rival with which it could be confronted, it would, notwithstanding its difficulties, be justly entitled to a certain degree of provisional acceptance. But that is not the position in which it stands. It has a rival, and a formidable one. What our author has been working up to, all through his voluminous discussion, is the proposal of a counter-theory, for which he claims a superior probability, because it adequately accounts for the phenomena of the Drift, and is not open to objection either from an astronomical or mechanical point of view. For ice-sheets he substitutes a rushing flood of waters. Not a Glacial age, but an epoch of catastrophic inundation, is the device on his banner.

Our space will not permit us to say much on this positive or constructive part of his contention, which is introduced at the close of the present volumes and awaits further elucidation; to notice a few salient points is all we can attempt. First, he claims for his view that in its main substance it is a reversion to the conclusions of the earlier school of English geologists, such as Conybeare, Sedgwick, Murchison, and Phillips, who attributed the formation of the Drift to the agency of water, although, as he remarks, 'their views were in some cases sophisticated by an appeal to untenable postulates.' Secondly, he claims to have established in his former work, 'The Mammoth and the Flood,' the necessity of postulating the devastating sweep of an overwhelming torrent of waters to account for the entombment of the great pachyderms in continuous layers of loam and gravel over large areas of the globe; so that the extension of the agency of this paroxysmal flood to account for other features of the Drift is, *à priori*, probable and reasonable. Thirdly, he contends that the numerous and gigantic glaciers of the Pleistocene age were an amply sufficient cause of the various tokens of ice-action found scattered about the Drift region in the neighbourhood of mountains, without calling into play the portentous ice-sheets of the theory which he controverts. And, fourthly, that the more closely the Drift is examined, the more convincing becomes the evidence that its distribution is mainly due to flood-action. It is under this last division of his argument that the most efficient supports of his hypothesis are collected, and these we shall endeavour very briefly to summarize. They may be ranged under two classes—those which pertain to the form of the Drift, and those which concern its substance and contents.

First,

First, as to the form of this remarkable envelope of the older formations. Its margins—that is, its limiting outlines or fringes in flat countries partially covered by it—do not approximate to straight or slightly waving lines, but are very irregularly and deeply curved and indented, being in some parts retracted towards the north, in others extended in long lobes and projections towards the south. They forcibly suggest a widespread flow of water southwards, meeting with obstacles and checks as its volume and momentum decreased, so that it shallowed off and ceased to advance in some places sooner than in others, and left a deeply indented margin at its southern extremities. Another indication of flood-action is furnished by the excessive thickness of the Drift at the heads of valleys, and by the lateral terraces which occasionally remain to mark its superior limits. It is difficult to ascribe these phenomena to any other agency than that of rushing waters carrying a load of gravel and sediment to great heights, as they were narrowed in and raised by the sides and bottoms of the valleys up which their momentum forced them. A like inference may be drawn from the ‘great contortions and swirling curves’ in which the Drift is occasionally found to lie upon undisturbed horizontal beds, owing apparently to the eddies of a turbid flood while in violent but temporary motion. Further evidence is found in the occurrence, in regions where the Drift is shallowing, of moderately elevated areas or table-lands entirely bare of it but surrounded by its deposits on all sides; such islands, so to call them, being just what would be expected from the movement of an inundating flood when the impelling force was more or less exhausted. Other marks of water-agency might be added; but we must be content with referring to the frequent bedding of the Drift in stratified and sorted layers over smooth or gently undulating contours. There is no resemblance to these in glacier deposits, which are mere confused aggregations of débris, destitute of any traces of stratification or orderly arrangement. The ‘delicate handling of soft-fingered water’ can alone account for them.

When we advance to the substance and contents of the Drift, the inference drawn from its form is strongly corroborated. It is chiefly composed of gravels, abounding in pebbles smoothed and rounded by the friction of water-transport; of sands, the grains of which exhibit the rubbed and worn surfaces which being tossed about by water produces; and of clays, deposited as sediment from a turbid flood. Scattered among these substances, and often heaped together in large quantities, occur
both

both marine and fresh-water shells, and fossil remains of the Pleistocene mammals, both of the land and water. The confused mixture of these objects in heterogeneous groups, the preservation from fracture of a vast quantity of even the most fragile of them, and the occurrence of the marine specimens chiefly in the marine districts, all point more or less definitely to the work of flowing water, picking up indiscriminately whatever loose material lay in its course, and lightly dropping its burden at the points where its current was arrested or checked. As our author remarks, 'Assuredly nothing but rushing water, whose gentleness in carrying fragile objects without breaking them, even when moving at a tremendous rate, has often been remarked, can explain all this.'

The case of the boulders remains to be considered. Their countless numbers, the enormous size and weight of many of them, the distances to which they have been transported, the elevations to which they have been lifted, confessedly strain the flood-theory to the utmost. They are its veritable crux. This much, however, may be said about them, that if only we could rely on the impetus of a tumultuous, paroxysmal rush of water as mechanically sufficient to carry them along, then the distribution of them, after deducting what may be due to ice-transport, would be found in harmony with such a cause of it. The direction in which they have travelled is tolerably constant within such limits as a flood coming from the north-west would naturally be confined to, as it impinged against the slopes of mountains, roared through winding valleys, flung its rioting waves over the summits of hills, or spread out over vast stretches of fair champaign. The most massive and the least worn and rounded of the boulders are generally found nearer to their sources than those which are lighter or more rubbed and polished, and the number gradually decreases as the margins of the Drift are approached; both features of distribution indicating deposit by water. They often lie thick under the lee of high slopes where the waters, checked and shallowed, would be compelled to drop their loads. They are found perched in curious upright positions, with the heavier ends lowest, and sometimes in the delicate equilibrium of rocking-stones, as if they had been buoyed up by enveloping water while being stranded. They are plentiful in some of the hottest tropical regions, where conveyance by ice is out of the question. On the whole, then, it is easy to reconcile their distribution, when not otherwise accounted for, with the theory of water-transport, if the mechanical difficulty can be overcome. The only
remaining

remaining question is this,—whether any flood that can be reasonably postulated would have been a sufficiently powerful agent to carry and place them.

On this problem some of our leading physicists have tried their hands. The calculation is necessarily vague and tentative, but so far as it has been worked out it seems to lead to this result, that the upheaval of the bottom of a considerable sea, not greater in area or height than many upheavals in which geologists believe, might have propelled gigantic waves of translation across a large segment of the earth's surface with sufficient violence to produce all the phenomena of the boulders of the Drift for which ice-action cannot account. Perhaps more to the purpose are the observed effects of torrential floods in transporting débris of all kinds, including great masses of iron and stone. Many leading examples of the havoc wrought by such floods have been adduced by our author at the close of his argument, and they certainly show with surprising emphasis the power of even small local rushes of water to sweep away every obstacle in their path, and scatter ruin far and wide. What then may not have been the rending and transporting capacities of a paroxysmal flood, deep and swift enough to stream with overwhelming violence across half the globe?

In conclusion, we venture to record the opinion that in his treatment of the rival claims of ice and of water, as to which was the chief factor in producing the great Drift at the close of the Pleistocene epoch, our author has succeeded in shifting the balance of probability, and transferring it to the action of the latter. Nor are we ashamed to confess that we heartily welcome this turn of the table, since it lightens the prospects of our race, and renders less likely the occurrence of another Glacial age to crush out of existence all modern civilization, and throw back the world of humanity into the frightful barbarism of our cave-dwelling ancestors.

- ART. VI.—1. *Catulli Veronensis Liber and A Commentary on Catullus*. By Robinson Ellis, M.A. Oxford, 1878.
 2. *The Poems and Fragments of Catullus translated into the Metres of the Original*. By the Same. London, 1871.
 3. *The Poems of Catullus translated into English Verse*. By Theodore Martin. London, 1863.
 4. *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*. By Professor H. A. J. Munro. Cambridge, 1878.
 5. *Gai Valeri Catulli Carmina*. Recognovit Joh. P. Postgate. London, 1889.
 6. *The Attis of Catullus translated into English Verse, with Dissertations on the Myth of Attis and on the Galliambic Metre*. By Grant Allen, B.A. London, 1892.
 7. *Scenicæ Romanorum Fragmenta*. Recensuit Otto Ribbeck. Leipsic, 1855.
 8. *Ennianæ Poesis Reliquiæ*. Recensuit Johannes Vahlen. Leipsic, 1854.
 9. *Études sur la Poésie Latine*. Par M. Patin. Paris, 1875.
 10. *The Roman Poets of the Republic*. By Professor Sellar. Oxford, 1881.

THERE is hardly any feeling which is at the same time more tempting and more misleading for the writer on literature than the desire to connect certain epochs with certain definite literary manifestations. It ought not to surprise us that such an attempt should sometimes lead the historian of literature astray, when we remember that the epoch is often bounded by very arbitrary limits. But in dealing with the ancient world the chances of error are infinitely multiplied by the fact that we base our classifications not on the actual products of a given age, but on the mere salvage from the wreck that ages have wrought, on the jetsam and flotsam which the river of Time has thrown up on its banks.

It is melancholy to observe how often contemporaneous renown fails to make any, even the slightest, impression on posterity, and Latin literature teems with instances of this sad fact. Cornelius Nepos in emphatic and carefully weighed terms points to one of whom he writes: 'I think I can safely assert that he is our most brilliant poet since Lucretius and Catullus.' To whom does he refer? To one M. Julius Calidus, of whom we know nothing except that such a person once existed. Tibullus* assures us that no one came nearer to the immortal Homer,

'Æterno propior non alter Homero,'

* IV. 1, 180.

than one Valgius. Paterculus places beside Virgil a certain Rabirius, of whom we are told only two things, that he composed a poem on the Alexandrine War, and that Ovid * gives him the praise of being 'mighty-mouthed' (*magni Rabirius oris*), the very epithet which Tennyson so justly bestows on Milton in the fine experiment in Alcaic verse beginning—

‘O mighty-mouth’d inventor of harmonies,
O skill’d to sing of Time and Eternity,
God-gifted organ-voice of England,
Milton, a name to resound for ages!’

We are told, too, of others who at least chose fine themes and themes neglected by their betters. Some one named Cornelius Severus in a poem on the Sicilian War rendered due homage to the greatness of Cicero, a *desideratum* in Latin poetry, when we remember that Cicero is not mentioned by Virgil, Ovid, or Horace, nor even alluded to, unless we are to see an allusion, which would not be very complimentary, in a passage in the sixth book of the *Æneid*,†

‘orabunt causas melius,’

which attributes to the Greeks unquestioned primacy in eloquence as well as in Poetry, Science, and Art. We also read that a Pedo Albinovanus treated before Tacitus the voyages of Germanicus in the Northern Seas, and that a Cotta wrote a ‘Pharsalia’ under Augustus, in which we may infer that he embraced the cause espoused by the Gods, not that which found favour with Cato, and glorified the winning side. Of all these once eminent poets and poems we know next to nothing, and still less about the tragedies of Pollio and Varius, the comedies of Fundanius, and the elegies of Gallus. Thus Time scatters about his poppies of oblivion, and singers with the reputation among their contemporaries of a Milton or a Tennyson are now a mere name—so many letters of the alphabet in a certain order.

In this connexion we may appropriately refer to an ingenious speculation of the brilliant French critic, M. Patin. We are far from sure, he points out, that we possess in our so-called Augustan Poets a type of the poetry which was really most characteristic of that age. Nay more, there are reasons for believing that Time has spared to us what was rather a recoil from the prevailing genius of the time. These reasons may be classified under two heads.

First, the poetry which we call Augustan is remarkable for

* Pont. iv. 16, 5.

† 849.

its carefulness. Now, Horace is never tired of urging the duty of careful writing. We have often heard that easy writing is hard reading, and that Time refuses to have anything to do with that which is produced without his aid. These may be called the favourite texts of Horace when he preaches on Art, and undoubtedly his protests are directed not against his predecessors but against his contemporaries. It was because they were written without real carefulness and *limæ labor* that so many of the poems of his time were ephemeral, and resembled the garlands which Propertius describes as withering on the brows of the revellers, and shedding their bloom into the wine-cup as it passed round. Now, Horace again and again adverts to his own assiduous care, and rests on it his hope of immortal fame. Propertius foretells Virgil's deathless renown as the guerdon of the same quality. Virgil, we know, thought that he had not bestowed nearly sufficient care on his Epic, and wished to destroy it. Ovid tells us* that with his own hand he burned the 'Metamorphoses'; and, learning that the work still survived in other copies, he begged his readers to remember that it had not received from him the last touch (*summam manum*), and announced that he craved for it not admiration but indulgence,

'Et veniam pro laude peto.'

Thus it would appear that the poets whom we specially denominate Augustan, in one important quality represent not the spirit of their age, but rather a recoil from it. But further, we learn from various hints in *our* Augustan poets that there existed under Augustus and his immediate successors a Court poetry which was official and conventional, and was devoted solely to the laudation of the Emperor and his exploits in commonplace and mythological fashion. *Our* poets more or less ironically protest their inability to rise to the height of such an argument. Horace declares that themes like these are for a Varius; Propertius sings how Apollo touched his ear and bade him beware of such ambitious flights; Virgil opines† that we have had enough of Pelops and his ivory shoulder, of the relentless Eurystheus, and of the altars of the infamous Busiris. These are the themes of the Court poets. *Our* Augustan poets betake themselves to the Alexandrines, Theocritus and Callimachus. The elegy of Propertius‡ to Ponticus, author of a dead and buried 'Thebais,' is an excellent specimen of the attitude of *our* Augustans towards the Court poetry of the Augustan Age.

* Tristia, I. 7, 15.

† Georg. III. *in*it.

‡ l. 7.

In fact the genius of our Augustan poets and their resolution in following its bent have secured their survival amidst the widespread decay of their more compliant and less gifted rivals, and have placed them in the position of standing as the representatives of a system of which they really exemplify the failure. For Augustus undoubtedly encouraged poetry with political views. The so-called Augustan poets, if not an actual College, were at all events a kind of literary hierarchy like the French Academy. Valerius Maximus speaks of a College of Poets, *collegium poetarum*, and its President seems to have been Sp. Mæcius Tarpæ, of whom we read in Cicero's letters* and in Horace. Patronage was not a new thing in the time of Augustus. Scipio, Lælius, Memmius were the forerunners of Mæcenas, Pollio, Messalla. But Augustus encouraged literature, not only by private hospitality, but by making it a guild, by multiplying copies of standard works, and by establishing libraries and encouraging the sale of books: we learn that there was a bookseller at Utica. It has been said that the Bourbons forgot nothing and learned nothing. The first Roman Emperor, unlike them, was an apt pupil in the school of life, and ever ready to learn and to apply his lessons. But, like them, he forgot nothing. Least of all did he forget that there was once a young man called Octavius and afterwards Octavian. He remembered that young man too well to neglect any means of obliterating his memory. Poetry, it struck him, not History, was the screen that lay readiest to his hand. History could not but hint at least at the unscrupulous treachery of that young man's triumvirate, the cruelty of his parricidal massacres, the ingloriousness of his military career, his domestic infamy. Poetry could leave all this untouched, and dwell on the reign of peace, the restoration of religion and morality, the standards of Crassus retrieved and the boundaries of the Empire enlarged. Augustus found scores of poets ready to harp upon this string, but to his chagrin the two ablest of all his Academicians recognized in Art a power higher than the Emperor, and preferred to go where their genius led them. We refer to the worshipper of Nature whom Augustus drew reluctant from his

* Cicero, writing to his friend M. Marius in his delightful villa on the Bay of Naples, congratulates him on being able to feed his eyes on the splendid view, and to diversify his enjoyment of nature by little dips into books, while those who are condemned to stay in Rome are not allowed to consult their own tastes, but must depend on that of Tarpæ, and are compelled to doze over every stupid mime which has been fortunate enough to receive his sanction, 'nobis autem erant ea perpetienda quæ Sp. Mæcius probavisset': the use of the subjunctive is very *delicate*, and the whole letter (Fam. vii. 1) is a model of style.

rustic retreat, and that grandson of a slave whom he found content with a small clerkship in town.

It will not be our object to seek for any characteristic quality underlying the poetry of the Cæsarean Age, beyond pointing to the broad and obvious fact that at this epoch literature was on the side of the Opposition, not the Government;* and that as regards religion and philosophy the age was marked by a recoil from the set phrases and hollow verbiage of the Stoa, and found a refuge either in the Epicureanism of Lucretius, the Cynicism of Varro, or the complete indifferentism of Catullus. Let us take a brief retrospect of the poetry which led up to the epoch of which the shining lights are Lucretius and Catullus. A more detailed consideration of the latter will exhaust our space. The towering grandeur of Lucretius demands an article devoted solely to itself.

It is in her prose rather than in her poetry that Rome has really expressed herself. For a long time the Roman people were exclusively devoted to agriculture and war. Their sole care was to defend themselves and preserve their existence, to devise for themselves some kind of constitution in the constant struggle of patrician and plebeian, of rich and poor, and to discover a *modus vivendi* with their external and intestine foes. To these problems they devoted all their energies, and their efforts in these directions were crowned with conspicuous success. Their laws have survived the Roman republic to this day, have afforded a model to the civilized world, and bid fair to last as long as Western civilization endures.

Poetry came to the Roman nation late, after the conquest of Italy, Carthage, and Greece, and formed part of the plunder of the world which began to pour into the Imperial treasuries. Hence the first and broadest distinction between Greek poetry, which developed naturally, and Latin, which was transplanted; and this is the reason why Rome succeeded best in didactic poetry, because that product of art best bears removal to another soil. When the Greek nation became a province of Rome, the Latin literature became a province of the Greek.

* * An oppositional tone prevails throughout the literature of these years. It is full of indignant sarcasm against the great Cæsar, the unique general, against the affectionate father-in-law and son-in-law who ruin the whole globe in order to give their favourites opportunity to parade the spoils of the long-haired Celts through the streets of Rome, to furnish royal banquets with the booty of the furthest isles of the West, and as rivals showering gold to supplant honest youths at home in the favour of their mistresses. . . . Practical politics were not more absolutely controlled by the regents than literature by the Republicans.' (Mommson, 'Hist. of Rome,' vol. iv. p. 320, Eng. Trans.)

This fact is oftenest expressed in the terse but trite Horatian verse which tells how

‘Captive Greece captured her conqueror rude;’

but not less apt, and certainly less hackneyed, are the words which Livy puts into the mouth of Cato in the Senate, ‘Therefore the more I fear that these things may prove our conquerors, not we theirs.’* The same rather obvious truth is expressed with characteristic rudeness by Porcius Licinius, a poet contemporary with Cicero:—

‘During the second Punic War to Italy’s rude land

The Muse repair’d with winged foot, and there she took her stand.’†

Equally characteristic of its author is the elegance with which Ovid describes the early struggles of Rome, which left her no time for the cultivation of literature:—

‘Not yet had Greece, the home of words not deeds,

On her rude conquerors imposed her creeds;

Who best could fight, his was the highest art,

And he most learn’d who best could launch the dart.’‡

When we refer to Latin poetry before the Greek influence, we are either talking of an assumed and hypothetical literature, like that of which Macaulay has given us such ingenious and eloquent specimens in his ‘Lays of Ancient Rome,’ or else of a kind of literature which has nothing but the name in common with poetry as we now understand the word. Cicero, indeed, tells us that Appius Claudius Cæcus wrote a poem of a gnomic character which he calls ‘Pythagorean.’ If he did, it is interesting to find that didactic poetry was not only Rome’s greatest success, but her earliest attempt. But for the rest, early Roman poetry, which was then called *scriptura*, was used only for State documents, lists, and records, and the poets were called *scribæ*. The poems, *carmina*, were laws such as those of the Twelve Tables, Treaties of the Kings with Gabii and the Sabines, pontifical books, and such like, and were written in Saturnian verse. Besides these there were rustic litanies, and those chants at festivals and funerals in praise of ancestors and founders of families, of which Cicero speaks, and on which Macaulay based his theory of a lost Latin ballad poetry. To

* ‘Eo plus horreo ne illæ magis res nos capiant quam nos illas’ (xxx. 4).

†

‘Pœnico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.’

‡

‘Nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
Grecia, facundum sed male forte genus;
Qui bene pugnabat Romanam noverat artem,
Mittere qui potuit tela disertus erat.’ (Fast. iii. 101.)

these

these must be added those Fescennine strains in which peasants bantered each other at rustic merrymakings, and from which more or less directly rose three kinds of composition in which Roman writers achieved high success—comedy, satire, and amœbæan pastoral poetry.

But all these pale dawnings of art faded into mist before the sunburst of Greek literature. To apply to it the eulogy of Lucretius on Epicurus, Greek literature extinguished everything on which its radiance burst,

‘E’en as the Sun uprisen quenches the fires of Night.’*

The first and greatest debt to Greece was the Drama, the popularity of which at Rome has been greatly underrated. It is true that it had to struggle with certain difficulties which it did not meet in Greece, and to which in modern times it is not exposed. The Romans certainly looked on the expression of grief as unmanly. Cicero condemns Sophocles for allowing Philoctetes to utter cries of pain, and for suffering Heracles to give voice to his agony in the death-scene in the ‘Trachiniæ,’ and commends Pacuvius for putting no lamentations into the mouth of Ulysses when dying of the wound inflicted by his son Telegonus. Pacuvius expresses the Roman feeling when he says that

‘A man may rail against the strokes of Fortune,
But not bewail them: that were woman’s part.’†

Attius tells us that the best comfort in affliction is the hope that we have concealed our wound. In the ‘Telamon’ of Ennius, the father, hearing of the death of his son Ajax, says that when he sent him to Troy to fight for his fatherland he knew that he sent him

‘To deadly strife, not to a festival.’‡

Such a theory as to the limits within which the expression of grief ought to be confined would of course be adverse to the production of genuine tragedy, and would rather favour the rise of those so-called tragedies which Seneca wrote for the arm-chair, not for the stage, and in which he surfeited even the Romans with stoical dignity and superhuman impassibility.

Again, Comedy suffered from the fact that Rome would

* ‘Restinxit stellas exortus ut ætherius Sol.’

† ‘Conqueri fortunam adversam non lamentari decet;

Id viri est officium; fletus muliebri ingenio additust.’

‡ ‘Ego cum genui tum morituros scivi et ei rei sustuli.
Præterea ad Troiam cum misi ob defendendam Græciam
Scibam me in mortiferum bellum non in epulas mittere.’

tolerate no invasion of private life, as is shown by the fate of Nævius, who expiated by his death in African exile an attack on the powerful family of the Metelli and an allusion to the private life of the victor of Zama. Besides, these importations from Greece were supported only by the taste, perhaps the affectation, of the rich and noble; the people preferred rope-dancers, as we learn from the prologue to the 'Hecyra' of Terence. Hence we find that the actors despised the verdict of the masses, and were ambitious to appeal to the classes alone. Arbuscula in Horace * is indifferent to the hisses of the populace if she can only secure the applause of the Knights.

However, that in spite of these very serious disadvantages Tragedy at least was held in no mean estimation at Rome, we gather not only from the great wealth and position attained by the tragic actor Æsopus, but also from the distinct testimony of Horace, who tells us † that houses thronged with spectators of high position witnessed the reproductions of the works of the Attic dramatists in Rome, where the classes, not the masses, seem to have been able to make or mar the fortunes of the stage.

One of the strongest arguments against the authenticity of the early history of Rome is that, though the duration of the monarchy was about two hundred and forty years, yet this period is said to have embraced only seven reigns, an average of about five-and-thirty years to each reign. The history of Latin Tragedy presents a similar difficulty: three names—Ennius, Pacuvius, and Attius—stand to represent a period of more than a hundred years, from the first Africanus to Sulla. Comedy, not being so distinctly an imported and transplanted novelty, but having a somewhat congenial soil in a country where Fescennine interludes, masques, and Atellane plays were indigenous, would doubtless have taken deeper root but for the stern prohibition of those personalities without which the comic drama can hardly become truly popular or racy of the soil.

The Græco-Roman drama of Plautus and Terence was really sad under its superficial gaiety. The complete separation of political from private life, the isolation of women, the dulness of home, the consequent craving for coarse excitement, the demoralization of the slave into his master's pimp,—all these traits are common to the Rome of Plautus and Terence, and to Greece in her decline. The two playwrights felt this. Terence dealt with the phenomena presented to him after the manner of Horace, with a smile and a shrug; Plautus in the fashion of

* Sat. i. 9, 76.

† Ep. ii. 1, 60.

Juvenal, with fierce indignation and disgust. The *fabulæ palliatae* of Plautus and Terence were succeeded by *fabulæ togatæ*, dealing with a lower stratum of society, and finally by *tabernariæ*, which went lower still, until the *trabeatæ* were introduced under Augustus, and took in hand a very high class of society again. This broad distinction between plays vulgar, middle-class, and aristocratic, betrays a want of that dramatic sense which ought to tell the playwright that in the true drama of life these classes are mingled and fused, and not distinctly ticketed and kept apart. Hence Rome produced no Euripides, no Shakspeare, no Molière. In the Atellane plays and mimes which succeeded the *togatæ*, and underwent various modifications at different times, we find that the virtue of the Roman lady, so jealously guarded in the plays of Plautus and Terence, is no longer maintained; and the increasing coarseness and brutalization of the public taste prepare us for what Martial tells us, that under Domitian a real crucifixion was introduced into an Atellane play in its revived form under the Empire.

Before this epoch Epic poetry had taken its rise with Nævius and Ennius, who, succeeded by Lucilius, also laid the foundations of Satire. But it was in the Cæsarean epoch that the yield (*proventus*, as Pliny calls it) of poetry became really copious. That period was marked by a mania for writing verses in spite of the civil and political disorders of the time. Cæsar himself on his way to Spain wrote an *Iter* or 'Impressions of my Journey.' Many of the orators mentioned in the 'Brutus' were poets also. Hirtius chronicled in verse the Istrian War. Furius Bibaculus essayed the task which Marcus Cicero abandoned and his brother pursued, of describing the campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul. Calvus, whom Horace to his lasting disgrace couples with Catullus in depreciating both,* sang Quintilia in rivalry to Lesbia, and strove with an *Io* to emulate that divine poem the 'Peleus and Thetis.' Helvius Cinna for nine years touched and retouched his poem entitled 'Smyrna,' dealing with an unpleasant theme like that of Shelley's 'Cenci,' until the work became unreadable and his conduct proverbial through a verse of Horace's. It is but fair to add that the 'Smyrna' won the pronounced approval of the coming poet Catullus.

But of all the writers in verse, save only those two (Lucretius and Catullus) who from the time of Nepos down to the present day have been recognized as the 'bright particular stars' of the Cæsarean epoch, by far the most important and interesting, not only for his real poetical ability, but for the influence which he

* 'Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.' (Sat. i. 10, 13.)

exercised

exercised on subsequent Art, is the great orator and consummate man of letters, M. Tullius Cicero. As both his powers and his influence in this department of literature have been very greatly underrated, we may be excused for dwelling a little on this phase in the genius of a man who might almost have been called 'myriad-minded.' If Cicero does not deserve the name as well as Shakspeare, at all events he has a great deal a better title to it than that unknown Bishop to whom the term (*μυριόβουτος*) was originally applied by Photius. Plutarch describes Cicero as having been alike the first poet and the first orator of his age—a criticism which startles us when we remember the gibes of Juvenal and Martial, and the unfavourable comments of Seneca, Gellius, and Tacitus. It is true that as a poet he was eclipsed by Lucretius and Catullus, but he had first been eclipsed by a greater than these—by himself. He was his own greatest rival, —*suppositicius sibi ipsi*, in the phrase of Martial. The glories of the advocate, the orator, the philosopher, the unrivalled essayist and letter-writer, made his poetic bays pale. Before the rise of Lucretius and Catullus we have little doubt that Cicero was the poet of his age. Even in his early works, 'Marius,' the 'Phænomena' and the 'Prognostica,' we find a new and very noticeable polish and harmony of cadence, which must have had a great effect on the nascent muse of Lucretius and Catullus. In the poem on his consulate whence come the unlucky verses which in the minds of most people stand by themselves for the poetry of Cicero,—we refer to

'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam !'

and

'Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea laudi'—

we find an expression on which Virgil himself could not have improved, when he calls the comets *claro tremulos ardore*, 'quivering with lucid fire.' The jingle for which the first of these verses has been condemned can hardly have been due to want of ear. The writer who is so fastidiously sensitive to euphony that he will not allow words which might conclude a hexameter, as forming a dactyl and spondee, to stand together in his prose works, is not likely to have fallen inadvertently into the collocation of *-natam natam*. Indeed, Quintilian quotes a similar assonance in a letter of Cicero's to Brutus,* and we find *pleniore ore* in Off. I. 61. Moreover, we must remember how easy it would have been to transpose *natam* and *Romam*. If Cicero deliberately chose this assonance, we should be disposed

* 'Ciceroni in epistulis excidit res mihi invisæ visæ sunt, Brute' (Quintil. ix. 4, 41).

to think that his authority might well be set against the judgment of Quintilian and Juvenal, not to speak of later critics. The vanity of the verse is but a vice of the age in which the austere Cæsar could send such a piece of fustian as *veni, vidi, vici* to the Senate, and escape the ridicule with which such a despatch from the seat of war would now be received. As regards the second of the verses so generally and so inconsiderately condemned, it may be remarked that the expression *cedant arma togæ* would not have seemed ridiculous to Cassius, who uses a very similar phrase in a letter to Cicero,* nor to Pliny, who writes of *togæ triumphum linguæque lauream*. Cæsar thought highly of the poetry of Cicero, who sometimes betrays some of the characteristic traits of the 'fretful tribe.' He is very anxious to know what people think of his verses, especially what Cæsar thinks. In a letter to his brother he says of the poem which we have been discussing, 'What is Cæsar's opinion about my poem? The first book, I know, he deems excellent—not surpassed even in Greek literature; the rest up to a certain point he seemed to think—what shall I say?—slipshod. Find out for me: is it the style or the subject he does not like?'† We read with pleasure in another letter‡ that Cicero abandoned his intention of collaborating with his brother Quintus in a poem on Cæsar's Gallic wars, because he 'feels no heart for the theme' (*abest ἐνθουσιασμός*). He is too good a republican to enjoy strewing flowers on the path of Cæsar to the throne. The Augustans felt no want of heart for the praise of Cæsar, nor did Cicero show any lack of enthusiasm when he eulogized Cato or thundered against Antony. A passage from the same unlucky poem, too long to quote, challenges comparison with the splendid verses in the first Georgic, in which Virgil recounts the portents which presaged Cæsar's death. It is true that there is in Cicero an excessive illustration of the same point. This is a characteristic of the early style, and shows him inferior as an artist to Virgil. But it is one thing to be inferior as an artist to Virgil—a proposition which may be predicated of nearly every poet who has ever written—and quite another to be, as Juvenal describes Cicero, so wretched a poetaster, that if in eloquence he had been on the same level, he might have regarded with indifference the dagger of Antony, since he would have been too insignificant to excite the resentment of any one.

* 'Est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior' (Fam. XII. 13, 1).

† Q. Fr. II. 15, 5. The words *reliqua ad quemdam locum βαδυσότερα* may mean 'the rest of his expressions were not so enthusiastic,' but the broad meaning of the passage is not affected by the interpretation of the particular words.

‡ Q. Fr. III. 4, 4.

But by far the best poems of Cicero are those splendid translations from the Greek with which he has embellished his rhetorical and philosophical works. There is in the 'De Divinatione,' II. § 63, a very fine rendering of the portent from which Calchas inferred the duration of the siege of Ilium, the devouring of the little birds by the serpent;* and the song of the Sirens† is translated with great taste in the 'De Finibus,' V. § 49. But conspicuous above the rest are the speeches of Prometheus on the Caucasus and of Hercules dying on Mount Ceta,‡ versions from Æschylus and Sophocles which used to be ascribed to Attius, as being quite beyond the unhappy author of

'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'

but which are now rightly attributed to Cicero, and which no judicious critic can read without recognizing a dignity and even splendour of diction not surpassed in Latin literature. With these we would couple five beautiful verses preserved in the 'Tusculan Disputations,' § in which Cresphontes, in the Euripidean play, declares that

'When a child's born our friends should throng our halls,
And wail for all the ills that flesh is heir to;
But when a man has done his long day's work,
And goes to his long home to take his rest,
We all with joy and gladness should escort him.' ||

These vigorous and tasteful renderings from the Greek drama by Cicero possess a further and unique interest as standing midway between the roughness of the Old Latin drama and the far less powerful—we might almost say feeble—elegance of Varius and Ovid.

Passing from the ghosts that haunt the early prime of Latin literature, and in fragments which often the merest chance has preserved for us, 'come like shadows, so depart,'—we at last reach a firm land, with living and breathing poets, a land that echoes to the cries of two great spirits, Lucretius and Catullus, the one tormented by the painful riddle of the earth, the other by the pangs of disprized love. We see Lucretius in his austere, almost religious, seclusion, hardly glancing at any

* Iliad, II. 299-330.

† Odyss. XII. 184-191.

‡ Tusc. II. §§ 19-25.

§ I. § 115.

|| 'Nam nos decebat cœtu celebrantes domum
Lugere ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus,
Humanæ vitæ varia reputantes mala;
At qui labores morte finisset graves
Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitia exsequi.'

passing event, looking down with the pity and disdain of an anchorite on the struggles of fashion and ambition, and scowling with the fierce indignation of a Swift on the joys and pangs of love. In him the man was nothing, the philosopher was everything. In Catullus we meet one for whom philosophy was nothing, and the keynote of whose song is man and man's heart. Catullus had studied Greek sympathetically and well, but it was only for literary purposes. The Greek philosophy which was so attractive to his contemporaries, especially Cicero, was to him only words 'and the chatter of solemn greybeards.' * An essay on Lucretius pursues the history of the poet's mind; an essay on Catullus pursues the history of his heart.

It is, perhaps, easy to exaggerate the importance of that train of emotional experiences which we call love, as an influence on a man's life; but in the case of Catullus it was all-powerful—his love was his life. Since this is so, and since the history of the poet's heart has been set forth by himself in that marvellous series of poems tracing his infatuation for Lesbia from its rapturous beginning to its early estrangement; thence to that reconciliation which shows something of the sweetness of lovers' quarrels composed, but more of the bitterness of remembering happier things; and finally to the furious scorn with which the lover 'tears his passion from his bosom, though his heart be at the root'—is it not marvellous that not a single editor, down to Mr. Postgate, whose recent and scholarly edition has done so much for the text of Catullus, should have given us the poems in the order in which they must have been written? Yet such is the case. Editors continue to present us in the eleventh ode with the final repudiation of Lesbia, while we have in the fifty-first the rapture of reciprocated love, in the sixty-eighth the first beginnings of suspicion, in the seventy-sixth settled despair, in the eighth the vain effort to forget and passionate longing for the past which can never come again, and in the eighty-third hopeful auguries drawn from the unfriendly demeanour of Lesbia toward her lover in the presence of her husband. The principle on which the poems are arranged in their present order is so utterly illogical and unchronological, that it has been surmised—and, we could well believe, with justice—that the juxtaposition of poems written at widely different times, and under widely different influences, may have arisen from a merely mechanical principle of arrangement which bade the first copyists choose in each case such poems as would just fill up the page on which they were engaged, and not run over into

* 'Rumoresque senum severiorum' (v. 2).

the next. We will endeavour to rectify this error, and place beside each other in their right order a few of the poems in which Catallus has struck those terrible chords which have given us the very vibrations of his heart—chords as true as those of Burns or Shakspeare, and as artistic as those of Keats or Shelley.

Catullus was a contemporary of Cicero, Lucretius, and C. Julius Cæsar, and died most probably in 54 B.C. at the age of thirty. All his poetry was written in the last six years of his short life, between his twenty-fourth and his thirtieth year. He had Celtic blood in his veins, coming from Verona in Cis-Alpine Gaul, which was then indeed meet nurse of poetic children, and was about to give to Rome Virgil and Cornelius Gallus, as well as the writer of what is perhaps the most perfect prose style ever achieved, the historian Livy. His intimates were all the most distinguished men which the time and the town produced,—the Metelli, Hortensius, Manlius Torquatus, Memmius, the two Ciceros. The great orator, whom he salutes as

‘Most eloquent of all the line
From Romulus who claim,’*

never actually mentions the name of Catullus, but he has undoubtedly borrowed from him two happy expressions which we meet in his correspondence: once when he says that a public man should be ‘more sensitive than the tip of the ear;’† and again, when he echoes in ‘ocellos Italiæ villulas’‡ the charming apostrophe to Sirmio in the thirty-first ode:—

‘Thou of all isles and all peninsulas
The very eye.’

The family of Catullus was old and high, though no member of it had attained that official rank which was the condition of nobility technically so called. Though he often sportively alludes to his want of money, as when he tells one friend that his ‘purse is full of cobwebs,’§ and another that his house is exposed to the worst draught he knows, namely a draft of fifteen thousand two

* *Carin.* XLIX. Here and in some other places we use the often excellent but somewhat unequal translation of Sir Theodore Martin, sometimes venturing to remodel his version a little with the view of bringing out some point on which we may wish specially to dwell, but which naturally is not so prominent in his rendering. In some places where we could not take quite his view of the tone of the poem, as in VIII., beginning ‘Miser Catulle desinas ineptire,’ and in a few other shorter pieces, we have essayed a translation of our own.

† ‘Auricula infima molliorem’ (*Q. Fr.* II. 13, 4); cp. ‘mollior imula auricilla’ (*Catull.* xxv. 2).

‡ *Att.* xvi. 6, 2.

§ ‘Plenus sacculus est araneorum’ (*XIII.* 8).

Hundred sesterces' mortgage on it,* yet he cannot have been what we should call poorly provided for. We know that he had two country-houses, one near Tivoli and another on the Lago di Garda, to which he often retired, and which he describes as delightful retreats; moreover, he could afford to keep a private yacht large enough to carry him from Bithynia to Italy. His intimates and associates in Rome were, as we have said, the highest in rank, birth, and distinction. The woman to whose fascinations and falseness we owe much of what is best in the poetry of Catullus, the *belle dame sans merci* who first made him a poet and then a corpse, was, as is now generally admitted, Clodia, the sister of Cicero's enemy, wife of the great noble the Consul Metellus, and consequently about the grandest lady in the world. Rich, highly cultivated, witty, very beautiful, and conscious of the 'aspiring blood' of the Claudii in her veins, the Palatine Medea, as she was called, seems to have had for the Roman youth of her time an absolutely irresistible attraction. When she turned the head of Catullus, a brilliant youth of two-and-twenty, she was herself past thirty years of age, with her ruinous charms in the full luxuriance of their poisonous bloom. For her beauty was of that Junoesque type which even in Southern Italy requires time to enable it to expand to its full flower. Known to us as she is only from the railings of her bitter enemies, perhaps the three greatest masters of the art of invective that ever wrote—Cicero, Cælius, and Catullus—she appears indeed as a monster of almost incredible profligacy, but also as a great and well-marked personality in her generation. We must of course make allowance for the manners of a time when no limits whatever were set to the license of abuse, a time when no one thought it indecorous in Cicero to apply such terms as 'swine,' 'ordure,' 'carriage,' to his political opponents in the Senate, and when such was the standard of manners in that 'Assembly of Kings' that Cicero in a letter to his brother† relates as an every-day incident how rival orators spat in each other's faces—a time when, if a magistrate wanted to address the people, he was obliged to carry the Rostra by assault, and to maintain his occupancy at the risk of his life. It is true that in the period of Catullus we begin to see the rise of something which we should now call society, the dawn of the *beau monde*. But the society of which we catch glimpses in the poems of Catullus and the letters of Cicero is still very rudimentary. Catullus thinks it a good joke to accuse a guest of stealing the napkins, and the

* CARM. XXVI.

† Q. FR. II. 3, 2.

comparatively

comparatively refined Cicero banters Atticus about the poorness of the fare which he serves up on such expensive plate of the fern-pattern, and wonders what it would be if the service were earthenware.* In such an age it is not surprising that the license of personal invective should be really unlimited. Furious and now unutterable charges were publicly made against every public man by his opponents, and against private enemies by the man who could win the ear of the public. The assertions made by Cicero and Catullus that Clodia reached the last and most public stage in the career of infamy we do not believe, any more than we believe that Cæsar was addicted to every unspeakable vice. To impute such crimes was the fashion of the time. Different ages do not understand each other.† But we look on Clodia as being a woman of dæmonic fascination and cruelty, and a great social force in Rome at a time when society was beginning to form itself in a city to which for centuries the home-keeping aristocracy had failed to give the semblance of a social centre and seat of fashion and gaiety. When we think of Clodia with her large burning eyes now overflowing with tears over the death of her sparrow, now flashing with malicious joy as she and her boy-lover in fulfilment of a sportive vow commit to the flames with expressions certainly not too weak the feeble work of a rival literary aspirant, the Annals of Tanusius, whom Catullus after his fashion pillories under the metrically equivalent name of Volusius,‡ we feel that we are in the presence of a very woman, who had also many of the qualities which in Bohemian life knits man to man. Her sensuous exuberance of form is conveyed to us by many a dexterous touch:—

‘Therein my lustrous goddess with soft step
Enter’d, and ’neath her glistening foot the sandal
Creak’d as she trod.’ §

* ‘Sed heus tu! Quid cogitas? in felicatis lancibus et splendidissimis canistris, olusculis nos soles pascere: quid te in vasis fictilibus appositurum putem?’ (Att. vi. 1, 13.)

† Expressions in constant use by the Puritans and Covenanters would now afford a presumption of imbecility or at least gross insincerity. Therefore the Puritans are often spoken of as hypocrites and fools. But they were nothing of the kind. Only subsequent ages did not understand their modes of expressing themselves.

‡

‘Annales Volusi, cacata charta,
Votum solvite pro mea puella . . .
At vos interea venite in ignem,
Pleni ruris et inficetiarum,
Annales Volusi cacata charta.’ (Carm. xxxvi.)

§

‘Quo mea se molli candida diva pede
Intulit, et trito fulgentem in limine plantam
Innixa, arguta constitit in solea.’ (LXVIII. 70–72.)

Here is no 'airy, fairy Lilian,' no Titania, no poet's unsubstantial dream, but a ripe and real woman of warm flesh and blood, such as Rubens would have loved to paint. Though Clodia was woman enough to weep over her dead sparrow till her lovely eyes were red and swollen, she had enough of the man in her to take a deep interest in politics. It is surely more than a coincidence that the *liaison* between her and Catullus was uninterrupted until the Conservatives, to whom Catullus, like Cicero, Hortensius, Lucretius, Nepos, Varro, and others highly distinguished in literature and oratory, belonged, felt forced to break with Cæsar and the democratic party. In the year 62, when Catullus came to Rome from his native Verona, Cicero was still on friendly terms with Clodius. That feeling was soon turned to one of bitter hostility; but for a considerable time after this Cicero endeavoured to maintain amicable relations with the revolutionists, and he succeeded in doing so until the establishment of the first Triumvirate. This was just the time when Clodia began to cast off Catullus. Her husband the Consul was now dead, poisoned (said common report) by the hand of his wife, and the latest victim of her deadly kisses was M. Cælius Rufus, the friend and correspondent of Cicero. He was a brilliant young man, especially famed for the witty and satirical character of his oratory. Cicero writes to him, 'In the whole course of my life I have never found any one more *au fait* in politics,'* and he was on the democratic side. He was tall, handsome, with a keen wit, and one of the best dancers of the day, an accomplishment which gave him a start in the race for the favour of Clodia, who was herself passionately fond of dancing. This was the Rufus whom Catullus calls

'The heart in which my friendship found repose,
The viper that has crept into my life,'

and whom he apostrophizes as

'Trusted by me not wisely, but too well.
Not wisely! Nay, to my own dire defeat.'†

Cælius was Clodia's lover for two years. Perhaps his sharp tongue cost him her favour. Quintilian tells us that he gave

* « Πολιτικώτερον te adhuc neminem cognovi' (Fam. II. 8, 1).

† 'Rufe, mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amico
(Frustra! immo magno cum pretio atque malo),
Sicine subrepsi mi, atque intestina perurens
Ei misero abrupuisti omnia nostra bona?
Eripuisti eheu nostræ crudele venenum
Vitæ, eheu nostræ pectus amicitie.' LXXVII.)

her a very coarse nickname which clung to her,* but this was probably after he had received his dismissal. Luckily for him, he had not the deep sensibilities of Catullus, and he seems to have met his private and public vicissitudes with the same airy banter and *bonhomie* which makes his correspondence with Cicero so fresh and *piquant*. But the Palatine Medea could not be flouted with impunity. A boy of seventeen, no doubt another victim of Clodia's, was put up to bring against Cælius serious and groundless charges of battery, poisoning, attempted murder, and what not. This brought forth the celebrated speech of Cicero for Cælius, in which he paints the whole life of Clodia as one of unexampled profligacy, and represents Cælius as an industrious student who for a moment fell under her pernicious influence, and in which he calls up the great Censor Appius Claudius Cæcus from the dead to bear witness against his degenerate descendant. 'He is blind,' cries the orator with scathing invective, 'so he will not have the pain of looking on such a creature.' 'Did I make the Appian Way, he will ask you, that you might career along it with the husbands whom you have seduced from their wives?' Then follows much in this tone which would be impossible now in any Court; then it was quite parliamentary, and it procured the acquittal of Cælius.

But we have nothing to do with Cælius except as the successor and supplanter of Catullus, nor even with Clodia except in so far as she affected the destiny of Catullus,

'Making a poet out of a man,'

like the great god Pan in Mrs. Browning's poem. Let us take a few characteristic utterances of the young lover-poet, illustrating his feelings at each stage of his ruinous passion.

It is ushered in with notes of joy as rapturous as a skylark's, and of love as tender as the cooing of a dove. Words cannot say nor figures count the number of kisses that would be enough, and when countless kisses have been given the tell-tale record must be rubbed out. With what? With as many more kisses to cover the first.† Surely this is, in the words of Polonius, 'the very ecstasy of love'; and we have beside it the utter tenderness of the poems on the dead sparrow, and the transport of love which inspires the imitation of Sappho.‡ The glow of his passion dazzles us until a relation which must even then have been regarded as vicious assumes the guise of innocence. The white heat imparts a look of purity. We do

* *Quadrantaria*, viii. 6, 53.

† *Carm.* v.

‡ *Carm.* li.

not feel as much shocked as we ought to be when he compares his Lesbia to so pure and noble a heroine as Laodamia. And when he glorifies his friend Allius for a service so base as that of providing at his house a place where the guilty lovers may meet, we can only wonder at his unlimited powers of self-acquittal—a trait which cannot but recall to us another poet with many points of similarity to Catullus, the bright spirit of Shelley, that ‘beautiful and ineffectual angel, ever beating in the void his luminous wings in vain.’ The unconcealed and unaffected joy and pride of Catullus when he tells in a passage already quoted how Lesbia came to him to the house of Allius from the very arms of her husband, the proud patrician consul Metellus, stand without a parallel for naïf unconsciousness of the existence of a moral law, until we read the letter in which Shelley sends a polite invitation to the wife whom he has just abandoned to come and share with him and her rival the delights of a tour in Switzerland. And Shelley thought himself an enthusiastic lover of the Good, and took much trouble to show his friends how beautiful Virtue was. With the same apparently unconscious innocence Catullus tells us how he exulted as he heard the threshold creak under the sandal of his lustrous goddess. But soon a dark and menacing cloud falls over the surface of this well of love, so deep and apparently so clear. He hears from his friend that while absent in Verona he has rivals in Rome. Hence bickerings and reconciliations on his return to the city. Lesbia is held lower in his esteem, but he owns that he cannot love her the less. He is content ‘to dote yet doubt, suspect yet strongly love.’ At last he hates her, but he loves her too, and he writes, in words to which Fénelon points as the perfection of passionate simplicity,

‘I hate, yet love: you ask how this is so.

Who knows? But I’m in torment: that I know.’*

The next phase is when he prays only for insensibility, for deliverance from his passion, as from a desperate disease:

‘Why longer keep thy heart upon the rack?

Give to thy soul a higher, nobler aim.

And tho’ thou tear thy heart out, look not back

In tears upon a love that was thy shame.

‘Tis hard at once to fling a love away

That has been cherish’d with the faith of years.

‘Tis hard: but shrink not, flinch not. Come what may,

Crush every record of its joys and fears.

‘Odi et amo, quare id faciam fortasse requiris.

Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.’ (Carm. lxxxv.)

- ‘O ye great gods, if ye can pity feel,
 If e’er to dying wretch your aid was given,
 See me in agony before you kneel,
 To beg this plague from out my core be driven,
 Which creeps in drowsy horror thro’ each vein,
 Leaves me no thought from bitter anguish free;
 I do not ask she may be kind again,
 Nor pure: for that can never, never be.
 I only crave the health that once was mine,
 Some little respite from this sore disease.
 If e’er I earn’d your mercy, powers divine,
 Grant me—O grant to a sick heart some ease.’ *

But the most characteristic and the most heart-rending of all this series of poems is the one in which he pours forth in burning scazons, which ring like handfuls of earth thrown on a coffin, his agony in remembering happier things, in which he tries to brace himself up to endure, and breaks down in a wild burst of rage against his tormentress. The poem might have for its heading those divine words in ‘Christabel’:

‘And to be wroth with that we love
 Doth work like madness in the brain.’

The scazontic metre, which the Greeks called ‘limping’ and ‘broken-hipped,’ is one of which it is very difficult to reproduce the effect in English. Here is an attempt to do so:—

- ‘Ah, poor Catullus, learn to put away
 Thy childish things.
 The lost is lost, be sure: the task essay
 That manhood brings.
 Fair shone the skies on thee when thou to fare
 Wast ever fain
 Where the girl beckon’d, loved as girl shall ne’er
 Be loved again.
 Yes, fain thou wast for merry mirth; and she—
 She ne’er said nay.
 Ah, gaily then the morning smiled on thee
 Each happy day.
 Now she saith nay: but thou be strong to bear,
 Harden thy heart;
 Nor nurse thy grief, nor cling to her so fair,
 So fixt to part.

* LXXVI.: ‘Siqua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas.’ From 10 to end: ‘Quare iam te cur amplius excrucies?’ to ‘O Di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea.’ The version is that of Sir Theodore Martin somewhat modified, especially in the last verse.

- 'Farewell! I've learn'd my lesson: I'll endure,
Nor try to find
Words that might wake thy ruth, or even cure
Thy poison'd mind.
- 'Yet will the time come when thy heart shall bleed,
Accurs'd one,
When thou shalt come to eld with none to heed,
Unwooded, unwon.
- 'Who then will seek thee? Who will call thee fair?
Call thee his own?
Whose kisses and whose dalliance wilt thou share?
Be stone, my heart, be stone!' *

At last he sends her his final farewell. It is by the mouth of Furius and Aurelius, no very dear friends of his, and thus perhaps he desires to add a sting to his repudiation of his cruel mistress. His love is dead: 'Ruin's ploughshare' has driven 'elate full on its bloom': it is as utterly destroyed past all retrieval as the wild flower at the meadow's edge which the passing plough has shorn from its stalk.†

The poem is in Sapphics, and probably that metre was chosen in direct reference to his rendering from Sappho in the fifty-first ode, the only other Sapphic poem in the collection. 'In this metre,' he would say, 'I breathed the exultation of my love's spring: and in this I will couch the bitter disillusion of its premature decay and my deliverance from a long anguish.' His life did not long survive his love. Probably about this time were written those touching lines to Cornificius from his sick-bed, in which he tells his friend and brother poet that it goes ill with him and is like to go worse, asks him for a line, just a few words, and pathetically begs him to let the words be

* VIII: 'Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire . . . At tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.' We read *impotens ne sis* in verse 9 of the Latin, and in verse 23 of the Latin we accept the reading *Scelestæ, anentî quæ tibi manet vita?* It is strange that Mr. Postgate has not at least mentioned this brilliant conjecture, proposed, we think, in the 'Classical Review' by Mr. Bury. *Anere*, 'to grow an old woman,' is paralleled by *senet* = *senescit* in iv. 26, and the verb is actually found in Plautus, 'Mercator,' iv. 4, 15: 'Satis scitum filum mulieris: verum hercle anet' ('a fine figure of a woman, but i' faith she grows old').

† XI. 15-24: 'Paucæ nuntiate meæ puellæ
Non bona dicta,
Cum suis vivat valeatque mœchis,
Quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
Nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium
Ilia rumpens:
Nec meum respectet ut ante amorem,
Qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
Ultimi flos, prætereunte postquam
Tactus aratro est.'

suitable to his sorry plight, and sadder than the tearful dirges in which Simonides was wont to weep those that died poets and died young.* Macaulay says of this little poem and of the other two which we have just quoted, 'They affect me more than I can explain: they always move me to tears.'

But though the history of Catullus is mainly the history of his heart, and though his poems of the sensibilities are as exquisite as any ever written—more exquisite than any ever written, in the opinion of that great scholar and critic, the late H. A. J. Munro—we must remember that the hand which here struck so true a note did not fail in other keys. Of all the poems which he has written, those which appeal to us at all (for a few of them are utterly alien from modern sympathies) appeal to feelings which are independent of time and circumstances, and move us now as strongly as they moved the Romans who first heard them. His deep affection for his brother, who died young in the Troad, and whose grave he visited when on a tour through 'the famous cities of Asia,' shows that his excesses had not exercised that baneful influence on his character which Burns deplores in the exclamation,

'But oh! it deadens a' within
And petrifies the feelin'.'

It is remarkable that he does not seem to anticipate a future conscious existence in which he and his brother might meet, though he suggests such a source of comfort to his friend Calvus in his grief for his beloved Quintilia. How favourably do the buoyant hendecasyllables in which he sings of the loves of Acme and Septimius compare with the artificial prettinesses of Horace on similar themes, even in the celebrated *amœbean* ode beginning,

'Donec gratus eram tibi,'

of which a great scholar of the Renaissance said that he would rather have written it than be King of Spain! It would be interesting to compare the two in detail if our space permitted it. However, the question between Catullus and Horace, who has spoken so slightly of his truly inspired predecessor in

* XXXVIII.:

'Male est, Cornifici, tuo Catullo,
Male est mehercule et ei! laboriose,
Et magis magis in dies et horas.
Quem tu, quod minimum facillimumque est,
Qua solatus es adlocutione?
Irascor tibi. Sic meos amores?
Paulum quid lubet adlocutionis
Mæstius lacrimis Simonideis.'

lyric poetry, has been well debated between Munro and Conington, the Professors at the time respectively in Cambridge and Oxford. The chief heads of the discussion will be found at the end of that charming book, Munro's 'Criticism and Elucidations of Catullus.' We may be permitted to say that we agree with Munro in assigning the palm to Catullus as a lyricist for reasons which will be evident to any one who may have read a paper on Horace in No. 347 of this Review.

The other shorter poems display a friendliness and manliness of tone reminding us of Burns and of Byron, never of Moore, though Byron in his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' calls Moore the young Catullus of his day. Indeed this fancied resemblance to the Irish lyric poet, who in his polish of diction and shallowness of feeling far more closely resembles Horace, has had a very unfavourable influence on the work of translators of Catullus. Even Sir Theodore Martin, by far the best of them, is sometimes led into the rollicking vein of the Irish Melodist, occasionally even when the Latin is laden with the deepest feeling. To illustrate this we have only to point to the seventy-fifth poem beginning with the words

'Nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam,'

and ending with the bitter confession that his heart is so perverted by his enslaver that though nothing now could make him esteem her, yet nothing could make him cease to love her.* Surely, though the versification is ingenious, the tone is missed in the version :

'O Lesbia, surely no mortal was ever
So fond of a woman as I am of you—
A youth more devoted, more constant was never—
For me there's enchantment in all that you do.

'Yes, love has so wholly confused my ideas
Of right and of wrong, that I'll doat on you still
As fondly, as blindly, although you may be as
Demure or as naughty as ever you will!'

Again, in the seventieth poem,† there is a certain dignity and seriousness which has quite disappeared in the jaunty light-heartedness of

* LXXV. 7, 8: 'Ut iam nec bene velle queat tibi si optima fias
Nec desistere amare omnia si facias.'

† 'Nulli se dicit mulier mea nubere malle
Quam mihi, non si se Iuppiter ipse petat.
Dicit : sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti
In vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.'

'My mistress says there's not a man
Of all the many swains she knows,
She'd rather wed than me, not one,
Though Jove himself were to propose.

'She says so;—but what woman says
To him who fancies he has caught her,
'Tis only fit it should be writ
In air or in the running water.'

Moore himself disclosed what a gulf lay between his literary tone and that of Catullus when he rendered the couplet already quoted, beginning *Odi et amo*, into this frigid quatrain:—

'I love thee and hate thee, but if I can tell
The cause of my love and my hate may I die!
I feel it, alas! I can feel it too well,
That I love thee and hate thee, but cannot tell why.'

The inimitable ode to his villa at Sirmio has been attempted over and over again, but never, as we think, with anything like success. The last three lines, which we would render thus, never seem to have been fully explained:—

'Rejoice, bright Sirmio, in thy master's joy,
And you, ye wavelets, merry-men of the mere,
Smile all the smiles ye have to greet me home.'*

Ludius is a 'merryman' or 'tumbler,' and Scaliger saw that under *ludie* of the MSS. there lurked this original and natural comparison of the tumbling wavelets to 'merry-men.' Certain waterfalls in England are still called merry-men by the local peasantry, and one of R. L. Stevenson's clever tales is called 'The Merry Men,' taking its name from a waterfall. In Plautus,† when the lover prays the bars of his mistress's door to leap up out of their sockets and let him in, he cries, 'Be merryandrews for my sake.' *Domi habere* is 'to have at one's command,' 'to keep a stock of.' Sir Theodore Martin, recognizing the meaning as being 'laugh all the laughs you have,' suggests the pretty rendering,

'Let all your wealth of smiles be wreathed for me.'

A version published in London in 1707 gave the meaning accurately, but too elaborately, in

'Laugh till your stock of laughter's wholly spent,
And all your magazine of merriment.'

*

'Salve, O venusta Sirmio, atque hero gaude
Gaudente, vosque, O ludie lacus undæ,
Ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum.' (xxxl. 12-14.)

† *Cure. i. 2, 63*: 'Pessuli, heus pessuli . . . fite causa mea ludii.'

Broadly

Broadly we would point to the shorter poems of Catullus as showing a power of relating an incident, or describing a scene in terse idiomatic Latin, which is approached only by Terence in his plays and Cicero in his letters, and which is perhaps best exemplified in the tenth poem, where Catullus gives a sketch of the requests to which he was subjected on his return from Bithynia. The other most prominent feature is his extraordinary power of dealing with metre, as displayed in his nuptial ode (LXI.) on the marriage of Manlius and Vinia, and in his Hymn to Diana (XXXIV.), which has been beautifully translated by Prof. Jebb in 'Translations':—

- 'Diana guardeth our estate,
Girls and boys immaculate;
Boys and maidens pure of stain,
Be Diana our refrain.
- 'O Latonia, pledge of love
Glorious to most glorious Jove,
Near the Delian olive-tree
Latona gave thy life to thee,
- 'That thou shouldst be for ever queen
Of mountains and of forests green;
Of every deep glen's mystery;
Of all streams and their melody:
- 'Women in travail ask their peace
From thee, our Lady of Release:
Thou art the Watcher of the Ways:
Thou art the Moon with borrow'd rays:
- 'And as thy full or waning tide
Marks how the monthly seasons glide,
Thou, Goddess, sendest wealth of store
To bless the farmer's thrifty floor.
- 'Whatever name delights thine ear,
By that name be thou hallow'd here;
And, as of old, be good to us,
The lineage of Romulus.'*

But nowhere is his astonishing mastery of metre more triumphantly shown than in that literary *tour de force*, the 'Attis.' Of this poem Sellar justly says that, regarded as a work of pure imagination, it is the most remarkable poetical creation in the Latin language. It tells how Attis, a beautiful youth, the

* Dianæ sumus in fide
Puellæ et pueri integri,
Dianam pueri integri
Puellæque canamus.

adored of the society in which he lived, finds it suddenly borne in upon him in a kind of awakening or conversion that he must leave the whole world and cling to Cybele; how he sails with a troop of like-minded devotees to the Phrygian Ida, where with tambours and cymbals, with trumpets also and with shawms, they worship the great turret-crowned Mother till sleep overcomes them on the top of the mountain; how, when the sun rises in the morning, it repents Attis of the service of the Goddess, and how Cybele unyokes a lion from her car, which pursues him back into the forest and terrifies him into obedience. Catullus does not seem to have followed any of the legends which have come down to us, but to have taken a mere empty mould of a story, and to have poured into it a hot flood of strange Oriental fanatic passion, quite alien from Roman sentiment and experience. The very conception of the beautiful and much-courted youth is un-Roman, yet there is nothing extant which even hints at a like poem in Greek, and the 'Attis' certainly forces on our minds the impression of an original creation. The poem is utterly untranslatable into English. The sudden change of gender which intimates that the votary of Cybele has become her votaress, the tumultuous rush of the metre in which most of the lines end in five short syllables, the numerous diminutives and strange compound words, all render it inimitable. Tennyson's experiment in this metre is no doubt familiar to most of our readers, and perhaps George Meredith's. They and Mr. Ellis have at least caught the salient feature of the rhythm, that agglomeration of short syllables at the end of the verse, which suggested to Tennyson—by far the best of the imitators—the employment of polysyllables in that place with the accent thrown back as far as possible, words like 'legionaries,' 'charioted,' 'confederacy.' The last attempt is by Mr. Grant Allen, who has endeavoured with some ingenuity to connect the Attis myth with tree-worship. But his rhythm does not seem to us even remotely to suggest that of Catullus. His first lines are—

'Across the roaring ocean, with eye and with heart of flame,
To the Phrygian forest Attis in an eager frenzy came,'—

a tame and tranquil movement to our ear, suggesting the metre of the well-known missionary hymn,

'From Greenland's icy mountains, from India's coral strand,'

rather than the torrent rush of the Catullian strain. We regard the metre as antispastic, to use a technical term, each line *showing an iambic* succeeded by a trochaic movement. The device

device by which Catullus imparted to his metre such an irresistible rush and impetus was the frequent resolution of the long syllable of the final dactyl—an effect impossible to reproduce in English, in which we cannot pronounce together five short (that is, unaccented) syllables, like ‘sonipedibus,’ ‘hederigera,’ ‘columinibus,’ ‘nemorivagus.’

It is interesting to observe how Tennyson’s fine classical instinct—fortified no doubt by careful study, probably of Mr. Ellis’s exhaustive commentary, where the point to which we are about to refer is duly noted—kept him right in a splendid line which he borrowed from the ‘Attis’ for his ‘Tithonus.’ We refer to the noble passage where the horses of the Sun

‘Shake the darkness from their loosen’d manes,
And beat the twilight into flakes of fire.’

Surely Tennyson had in his mind the passage in the ‘Attis’ where Catullus says of the rising Sun,

‘And he smote on the dim dawn’s path with the hoofs of his fiery chariot-steeds.’*

A less learned and accomplished scholar than Tennyson might have supposed that Catullus had present to his fancy the much less striking figure of the Sun ‘driving away the darkness of night’; but the Latin is fortunately decisive and inexorable: *pellere* in Catullus never means ‘to drive away,’ always ‘to smite,’ ‘to strike.’ An ignorance of the usage of the poet would rob him of a most magnificent piece of imagery. This delicate touch has been missed by Mr. Grant Allen, who thus renders the sunrise passage:

‘But when golden-visaged Phoebus with radiant eyes again
Surveyed the fleecy ether, solid land, and roaring main,
And with mettlesome chargers scattered the murky shades of night,
Then Attis swift awakened, and Sleep fled fast from his sight.’

Though some of the poems of Catullus dance like those waves of the Lago di Garda which he calls ‘merrymen,’ yet we have in him, as in all the great Latin poets, a prevailing chord of sadness, a mournful minor key. Even his gay dedication of his yacht, which ‘declares no pinnacle could outstrip her,’ ends with the sad reflection, ‘portion and parcel of the past.’† As Dante in his ‘Vita Nuova’ tells us with what agony the thought came to him that Beatrice could die, so

* ‘*Peplutque noctis umbras vegetis sonipedibus*’ (LXIII. 41). The magnificent phrase, ‘the dim dawn’s path,’ for ‘the morning sky,’ reminds us of Milton’s ‘Thither came Uriel flying through the even,’ where Bentley with such strange lack of poetic feeling wished to correct ‘even’ to ‘heaven.’

† ‘*Sed hæc prius fuere*’ (IV. 25).

Catullus even in his wildest rapture cannot put aside the thought of the darkness of death,

['Into whose maw goes all that's prettiest,'*

and the certainty that

'Suns will rise and set again :
But for us when once doth wane
This poor pageant's little light,
We must sleep in endless night.'†

Lucretius and Catullus we have already found coupled together by Cornelius Nepos as representing the culminating point of Republican poetry. And Nepos was right. 'When we find,' writes Mommsen,‡ 'not merely his contemporaries electrified by these fugitive songs, but the art critics of the Augustan age also characterising him along with Lucretius as the most important poet of this epoch, his contemporaries as well as his successors were completely right. The Latin nation has produced no second poet in whom the artistic substance and the artistic form appear in so symmetrical perfection as in Catullus. Catullus is moreover the connecting link between the Republican and the Augustan period. The 'Marriage of Peleus and Thetis,' his longest piece by far, has been shown by Munro to be the work of his last year of life, and it displays unmistakable signs of a perusal of the poem of Lucretius. It is elaborately, one might almost say awkwardly, constructed on the Alexandrine model. But we cannot help feeling that the word 'awkward' is ill-associated with such a poem, even though the laws of art cry out against the long episode which tells the tale of the desertion of Ariadne. To take the most unfavourable view of it, it is interesting as the earliest specimen in Latin of a careful effort to construct a really epic poem in hexameters. It is the first example of that diligent elaboration which Horace enjoins on his contemporaries, and of which Virgil and Ovid had conceived so high an ideal. It is from this point of view that Catullus has been well called by M. Patin 'La Préface du siècle d'Auguste.'

* 'At vobis male sit, malæ tenebræ
Orei quæ omnia bella devoratis.' (III. 13, 14.)

† 'Soles occidere et redire possunt :
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.' (v. 4-6.)

‡ 'Roman History,' iv. p. 591, Eng. Trans.

ART. VII.—*Catalogue of Printed Books. Bible. Part I. Complete Bibles in all Languages. London, 1892.*

SOME months have now elapsed since the authorities of the British Museum issued this portion of their great Catalogue of Books. The publication has been going on at intervals for several years; and that part of the work which comprises the Bible has only appeared at a time when the rest of the Catalogue is nearly complete. We suppose it will not be long before its completion is announced. But before that time, there remains to be finished what may perhaps prove the most difficult, as it will certainly be the most important, of the whole series,—namely, the continuation of the Bibles. At present only Part I. of this subject has appeared. The catchword on the last page of the present issue is BIBLE.—*Old Testament*. The next instalment will, therefore, contain the different editions of the Hebrew Bible, together with the issues of separate parts or of the whole of the Old Testament, with and without commentaries. After this we presume there will be a third part devoted to the New Testament and its various books, which probably will be the largest and the most important of the three, as its compilation will undoubtedly be the most laborious.

We shall attempt in the present article to give some account of at least some of the items. With regard to many of the languages into which the Holy Scriptures have been translated, we cannot pretend to any acquaintance with them. But the material is sufficiently rich if we confine our attention to the editions in the original languages, the Latin, and some of the languages of modern Europe.

Probably the first entry in the Catalogue will surprise most readers, as it seems to show that only one issue of the Bible as a whole in its two original languages has ever been published. At any rate, the only edition possessed by the library of the British Museum is that published by Michaelis at Leipzig in 1741. This is immediately followed by the Polyglotts. These, which begin of course with the Complutensian and end with a Duglott, the Vulgate with a French translation dated 1888, but still in progress, occupy thirteen columns.

Mr. Bullen, in his very useful Catalogue of all the English books in the Museum up to the date of 1640, very properly confined himself to giving the title, date, and place of publication of each book as it came in alphabetical order. No comment was made upon the contents, even when there were variations in the text of what appeared to be the same edition of a book.

But

But in the present Catalogue the compiler has adopted, and that with great advantage, quite a different method with regard to many of the Bibles here noticed.

The great scarcity of the copies of the Complutensian Polyglott, and the fact that four of the six hundred copies printed have found their way into the British Museum, would alone form a sufficient justification for a departure from the usual practice of a compiler of a Catalogue of Books. In the various copies there are considerable differences, to some of which the editor has drawn attention, and probably no other library in the world affords the same opportunity of collating so many.

The notes and other explanations which have been given as to these and the different copies of the Antwerp and Walton's Polyglott are useful from a bibliographical point of view, and will help the collector to identify any copy of which he may become possessed. Similar notes, though not to the same extent, have been added throughout these pages; and in several instances we should have been glad if further liberty had been taken in this direction.

We shall have more to say on this point when we come to speak of this Catalogue in its historical relation. At present, confining our attention to its bibliographical aspect, we proceed to notice the Greek, Latin, and English versions. These naturally take precedence of the translations into other languages, which follow in alphabetical order, beginning with the *Akra* and ending with the *Yoruba*. Of these latter, with the exception of the Welsh and two or three other European languages, we do not presume to speak. Most of them indeed have little interest either to historians or to bibliographers. They belong for the most part to the present century, and occupy only a few pages of the Catalogue. It may be worth noticing, however, that of the principal nations of Europe the number of columns occupied by German and Dutch Bibles is between thirty and forty, that by French about twelve, by Italian four, and by Spanish and Portuguese a column and a half. This, of course, only approximately represents the numbers of editions of the complete Bible as published in the vernacular in these countries respectively, as the authorities of the British Museum were not likely to have purchased modern editions of these books to any great extent.

Of Greek Bibles, as might be expected, the number is extremely small, though ranging over nearly four centuries, from the Aldine edition of 1518 down to the splendid facsimile of the *Codex Alexandrinus* issued by the Museum Trustees under
the

the able editorship of their principal librarian, Dr. E. Maunde Thompson. This Catalogue, of course, includes the edition of the Codex Sinaiticus in four folio volumes, which is no facsimile, but only a pretended imitation, to which the self-condemnatory note is appended, 'Printed from types resembling the original uncial characters.' One might have thought that the supplanting of Kipling's Codex Bezae by the more convenient and useful edition of the same codex by Scrivener, would have prevented the occurrence of a foolish experiment, which serves no purpose at all and involves considerable expense.

The Latin editions of the complete Bible, Old and New Testaments together, occupy a very prominent position; and here the entries, especially of the earlier editions of the Vulgate, have been extensively annotated. The Mazarine Bible of 1452-1456 leads the way with a full description quoted from Hain (3031), together with the following account by the editor:—

'This is commonly known as the Mazarine Bible (*Bible Mazarine*), because the copy of it which first attracted the notice of bibliographers was discovered among the books of Cardinal Mazarin. It is probably the first large book, if not the first piece of printing of any size, executed by movable metal types. The date of its completion is fixed by a MS. note in a copy belonging to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, in which Henricus Cremer, Vicar of St. Stephen's, at Mentz, states that he finished illuminating and binding it on Aug. 24, 1456. Between 1450 and 1452 Johann Gutenberg is believed to have made experiments which resulted in the invention of printing with movable metal types. The printing of this book probably commenced in or about 1452, on the completion of Gutenberg's invention. Whether we are justified in treating it as printed throughout by Gutenberg himself, or should regard it as printed wholly or in part by Johann Fust, who had lent money to Gutenberg for the purpose of his invention, or by Peter Schoeffer, who printed a Donatus (of thirty-five lines) with the same types, is a question not yet fully answered. There are documents of the fifteenth century in which the invention is ascribed variously to one or other of these three.' (Col. 16.)

In such a Catalogue as this it was not to be expected that any description of the style of the contents of the Mazarine Bible should have been inserted, even though it may be entitled to the designation of the *editio princeps* of printed books. But the following illustration of the style of contraction may be interesting to some of our readers, and will serve to illustrate the only mode of annotation adopted, viz. in the arguments which form the introduction to the several books. It is the argument of the Third Epistle of St. John:—

G Aiū pietatis causa extol-
lit atq; ut in ipsa pietate
maneat exhortator: diotre-
pem impietatis et supbie
causa objurgat: demetrio aut bonū
testimoniū phibet cum fratribus uni-
uersis.

Most of the editions of the Vulgate of the fifteenth century are so fully described, that there would be no difficulty in identifying any copy even if imperfect. For the sixteenth and following centuries no such necessity arises, and the Bibles of this period are simply described as in an ordinary catalogue and reach on to the year 1887, with scarcely an exception here and there of a single year.

A similar plan has been followed as regards the English versions. The first of these, which is Coverdale's, dated 4th October, 1535, is provided with a whole column of description and history. And here probably to many English readers the chief interest of this Catalogue begins. The Museum contains two copies of this rare book, neither of them quite perfect. One of them contains the original title, printed in the same foreign type as the rest of the book. It has been doubted whether it was printed at Worms, Mentz, Zürich, Wittenberg, or Cologne. We have little doubt that Zürich has the best claim. Coverdale says that he made the translation 'out of five sundry interpreters.' He also says, 'To help me herein I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin but also of the Dutch interpreters, whom because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible I have been the more glad to follow for the most part.' In the English title which appears in some of the copies of this edition the words 'out of Douche and Latyn' are omitted. Hence it has been argued that Coverdale purposely withdrew these words, and that he evidently made his translation from the Hebrew. But there is really no evidence, so far as we know, to show that Coverdale possessed knowledge enough to have translated out of the original, and assuredly the natural interpretation of his words is that he did not do so. If, further, the alteration could have been made with truth, it would have been so expressed on the title-pages of the book when issued in England in 1535 and 1536; for both exist, though they are not in the British Museum, and therefore are not noticed in this Catalogue.

The probability seems to be that the printer who imported the Zürich edition cancelled the title-page and substituted another in English black letter for it, and designedly concealed the

the fact that the version had been made from translations and not from the original. We agree with the compiler that 'The passages in which the translation agrees rather with the original text than with the Latin versions do not prove it to have been made directly from the former, because in such cases corrections would, according to Coverdale's own statement, be introduced from the German interpreters.'

This volume has a curious connexion with the history of the time. Some copies, of which the British Museum copy is one, have the name of Queen Anne mentioned in the Dedication. Others—and of course these must be of the 1536 edition—mention Queen Jane, who was married to Henry VIII. on May 20, 1536. There appears to be no known complete copy of the Zürich original; and probably the Marquis of Northampton's copy, with the preliminary leaves in English type, is the only complete copy of this edition as originally issued from an English publisher's office. There are some curious renderings in this Bible, as for instance:—

Gen. viii. 11: 'She bare the olive leaf in her nebb.'

Judg. ix. 53: 'Cast a pece of mylstone upon Abimelech's heade and brake his brain panne.'

1 Kings xxii. 34: 'And shott the king of Israel between the mawe and the lunges.'

Isa. v. 27: 'No one faynte nor feble amonge them, no, not a slogishe nor sleperry persone.'

The Museum has no copy of the same book with the date of 1536, but possesses three copies of the reprint of 1537, two in folio and one in quarto, all published by James Nycolson of Sowthwarke.

The library contains all the editions of the so-called Great Bible, which appeared under Cromwell's auspices in 1539, and the others which have the Prologue of Thomas Cranmer, dating from April 1540 to December 1541. The contents of these are fully detailed, though there was nothing to add to the elaborate description of them published by the late Mr. Francis Fry. The six editions of Cranmer's Bible, which so closely resemble each other that in almost every one a leaf of one edition may be substituted for the corresponding leaf of any other, were collected by the late Mr. Lea Wilson, and were bought from his library by Panizzi, the librarian of the British Museum, for 80*l.* a-piece. Though they are so alike, yet it will be found that every page of each edition is differently set up, whilst the edition of 1539 differs most materially from the others. A specimen of this variation is in Proverbs:—

1539.

'Whoso hath pleasure to sowe
dyscorde, pycketh a quarell in
euery thyng.'

1540.

'He accompanieth hym selfe
with all steadfast and helthsome
doctryne, that hath a feruent de-
syre to it and is sequestrate from
companye.'

The Authorized Version of this passage runs thus:—

'Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom.'

But we must omit further comment upon these, and proceed to give an account of an edition which has almost escaped the notice of bibliographers, viz. the small folio of 1549 issued by Edwarde Whitchurche, bearing on its title the date Dec. 29, 1549. This very rare volume was evidently intended to be a companion to the celebrated First Prayer Book of Edward VI., which came into general use three months earlier in that year. As such it was perhaps entitled to a fuller description than the editor has thought fit to bestow upon it. In one point it is perhaps unique. The Calendar of Epistles and Gospels authorized in the New Prayer Book is placed between the Old and New Testaments, instead of, as was usual, at the end of the Bible. The volume is nearly of the same size as the Prayer Book, and we have seen a copy which has the Psalms marked off for Morning and Evening Service in a contemporary hand. The services provided for in the Calendar are exactly those of Edward's First Prayer Book, including the two Communion services for Christmas and Easter and that for St. Mary Magdalene's day. It does not appear to us that the editor of the Catalogue is quite accurate in his description of the type in which this book has been printed. He says:

'The preliminary leaves, fols. 89-142 (end) of Part 2, Part 3, and Part 5 are probably printed by Whitchurch, whose name appears there (on the title-page); all the rest is printed in a different though similar type. The chief characteristics of the latter are: initials in square frames only at the beginnings of books; flourished capitals in head-titles; the names of God and Lord printed in Roman capitals. In both portions fifty-seven lines to the full column.' (P. 67.)

It would, we think, be more correct to say that the type of the text itself is for the most part indistinguishable from that of the other part, since only the headlines and headings of chapters and the initial capitals of chapters are in Zürich type.

There is another remarkable feature in this edition. Though evidently intended to match the new Prayer Book, and having
a Calendar

a Calendar of Epistles and Gospels which really does match it, the notes of the cross and half-cross at the beginnings and ends of the passages selected for these Epistles and Gospels show that the book was printed before the arrangements for the Prayer Book had been completed, for they contain many more such marks than were necessary to make them correspond to the Prayer Book. It is further remarkable that this book contains no provision for the Epistles when they are passages from the Old Testament, unlike the New Testaments of the reign of Edward VI., which almost invariably have these passages printed at the end of the book. In the present case, as the passages were at hand in the complete Bible, and as they had been similarly marked in the text of the Old Testament, it was perhaps thought that such a reprint was unnecessary.

The next version that claims our attention is the Genevan, commonly called the Breeches Bible, from the adoption of the word *breeches* for *aprons* in Genesis iii. 7. And here may be said to begin the battle of the Bibles, viz. as to which version should gain the victory in the contest for being read in the service of the Church.

When this translation first appeared in 1560, twenty years had elapsed since the publication of the Great Bible in 1539. During this interval six editions with Cranmer's Prologue, said to be appointed to be read in churches, had appeared, all of which were printed during the reign of Henry VIII., the last bearing the date 1541. No other edition of this Bible had been issued till the appearance of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. in 1549. Three other editions—one in folio, two in quarto—had appeared in the reign of Edward VI., the last two being of 1553. After this time, during the whole reign of Mary, no English Bible was printed till the second year of Elizabeth, when the exiles at Geneva—Whittingham, Gilby, Sampson, and others, all of them thorough Calvinists—published their translation, the preface to which is dated April 10, 1560. Notwithstanding all the opposition which this book encountered from the Sovereign and the authorities of the Church during the reign of Elizabeth and her successor James I., this Genevan version held its ground till it was finally put down by the influence of Archbishop Laud. Between 1560 and 1569 Cranmer's Bible was issued once in 4to in 1561, once in folio in 1562, again in folio at Rouen in 1566, and again, for the last time, in 4to in 1569. During the same period three editions of the Genevan version had appeared abroad, and many copies had found their way into England in spite of all attempts made to discourage it. But no edition was published in England till

the death of Archbishop Parker. Probably his successors, Grindal and Whitgift, had not the same objection to the marginal notes of this Bible, which are full of Calvinistic doctrine. The first edition published in England, in a small folio size and dated 1576, forthwith distanced all competition for forty years. Within this period there were certainly not less than 130 different editions, though perhaps Mr. Dore's estimate of 200 is somewhat excessive.

It is remarkable that in the preceding year, probably immediately after Parker's death, which took place May 17, 1575, an edition of the Genevan version of the New Testament was published in England by Thomas Vautrollier, a copy of which was in Mr. Herbert's library. This of course is not noticed in this Catalogue, which contains only editions of the complete Bible. An accurate description of it is given in Mr. Dore's 'Old Bibles,' where the singular change of *babe* and *babes* into *child* and *children* is noticed as being peculiar to this edition. The importance of this Genevan version is so great that it must plead our excuse for enlarging a little on the subject, especially as historians of the period seem to have had but a slight idea of the influence which it exercised over the minds of the English laity. The translators were all of the more advanced school of Protestant exiles who fled from Frankfurt to Geneva upon a quarrel arising between the two parties, one of which was content with the Zuinglian doctrines of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., whilst the other, headed by the fanatic Knox, desired to improve things further in a Protestant direction. Their residence at Geneva, and consequent intercourse with Calvin and his sect, probably tended to develop these opinions, and they seem to have co-operated much with the French Calvinists, who were at the same time superintending a new edition of the version of Olivetan, which was first published about twenty-five years earlier. The tone of the marginal notes no doubt was offensive to Elizabeth and her principal adviser Cecil, and, acting in concert with them, Parker succeeded for a time in stopping its circulation; but from the time of its first publication in 1576 no year elapsed without one or more editions of different sizes being published till 1616, when it was finally stopped, though some editions were after this date published in the Netherlands.

A specimen of these notes is as follows. The distinction of the elect and the reprobate is kept up from the first chapter of Genesis throughout the whole Bible. Thus in Gen. i. 11:—

'This sentence is so often repeated to signify that God made all *His creatures* to serve to His glory and to the profit of man, but for
sin

sin they were accursed, yet to the elect, by Christ, they are restored and serve to their wealth.

'So in Deut. cap. ii. : God in His election and reprobation doth not only appoint the ends, but the means, tending to the same.

'Again, in 2 Kings iii. : God suffereth His word to be declared to the wicked because of the godly that are among them.

'Ps. lxxxi. : God by His word calleth all, but by His secret election appointeth who shall hear with fruit.

'Ezekiel xxxiii. 11 : Albeit God in His eternal counsel appointed the death and damnation of the reprobate, yet the end of His counsel was not their death only but chiefly His own glory.'

Want of space compels us to omit the large class of notes disparaging the Church's doctrine of sacramental grace, the reviling of Papistical observances, and the protest against observing Easter and Whitsuntide. We have quoted the above specimen to illustrate the fundamental doctrines of the Calvinistic school, which for the most part had their origin with these Genevan exiles, and were rapidly propagated and extensively spread over the country during the reigns of the last of the Tudors and the first of the Stuart dynasty. With the same school also for the most part commenced the protest against innocent amusements which has always characterised the Puritan party. It exhibits itself in the most ludicrous way in the heading to the chapter of St. Mark which describes the death of St. John the Baptist, where, in the headline at the top of the page, repeated from 1560 to 1616, will be found the words, 'The inconvenience of dauncing.'

The Genevan was in all respects the most businesslike version that had yet been published. There were just enough marginal annotations to secure their not being passed over by readers ; and the two short tables at the end are of considerable value, the first especially, which gives the meaning of most of the Hebrew names of the Old Testament. The object of this table is stated by the translators to be to promote the use of them as Christian names, as 'the names of infants should ever have some godly advertisements in them, and should be memorials and marks of the children of God received into His household.' The explanation therefore of the names is given in order that 'children now named after them may have testimonies by their very names that they are within that faithful family that in all their doings had ever God before their eyes, and that they are bound by these their names to serve God from their infancy.'

Most of the editions of this Bible, though by no means all, may be found in the Museum, and occupy the largest portion
of

of cols. 69-83, interspersed here and there with some of the Bishops' Version and a very few of the Authorized of 1611. But before we go on to notice these two versions, we have to call attention to some other points of historical interest with regard to the Genevan. It may, perhaps, have been owing to the new Archbishop's countenance that it obtained so rapid a circulation. It was reprinted in a 4to form, and thousands of copies were dispersed every year, so that it became the recognized book for family reading. Encouraged by its reception, the Puritan party managed to get inserted in the first 4to edition of 1579 and in every other black-letter edition of this size, a Catechism, entitled 'Certaine questions and answers touching the doctrine of Predestination, the use of God's Word and Sacraments.' The compiler of this Catalogue has given so many notes to the earlier translations that we are somewhat surprised that he has taken scarcely any notice of this unauthorized addition to the Bible which the Queen's printer was licensed to print. It is not unlikely that in many families its use entirely superseded that of the Catechism in the authorized Book of Common Prayer; and certainly, after reading it, no one could wonder at the tone of theology which prevailed all through the reign of Elizabeth among clergy and laity. The Catechism is so little known that we give the first four questions and answers, as a specimen of its style:—

'Q. Why do men so much vary in matters of religion?

'A. Because all have not the like measure of knowledge, neither do all believe the Gospel of Christ.

'Q. What is the reason thereof?

'A. Because they only believe the gospel and doctrine of Christ which are ordained unto eternal life.

'Q. Are not all ordained unto eternal life?

'A. Some are vessels of wrath ordained unto destruction, as others are vessels of mercy prepared to glory.

'Q. How standeth it with God's justice that some are appointed unto damnation?

'A. Very well; because all men have in themselves sin which deserveth no less; and therefore the mercy of God is wonderful in that He vouchsafeth to save some of that sinful race and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth.'

It continues in the same strain throughout, and probably there is not in the English language any more unequivocal declaration of Calvinistic doctrine than in this Catechism.

Some persons who have occasion to refer to this Catalogue will be surprised to find that, from 1587 forwards, there are *two sets of Genevan Bibles*, one set being designated as a

'Reprint

'Reprint of the Genevan Bible of 1560,' the other described as 'An edition of the Genevan Bible of 1560, with the New Testament, revised by L. Tomson.' The account of this is as follows. In the year 1576, Laurence Tomson, Walsingham's chaplain, had published a translation of the New Testament from Beza's Latin version, and, in spite of many awkward renderings, it soon became extremely popular. The absurdity of many of the readings adopted is owing to the fact that Tomson had followed Beza in his ridiculous translation of the Greek article by the Latin personal pronoun. Thus where Beza had given the first verse of St. John's Gospel, 'In principio erat Sermo ille et Sermo ille erat apud Deum eratque ille Sermo Deus,' Tomson also renders it, 'In the beginning was that Word, and that Word was with God, and that Word was God.' This style was adopted, though not with absolute consistency, throughout the New Testament. Yet, in spite of this, the book attained considerable circulation, and was reprinted twelve times in the course of the next ten years. In 1587 it was annexed to the Genevan version of the Old Testament, with which it was continually reprinted as long as the Genevan version lasted, *i.e.* until Laud finally suppressed them both. It may be observed that the Pure Genevans are usually in black letter, whilst the majority of the Genevan-Tomsons are in Roman character. There are as many as thirty-three different editions of the Genevan-Tomsons in 4to, ranging from 1587 to 1615. The historical importance of this is considerable, for Tomson's notes exhibit a distinct advance on the Calvinism of the Pure Genevans, though the text varies but little from theirs.

There are yet two other points connected with the Genevan Bible which are of some historical importance. It will be observed that, under the date 1583, there appears in this Catalogue, for the first time, the addition to the title, after the words 'with most profitable Annotations,' the words 'And also a most profitable Concordance, for the readie finding out of any thing in the same conteined.' This so-called Concordance does not precisely answer to what is commonly understood by the word in the present day. It had been issued by R. F. H. with the date at the end of the preface, Dec. 22, 1578, and was entitled 'Two right profitable and fruitful Concordances, or large and ample Tables Alphabeticall.' These Tables were founded upon the two Tables that had been previously appended to the Genevan Bibles, but which were here considerably enlarged. And the second Table was evidently intended to promote the cause of Calvinism, by calling attention to such subjects

subjects as Predestination, Reprobation, &c. The author ends his preface with the words :—

‘And so beseeching Almighty God to give us His grace to be studious of unitie, and bringing forth such fruites as may declare our undoubted election in Christ Jesus, I take my leave of thee, this xxij. of December, 1578.

‘Thine in the Lord, ROBERT F. HERREY.’

This signature was in all probability a pseudonym for the Brownist Robert Harrison.

These Tables must have been very acceptable to readers, for they are annexed to all the black-letter 4to editions issued after 1583 until 1615 inclusive. They do not occur in editions of other sizes, because they were only printed in one form, intended to match with the Genevan and Bishops’ Bibles of this size.

The second point to be noticed is the introduction of a different translation of the Revelation, with copious notes by Francis Junius. It will be observed that this addition appears first on the title-page of the 4tos of 1599 of the Genevan-Tomsons, all printed in Roman character. This version with its notes had been first printed in 1592, and again in 1594 and 1596, in a separate form occupying twenty-two pages, with a separate leaf for the imprint. But it has no title-page, and was evidently intended to be bound up with the 4to editions of the Genevan Bible. Indeed, we have seen a copy of the 4to of 1598 which has the Revelation twice over, once in the form in which it usually appears in the Genevan-Tomsons, and once at the end of the volume with the date 1594. From 1599 forwards it forms part and parcel of all the 4to Genevan-Tomsons. The chief characteristic of these notes is the virulent abuse of the See of Rome and the Popes and all Roman doctrine.

We have said that Parker did not like this version. And in order to supplant it he set on foot a new translation, the first edition of which came out in a huge folio volume in 1568. But in vain did he attempt to utilize all the learning that still survived the shock of the Reformation of Edward VI.’s time. The Genevan translators had set to work in a business-like way and had executed a version decidedly superior to anything that had yet been produced. They had acted together as a body, and had all the assistance derivable from their colleagues of the French Translation Committee. Parker, unfortunately for the success of his undertaking, consigned separate books to separate translators, and there seems to have been scarcely any consultation or supervision of the text, whilst the marginal notes seem to have been left entirely to the caprice of the individual translator.

translator. The result was that the Bishops' Bible is a poor production.

The instructions issued to the translators were to keep as close as they could to the Great Bible or Cranmer's, to make no bitter notes, and not to make any determination in matters of controversy. And these rules were strictly followed by Parker himself, who undertook Genesis and Exodus and several of the books of the New Testament. But the translators did not make as much use as they might have done of the earlier versions, and the notes are for the most part, where they are not adopted from the Genevan Bible, very commonplace, and in many cases absolutely silly, *e.g.* Gen. xxi. 7: 'It is the duty of the mother, if she may, to nurse her child.' When Parker reached the New Testament, he seems to have wearied of the task of annotating. So in St. Matthew there appear only fifteen notes of two or three lines each, of the same puerile kind as those in Genesis and Exodus. One specimen from St. Matthew will be enough. Thus, in Matt. vi. 34, ('Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof,') we find the following lucid explanation: 'That is, the present day hath enough of his own grief or affliction.' The number of notes on St. Mark amounts to three. In the Epistles, if the notes increase in number they can hardly be said to improve in quality, as *e.g.* Eph. iv. 26, 'Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath,' which is paraphrased in the margin—'If so be that ye be angry, so moderate your affection that ye burst not out into an evil work, but be soon appeased.'

In justice to Parker it may be said that he strictly adhered to his own rule of writing down nothing controversial. Some of his colleagues, however, were less scrupulous. The worst offender in this way was Cox, Bishop of Ely, to whom had been assigned the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans. Cox borrowed many of his notes, as did others of the translators, from the Genevan Bible. It seems as if they could scarcely resist the temptation to give an occasional hit at Popery. Such is the note added by Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln, at 2 Pet. ii. 3, where he says, 'That is evidently seen in the Pope and his priests, which by lies and flatteries sell men's souls, so that it is certain that he is not the successor of Simon Peter, but of Simon Magus.' And this piece of wit was adopted from the Genevan Bible. There were seventeen different editions of this version, ranging from 1568 to 1606, of which last one copy only is known to exist; but as it is not in the Museum, it does not appear in this Catalogue.

We must not omit to mention the second edition of this
version,

version, which was published in 1569, in a small 4to size, evidently intended for family reading, and having the new version of the Psalms marked off for daily use at morning and evening prayer. It was printed by Richarde Jugge, but no name of printer appears on either title-page, and the date is only on the title of the New Testament. The Catalogue accurately describes it so far as Part I. is concerned:—‘The foliation skips from 105 to 113, with only one leaf (containing the printer’s mark) intervening; but nothing is wanting.’ But it should have been added, that, in Part III., 49 and 50 are repeated, and that, between the Old and the New Testaments, which begins with fol. 1 and signat. A 1, there are two leaves, having on the obverse of the first a map of the Holy Land, and on the reverse, ‘A Table to make playne the difficultie that is found in S. Matthewe and S. Luke, touching the generation of Iesus Christ the sonne of Daudid, and his ryght successour in the kingdome: which description begynneth at Daudid, and no higher, because the difficultie is only in his posteritie.’ The genealogy ends on the obverse of the second leaf, the reverse being entirely blank.

We must omit any further comment on the merits or demerits of this version, and the many changes, both as regards text and notes, to which it was subjected: for we are reminded at col. 77, by the eight entries of eight different copies of the Genevan Bible of 1599, that we have yet something more to say on this subject. We believe Lea Wilson was the first to call attention to the fact that there were six varieties of this book, which he distinguished by pointing out the variety of spelling and the arrangement of the lines in the first verse of the first chapter of the Book of Esther. Of the eight copies in the Museum two appear to be mere duplicates, so that there are only six varieties, one of which—the last in the Catalogue—is not one of Lea Wilson’s, and is distinguished from the rest by having black lines round the pages and between the columns. This, therefore, forms an addition to Lea Wilson’s six. But the number is by no means exhaustive, for the late Mr. Francis Fry had in his library fifteen varieties of this book, all professing to be printed in London in the year 1599. The compiler of the Catalogue describes them as all ‘issued by the same publisher in the same year.’ Apparently he had no suspicion that they are every one of them pirated editions, printed abroad, in all probability at Amsterdam, copied one from another, and running on from 1599 to 1633, which is the date of the New Testament of one of the duplicates, the last but one of those *catalogued*. Of course, on the face of things it would be absurd
to

to suppose that so many varieties could have been published in one year. But a minute inspection of a few pages of any one of these editions would prove their indisputably Dutch origin, since innumerable mistakes occur in nearly all of them, such as no English printer was likely to make, and which indicate a German or Dutch compositor's hand. Thus the letters *t*, *d*, and *th* are continually interchanged, exactly in the same way as they are in the Flemish edition of Tyndale's Testament of 1535. This interchange, which has puzzled bibliographers, should alone have been sufficient to decide the question, whether the frequent mistakes of spelling were, or were not, intended to make them more intelligible to English peasants by adopting their mode of pronunciation. The suggester of this pleasant artifice never stopped to enquire how many peasants in England could have read the New Testament in 1535.

There is plenty of evidence to show that these editions were copied one from another. A crucial instance of this occurs in Eccles. iv. 9, where four of these editions, called by Mr. Lea Wilson 1, 4, 5, 6, have the mistake 'Two are better [than one : for they have better] wages for their labour,' all four omitting the words within brackets by the common mistake of homœoteleuton. The edition which in Mr. Fry's library was called No. 7 is probably identical with the last but one of this Catalogue, and is a duplicate differing from the preceding one only in having on the New Testament title the words 'Thomas Crafoorth, Amsterdam, 1633.'

We can only conjecture that the fraud was perpetrated in order to get these imported into England from time to time as original editions bearing the name of Barker, who had been authorized to print this version by Queen Elizabeth. These pirated editions of 1599 are further remarkable for the fact that they were the first English-printed Bibles that omitted the Apocryphal books. Yet all have the titles of the Apocryphal books on the last leaf of the preliminary matter before the first chapter of Genesis. This fact, we think, might with advantage have been stated in the Catalogue. Probably the omission of the Apocryphal books indicates a more advanced type of Protestantism amongst English residents in the Low Countries than prevailed among their brethren in England. Perhaps an indication of the advancing Puritanism of English people may be seen in the fact recorded in this Catalogue, that so many copies of the English Bible—some being of the Genevan, some of the Authorized Version—have had the Apocryphal books torn out and the rest of the Bible bound up without them. Before we part from this edition of 1599, we observe that it is described in the
Catalogue

Catalogue as 'A reprint of Tomson's Genevan Bible of 1587, with the Annotations of F. Junius added.' This, so far as it goes, is a true description; but it should have been added that the translation of the Revelation is entirely distinct, both from the Genevan version and from that of Tomson, who had made a new translation for himself taken directly from Beza's text. A specimen of the two is here added to show the difference between Tomson's translation and that of F. Junius, which was modelled from Tomson's but differs from it throughout. Rev. xxii. 2 is thus rendered:—

TOMSON.

'In the midst of the street of it and of either side of the river was the tree of life which bare twelve maner of fruits & gave fruit every moneth and the leaves of the tree *served* to heal the nations with.'

JUNIUS.

'And in the midst of the open place thereof, & on either side of the river, was the tree of life, bearing twelve maner of fruites; & bringing forth fruit everie moneth, & leaves to heale the nations with.'

What is most strange is that apparently no copy of what has been called the Goose edition of the Genevan Bible has found its way into the National Library, unless it should prove that one of the six different editions catalogued should be identified with one of these. There are four varieties of this edition in Mr. Fry's library, which he designated Dort A, B, C, D respectively, because it is supposed from the emblem of the Goose, which is their characteristic, that they were printed at Dort. They have no name of the printer nor date affixed. After the date of 1611 nearly all copies, both of this and the Authorized Version, have issued with them John Speed's Table of Genealogies and a map of Canaan. The map, however, is generally wanting in copies that are now offered for sale. Speed's patent had been dated 31st October, 1610, licensing him to sell copies at 2s. for the larger folio size, 1s. 6d. for the smaller folio, 1s. for the quarto, and 6d. for the octavo. It was provided that every copy of the New Translation of the Bible should have a copy of the Genealogies and map inserted in due place. Accordingly these Genealogies, which are extremely elaborate, are usually found bound up with the Authorized Version for many years following 1611, as also with most of the Genevan 4tos which were issued between 1611 and 1616. We suppose that, in the very large number of entries of different editions of the Authorized Version of this period, these Tables will be found. And we must express our surprise that no notice is taken either of their presence in or absence from any of these copies in the *Museum*. Speed's patent was granted for ten years, but the
Genealogies

Genealogies are inserted in Bibles of all sizes long after the ten years had expired. Probably the last reprint of the Genevan Bible is that by M. Lewis, published in London 1775-6 in folio, with Tomson's New Testament. The editor of the Catalogue has forgotten to notice that it has the word *aprons* restored instead of *breeches* in Gen. iii. 7, and is therefore the only Genevan that cannot be called a Breeches Bible.

We come next to the Authorized Version of 1611, to which we have already alluded, and of which no authorization has ever appeared, though the words 'Appointed to be read in churches' appear on the title-page of the second edition in folio of 1613. In the Catalogue this book has been pretty fully described, together with the number of the translators and the respective portions of the work assigned to them. The Museum has one of the few perfect copies of this edition that have survived, and a second copy, which is deficient only in the title-page. The editor has called attention to the well-known characteristic of the original issue, which has in Ruth iii. 15 the word *he* instead of the word *she*, that, since the year 1614, has usurped its place. The verse, as it stands in this edition, is—

15 Also he said, Bring the ||baile that || Or, *sheete*,
thou hast upon thee, and holde it. And or, *apron*.
when she helde it, he measured six mea-
sures of barley, and laide it on her : and
he went into the citie.

We are surprised that no notice has been taken of the much more striking distinction between this and every other edition, viz. the repetition of three lines by mistake in Exodus xiv. 10. The importance of this repetition is great, because it entirely settles the disputed question of priority between this edition and another which closely resembles it, and which was thought to have been issued in the same year 1611, though the compiler of this Catalogue seems to prefer the notion put out by Mr. Walter E. Smith in his elaborate 'Study of the Great "She" Bible,' that it was published in 1613, with the New Testament title of 1611. The edition without the repetition is plainly the later of the two, because the compositor saw the mistake, and, wishing to have all the pages of the new edition exactly to match those of the first, spaced out the words and lines so as exactly to fill the page. This is conclusive, though Dr. Scrivener argued for the priority of the edition which avoids this mistake, on the ground that it contains so many errors of printing which do not occur in the other. Of this edition the Museum possesses several copies, some of which are imperfect. The question as to which pronoun is the right one, and which

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was intended by the translators, is difficult to settle. The feminine form is adopted by the Vulgate, the Greek Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops'; but French Protestant versions and the Lutheran have the masculine.

Another very glaring mistake in the 'She' Bible occurs at Matt. xxvi. 36, where *Judas* is wrongly printed for *Jesus*, a mistake which probably has never been repeated in any subsequent edition, although we may observe that this same mistake of *Judas* for *Jesus* had been made in John vi. 67, in a Tomson's Genevan, which was printed by Barker in London 1609, and again in another edition in the following year, apparently copied from it. Here we notice for the first time the development of Puritanism. In one of the editions printed in this year the Apocryphal books have been torn out, and in following years we observe many more copies are in the same predicament. In two instances of this kind the book without the Apocrypha has been thought worthy of a 'cover embroidered with coloured silks and gold and silver thread.' It is remarkable how many copies of the Authorized Version in this Catalogue are described between 1616-1648 as wanting the Apocrypha, which had been torn out, for as yet English printers had not taken, as they do now, to issue incomplete Bibles. The first English edition in which it was designedly omitted appears to have been in 1648, though here the Apocryphal books are named in the contents. Since that time the practice of issuing Bibles without the Apocryphal books has gradually become common, and, as is well known, the Bibles sent out by the British and Foreign Bible Society are all issued without a corresponding Apocrypha; neither was it till of late years that pressure from without induced the Christian Knowledge Society to print these books, to be added to the rest of the Old and New Testament, for those who should specially request them. One would scarcely have expected a mere catalogue of books to throw so much indirect light on the history of the Church in England. We must not omit to notice the other early folios of 1613, 1617, 1634, and 1640 of the A. V.; all, with the exception of the first printed, so exactly alike that any leaf of one may be substituted for the corresponding leaf of another. Nevertheless, a close inspection would enable any reader to distinguish them. And there is one special distinction in every page of the edition of 1617 from all the others, viz. that the space between the columns is appreciably wider than in any of the rest.

There is another point illustrated in this Catalogue which we know not how to account for. It is the immense preponderance of Oxford editions over those published at Cambridge.

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It is well known that the King's printers and the Universities have long enjoyed a monopoly in publishing Bibles without note or comment. As regards ancient Greek Bibles and the Vulgate Bible, this Catalogue contains no edition at all published at either Oxford or Cambridge. When we come to English Bibles, we find a Genevan version issued at Cambridge in 4to in 1591. This was printed by John Legate and dated May 29. It is so scarce that Lea Wilson says, 'The volume is not paged, and I have never seen or heard of another copy of this beautiful edition, which is the earliest at present known printed at Cambridge.' Other editions of the Authorized Version follow from Cambridge in 1629, 1630, 1633, 1635, 1637, 1638, 1640, 1648, 1657, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1663, 1668, 1670, 1673, 1674, and 1675, in which last year the first Bible appeared from the Oxford press. From this time forward, for 150 years, the number of Bibles printed at Oxford is four times as great as that of the Cambridge editions.

We do not think it worth our while to chronicle the many absurd mistakes which occur in some of these Bibles, and which have given them the distinctive names of the Bug Bible, the Wicked Bible, &c. Most of those commonly known are mentioned in connexion with the particular edition in which they appear, and several other curious blunders of printing which we believe have never been mentioned before. The extreme accuracy which characterises all modern editions issued by the Universities or by the Queen's Printers is notorious. But this was by no means the case with earlier editions, either of the Authorized or the other versions. Of course there are Bibles of the present century that will not be found in this Catalogue, though we do not know why certain editions are allowed a place whilst others are excluded. Perhaps the reason for preserving an Oxford 16mo of 1869 may have been because at John i. 48 *Pilate* is misprinted for *Philip*.

There is one obscure point in connexion with the issues of the Authorized Version of the year 1630 and subsequent years upon which this Catalogue throws no light, and to which no writer, so far as we know, has paid any attention.

It appears from the entry in the Domestic State Papers of the year 1629 that a grant was made by Clement Cotton to print and bind with all copies of this version for twenty-one years, 'A briefe Concordance to the last translation of the Holy Bible allowed by the public authority of the Church of England.' The grant contains the remarkable clause that no person shall 'bind or cause to be bound with any Bible of the said last translation any book or books whatsoever (other than

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the said Concordance hereby granted to the said Clement), unless the same have already been allowed by our special privilege declared under our great seal, or shall be approved and allowed under the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London for the time being, or any two of them, whereof the Bishop of London for the time being to be one, and likewise authorized under our great seal of England, upon pain of forfeiture of all such books so bound to the use of us, our heirs and successors, and upon such further penalties as may be inflicted by any our laws or decrees,' &c. The privilege conferred by this grant was made over for a consideration to Nicholas Bourne, as we learn from a State Paper of March 8, 1630, when Cotton petitioned the Council, who seem to have forbidden its being issued with all Bibles; and Laud, then Bishop of London, allowed it to be printed with the Bible, but specially provided that the Bible might be issued without it, and that no other book should be bound up with the Authorized Version, Bibles up to that time having been most frequently published either with the Prayer Book or with Concordances. And on the 16th of April, 1631, the license to Cotton for the sole imprinting the Concordance was issued. The compiler of this Concordance was John Downname, brother of George Downname, Bishop of Derry. At least six editions of this Concordance were published between 1631 and 1642, in sizes varying from 12mo to folio, most of them being in 4to, to match the Bibles of that size. But it is curious that not one of the Bibles in the Museum has it bound up with them. It must have been but little popular. And what is more curious still is that there have been no tidings of any edition antecedent to 1631. Yet there exists a 4to edition of 1630, a copy of which we have now before us, bound up with the Cambridge Bible of 1630, pp. 918. As it is alleged to be printed by the assigns of Clement Cotton and not by Cotton himself, it is plain that this issue is of later date than March 8, 1630. It is neither paged nor foliated; the title bearing the date and address, 'London, Printed by the Assignes of Clement Cotton, 1630. *Cum privilegio.*' On the back of the title is 'An abstract of his Maiesties Graunt,' from which we have made an extract. The next leaf contains John Downname's Address to the Reader, and then follow fifty-six leaves, apparently wanting one, or perhaps two, as the copy ends with the reference to the word 'Workes.'

The Concordance itself is of so useful and compact a kind, and the Preface so sensible and judicious, that the reader may be glad of a description of it. The author explains that, as
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he had to compress much into a small space, he had selected the prominent word in a sentence, and under the same heading had arranged cognate words. Thus under the head *Craft* he includes *Crafty* and *Craftiness*; and where the expressions are similar, he contents himself with giving the reference to the parallel passage. He then refers to a larger Concordance lately published by Clement Cotton for those who want to find chapter and verse for any word not the principal word in the sentence.

Immediately following the Catalogue of English Bibles come the other versions, most of them, of course, quite modern; and we must for the present pass them by in order to say a few words about a version which comes near the end of the series, viz. the Welsh.

This version occupies the last three columns with the exception of a few lines devoted to the Wendish and the Yoruba, for the latter of which we are indebted mainly to the late Negro bishop, Samuel Adjai Crowther. The date of the first Welsh Bible is specially interesting. It was published in the year of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, and serves to remind us what poor provision the English Government made for the edification of the Welsh in the Reformed doctrines. Without possessing a Bible in the vernacular, it was impossible for the Welsh clergy or laity to follow the Reformed service, though this defect was partially remedied a few years earlier by the translation into Welsh of the English Prayer Book; for it must be remembered that at that time none of the people of the Northern Welsh dioceses, and very few indeed in the South, spoke or understood a word of English. This edition is so scarce that there is only one copy, and that imperfect, in the National Library. How little it was used may be gathered from the fact that it was not till 1620, thirty-two years afterwards, that a revised edition was published. After this time other editions appear at intervals of from ten to twenty years down to the year 1807, and at somewhat shorter intervals down to 1878, which is the date of the last calendared Welsh Bible in this Catalogue. There may have been other issues of the Welsh Bible of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which have not found their way into the Museum, though in Lowndes' 'Bibliographer's Manual' we find scarcely any other editions noticed down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The remark we have made with regard to the destitution of the Church in Wales applies with augmented force to the diocese of Sodor and Man, for the earliest published Bible in the Manx language is dated 1771-5. It was published at Whitehaven, and is said to have been translated

by several persons and revised by Philip Moore and John Kelly. The editor of the Catalogue tells us that in this Bible, 'Of the Apocrypha only the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus are published here.' The only other copy of a Manx Bible is a reprint of this edition without any Apocrypha, published in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the year 1819, in 8vo, with the title '*Yn Vible Casherick*,' &c.

There is one point in this portion of the Catalogue which deals with English Bibles, that will strike any one who is familiar with old Bibles, though probably it would escape the notice of most persons. It is the absence of the Prayer Book from most copies of the Elizabethan period. We do not know how it is to be accounted for, but it is certainly true that, whereas the great majority of the Genevan Bibles of this time printed in black letter are accompanied with a Prayer Book which was printed to match them, yet most of those here catalogued are without this accompaniment. The earliest Bible in this Catalogue which has the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, and Collects, is what is called the Carmarden edition of Cranmer's Bible, printed at Rouen in 1566; and here they are part of the publication itself, and are described as 'The preliminary matter which occupies twenty-two leaves.' The same arrangement appears in a quarto reprint of 1569, where the Order of Prayer occupies sixteen leaves. In the Bishops' Bible, which was intended to supersede Cranmer's for use in the churches and the Genevan for family reading, no such arrangement seems to have been adopted till 1573, when its fourth edition was published in a quarto form, the preliminary matter including the whole Book of Common Prayer. It is a most curious fact that the Psalms in the text of this Bible are not those of the Bishops' version, but a repetition of those in the Prayer Book, which have all along been those of Cranmer's Bible, as they are still read in Church at the present day. Subsequently the Bishops' Bible was several times issued, sometimes with the complete service of the Prayer Book, sometimes with the omission of the Psalter. The editor of the Genevan Bible adopted a different plan, and printed Prayer Books separately of the same respective size as the Bibles, so that they might be bound up with them or not. As a matter of fact most of the Bibles we have seen have the Prayer Book at the beginning, rarely at the end. Thus in an edition which is now before us in Roman type, of 1598-97, 4to, a Prayer Book in black letter is bound up with it at the end, whereas the Museum copy of this edition has none. This copy, however, is otherwise much mutilated, wanting many leaves, and has been robbed of
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its Apocrypha. Similarly the edition of 1589 in black letter, 4to, has a Prayer Book to match in a copy now before us; yet neither of the copies in the Museum, which bear this date and which are noticed as having differences in all parts, has any accompanying Prayer Book.

It must not be supposed that this Catalogue exhausts the subject, even of old and scarce Bibles. There are certainly some, we do not know how many, editions which will not be found catalogued here. In evidence of this we proceed to describe a very curious edition which now lies before us, and which cannot be identified with any of those mentioned here. It is a quarto dated 1730-28, without any name of place. At first we tried to identify it with a quarto of 1730 of Amsterdam, two copies of which are in the Library, and to the second copy of which there is appended the following note: 'In this copy a new title-page and following leaf printed in London in 1730, and a new title-page to the New Testament with the false date 1728, have been substituted for the original leaves; and the original leaf containing the order of the books is cancelled.' This is the only edition in quarto of 1730 noticed here. It is to be regretted that the editor has not in this instance, as he has in so many other cases, given us the number of lines in a page. Fortunately, however, he has noticed an error which will help in enabling us to compare the two books:—'In this edition verse 23 of Gen. xxix. is omitted.' Upon turning to signat. B 5 in our edition, we find that the verse is given; but upon looking closely at the leaf, it is quite plain that it has been substituted for another leaf, for this has sixty-three lines to a full column, whilst the rest of the book has only fifty-eight. The paper also differs in its wire seams and the printing is very inferior. The same process has been repeated in B 6 of the New Testament, which has been substituted for another leaf. It may perhaps be presumed that this is the same with the Amsterdam edition of 1730. It is certainly from a Dutch press, as is indicated by the number of mistakes throughout, which resemble those made by Dutch compositors in printing English books, but which would be almost impossible for an English printer to have made. Such are the frequent interchange of *d*, *t*, and *th*, and *j* for *y*. Thus we have *te* for *the*, *fort* for *forth*, *joung* for *young*, *goot* for *good*, *dit* for *did*, *heighth* for *height*, *y* for *I*, *hearth* for *heart*, &c. In many places also *you* has been substituted for *ye* in the nominative case.

Another characteristic is that the Psalms are marked off for Morning and Evening Prayer, as if it was intended that this version should be used instead of that of the Prayer Book.

Also a date is assigned to such of the Psalms as seemed to the editor likely to have been written at such a time. Thus the 2nd Psalm has in the margin the date 1047; and the 137th, which is the last that is dated, is assigned to the year 570. Also the passages appointed for the Epistles and Gospels are apostyled in the margin at the commencement, but not at the termination. The book also differs from English Bibles of the Authorized Version in having after the title and leaf of dedication an index of seventeen pages, followed by the two tables of names and contents, which are generally found at the end of editions of the Genevan Bible, and also five pages of Tables of Scripture Measures, Weights, and Coins, &c., by Bishop Cumberland, which are sometimes found in later editions of the Authorized Version.

Whether or not this Bible is of the same issue with the quarto of Amsterdam in the Museum, which bears the date 1730, it is certain that it was printed in the Netherlands at some date not earlier than 1728, and possibly some years later retaining the date of that from which it is copied. It is of some historical interest if it is the last edition printed abroad of the Authorized Version, with plumes borrowed from the Genevan. As such it represents a class of Bibles every member of which is represented in the Museum. This is without annotations, but there had been several preceding editions in folio which not only borrowed the Genevan Tables, but also fully reprinted the Tomson-Genevan notes. The importance of these editions is this, that they show how much more extensively Puritan notions prevailed in the Netherlands than in this country. The first of these editions was published at Amsterdam by Joost Broerss. It is without the Apocrypha books, and has neither maps nor engravings, except those on the handsome title-page, which is of date 1642, whilst that of the New Testament is 1643. In this edition, in the Name and Order of the Books, no mention is made of the Apocrypha. This edition has, between the Old and New Testaments, two leaves, which contain 'An admonition to the Christian Reader concerning the Apocrypha books, wherein are shewed the reasons and grounds wherefore they are here omitted, as not canonically, and not to be accounted amongst the Books of undoubted truth, as the HOLY SCRIPTURES are to be held for. After assigning all the reasons for rejecting these books, the admonition ends with the following words, printed in a large type: 'Ordnained at the Synode of Dort in the yeare 1618. Set out and annexed by the Deputies to the end of the Dutche Bible newly Translated.'

The book is printed with extreme carelessness, having mistakes in almost every page. These Dutch editions of the Authorized Version with Genevan notes were issued at intervals, one appearing in 1672, others in 1679, 1683, 1708, and 1715, apparently copied one from another. Copies of all these are to be found in this Catalogue, and there was no later edition of the A.V. with Genevan notes.

These editions are seldom met with, and, we think, quite as well deserved a few words of description as many others which the editor has thought more worthy of notice. In defect of such notice we venture to supply the following remarks. We have said enough to imply that the edition by Broerss of Amsterdam, 1642-3, was miserably set up by a compositor who knew next to nothing of English, and was corrected, if corrected at all, by one nearly as ignorant as himself. The printer's name is altered from Broerss in the general title to Broersz in that of the New Testament, and the word 'Pijl-Street' printed in the same place as 'Pijl Steegh.' The others, though in a type extremely different, follow it servilely, having the same catchwords at the bottom of the page. So servilely indeed has the Broerss edition been followed, that on the title-page they have preserved the sentence, 'The which Notes have never been till now set forth with this new Translation, but are now placed in due order by J. C.' This assertion, which was absolutely true in 1642, could not possibly have been true in any subsequently printed edition. But though containing many errors, they have corrected many of those made by Broerss, and were certainly supervised by some one who understood more of English than those, whoever they were, who superintended the edition of 1642-3. A crucial illustration of this supervision is the following. In a marginal note to the word *reward* in Matthew vi. 1, Tomson had rendered Beza's solifidian note to the word *mercedem*—'*Mercedis nomen passim in Scripturis sumitur pro præmio etiam gratuito: ideo frustra scholastici statuunt meriti et mercedis relationem*'—thus: 'This worde, Rewarde, is alwayes taken in the Scriptures for a free recompence, and therefore the schoolemen doe fondly set it to be answerable to a deserving, which they call merite.' Here Broerss had printed the words *doe fondly* as *do foundly*. The producer of the next folio edition, not understanding the meaning or origin of this mistake, made the conjecture, which was more ingenious than correct, that *foundly* was meant for *soundly*, and that therefore the preceding word *do* was a mere misprint, and so they rendered Beza's *frustra* by *unsoundly*, and this appears in subsequent editions down to the last of 1715.

We have already said that copies of the Broerss edition neither contain the Apocryphal books, nor mention them in the Table of Contents, although so many editions place them in the Contents without having them in the book itself. And yet the Psalms are marked out for Morning and Evening Service, perhaps only for private use, for there is no other indication in this volume of any adaptation to public worship, which would have necessitated the printing of the Apocryphal lessons. Possibly this want may have been felt even amongst the English congregations in the Netherlands. And this may have led to the idea of inserting the Apocryphal books, which appear in all the other editions which have followed that of Broerss, excepting that of 1672. All these editions have been described in the Catalogue without any reference being made to the presence or absence of the Apocryphal books. As this is a matter of some importance, it ought to have been noticed. The edition of 1672 is of smaller size than those that were printed afterwards, and follows Broerss' edition so closely as to have copied the mistake of paging 359 and 360 twice over, and continuing the paging so till page 658, which is numbered 678, and the paging going on from this to the end. This latter mistake has, however, been rectified.

The insertion of the Apocryphal books seems to have been an after-thought, for their names do not appear in the Table of Contents; and in the earlier folios, excepting that of 1715, they are printed in a smaller type and with wider columns than the rest of the Bible. And it is worthy of remark that all the copies we have seen of these later editions are provided with editions of the Book of Common Prayer at the beginning, and of Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms at the end. The last of these editions is in some respects the most complete of them all. It contains the Book of Common Prayer, evidently printed at the same place, at the beginning, and the Metrical Psalms at the end; it also has all the maps, as in the other preceding editions, together with a series of leaves showing six or eight small engravings, each of which represents a succession of scenes described in the text of the Bible. These are numbered up to 100 for the Old Testament, the last page of them being devoted to the Apocryphal books. Those referring to the New Testament are not continuous, the first engraving opposite Matt. i. being numbered (3), and the first (2) being opposite Luke i. The New Testament engravings amount to 55. This edition is also peculiar in that it has the Apocrypha printed exactly in the same type and in the same form with the rest of the Bible. It has also nouns substantive printed with capital

capital initials. It is upon the whole perhaps the most correctly printed of all these Amsterdam editions, but yet has many mistakes, such as Dutch printers commonly make; one which we have not specified before being the interchange of the words *they* and *thy*, which is common in them all. This praise however does not apply to the Book of Common Prayer, which is usually found annexed to this volume. Though it came from the same press, it is full of blunders of printing, some of them of great importance. We have counted as many as eight misprints in a single page. The importance of some of these errors may be judged from the following specimen. In the Catechism, in the answer to the question 'What is required of persons to be baptized?' the words *whereby they forsake sin and faith* are wholly omitted; and in the Service for the Baptism of those of Riper Years, the three paragraphs following the actual administration of the Sacrament have slipped out of their proper place, and appear at the end of the Office.

None of these editions of the Authorized text with Genevan notes appear to have been published with the Book of Common Prayer appearing as part of the volume. Yet all those published since 1672, we believe, are almost always found with this book bound up with them and the Metrical Psalms at the end. Whether the copies in the Museum are thus supplemented, we cannot say. We must suppose they are without them, as no notice is taken of the point.

In foreign Bibles down to the eighteenth century the British Museum is not nearly so rich as in English, of which perhaps the number that may be said to be wanting may be counted on the fingers. We cannot pretend to guess the number of these, whether German, French, or in other languages, in which it is deficient. Nor can we pronounce on the relative scarcity of such editions. Certainly some which were exhibited in the Caxton Exhibition of 1878, are not in the Museum. For instance there is no copy of the second Danish edition, described in that Catalogue as a folio of 1589. Also there are some editions of the Latin version which are absent. We will, however, mention one edition of Luther's translation which is not to be found mentioned in this Catalogue. It is a 4to of 1686. The copy before us wants its first title, but has two other titles with this date: one at the Prophets, where a new paging begins, and one at the New Testament, both having Wittenberg for the place of printing. The Apocrypha, which begins on folio 143, on the first column of the obverse of which the prophet Malachi ends, has a leaf inserted which might be considered a title-page, having eleven engravings of Apocryphal subjects surrounding a
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small square with the names of the books inserted, with the additions of the third and fourth books of Ezra and the third book of the Maccabees. These last three books are printed in much smaller type, are not foliated, but are marked signat. a to signat. c₃: all in 4's. The New Testament has its own title, and is foliated 1-164, all in 4's. It has also several maps as well as many leaves inserted, each of which contains several small engravings of Scripture subjects, and has in the preliminary matter several portraits of the successive dukes of Saxony. From the number of folios being 348, 228, 164, we may suppose this edition was reprinted from the 4to published by B. C. Wurt, at Wittenberg, in 1664, a copy of which is catalogued. But the editor has not noticed either the presence or the absence of the three additional Apocryphal books which occupy the eleven unnumbered leaves between the Prayer of Manasseh and the New Testament. We observe also that there is one other edition in 4to by the same publisher, dated Wittenberg 1700, the Prophets bearing the date 1699, and the New Testament 1698, which must have been copied either from that of 1664 or from this of 1686.

The last Bible we have to notice is the Revised Version of 1611. The New Testament was issued in 1881, and the Old Testament in 1888. Of course the Museum possesses copies of all the editions of various sizes issued by the Oxford and Cambridge presses. The utter failure of the publication is manifested in the fact that, in the twelve years which have elapsed since the New Testament was given to the world, there has been no call for a reprint. There is no sign of its supplanting the so-called Authorized Version. It may still, perhaps, have its use, though, as far as the altered readings in the New Testament are concerned, a sixth-form schoolboy could have given the information required for the amending of the mistakes of the translators of the edition of 1611.

Whilst we are writing we observe that the Clarendon Press is offering editions of various sizes in lots of not less than 500 at one-sixth of the published prices, the sixpenny edition for one penny, the shilling for twopence, and that at eighteenpence for threepence. Was there ever a publication which, in a financial point of view, so completely disappointed the hopes of its projectors? and who will not rejoice at the failure of a work which has so signally degenerated from the magnificent rhythm of the version which it was designed to amend and supplant?

ART. VIII.—1. *London Improvements Bill*. London County Council. In Parliament, 1893.

2. *Betterment*. By Arthur Baumann. London, 1893.

3. *Speech of the Earl of Onslow on the Second Reading of the London Improvements Bill in the House of Lords*. 1893.

NOW that the 'betterment' clauses of the London Improvements Bill have been rejected by the House of Lords, it will perhaps be well to discuss and to explain this new proposal of taxation; so that in case it should again be introduced, in either a private or a public bill, for the adoption of the Legislature, its method may be understood, and its natural and economic results and influence may be foreseen.

By 'betterment' the London County Council were to be allowed, at their own fancy or caprice, to mark out certain properties for exceptional taxation, on the assumption that these properties were actually 'bettered' by such works as were not meant to 'better' them, but to improve the local district, or the whole metropolis. It was not said that all that were improved should pay, but only those which in the vague opinion of officials, and in certain neighbourhoods, might seem to be improved.

The 'principle,' as we are told, was known in England upwards of two centuries ago; but, as it had a very short acceptance, we may well suppose that want of principle was really what it seemed to indicate. Again, it is adopted in America; but this perhaps is not a warranty of any value. What we hear of the more prominent municipalities in the United States is not a worthy guarantee for any special economic 'principle' to which they are addicted. The tendency of experienced opinion would be to question very strictly any action of an American municipality that had not the historical approval of our corporate towns in England. In America injustice is particularly swift; there is no House of Lords. The people are impulsive and incautious; and their flagrant errors in political economy may lead even their most generous admirers to doubt their special wisdom in less prominent municipal affairs. Besides, what might, though ill-advised, be possible on newly laid-out building sites of freehold tenure, and called prematurely 'cities,' would be foolishly attempted in an old and close-built territory, having several interests in each plot of ground, as in our vast Metropolis.

It will be well to leave America alone; and to retain the discussion of 'betterment' within those rules of equity and

justice which have been, until quite recently, the accepted guides and limits of our English legislation. And, still further, it will be advisable to argue the whole case with circumspection and deliberate care. There is now time for ample statement, and for complete discussion; and perhaps there may at length be found, with general approval, some appropriate means for getting even more than 'betterment' has been expected to provide, while still maintaining principles which are our means of public safety, the palladium of our modern civilized society.

It is quite evident that an expenditure of vast amount is needed for the benefit of those who live in London. Twenty millions sterling, at the least, are wanted for immediate expenditure; and members of the London County Council have to find how current interest and the gradual repayment of this heavy sum can be provided for. With such responsibilities, and with a spendthrift, often impecunious, constituency, impatient of taxation, and mere lodgers on the soil, it is not to be wondered at that any scheme, however novel and erroneous, that promises a diminution of the rates, should be accepted without serious enquiry by the County Council whether it would be strictly just, and also worthily efficient for the current need.

In neither of these qualities has the 'betterment' that was so recently defeated been acceptable. It was both unjust and tyrannical, in principle and in operation; and, while thus objectionable in its character, it was incapable of relieving the community by any appreciable amount. The object of 'betterment' is said to be the partial diminution of the great threatening burden that the residents in London have to bear for future public works; and this was to be done by taxing those who either are not residents at all, and therefore are not interested in the works, or who, being residents, already pay their share of all the local rating.

And here we must distinguish between two important kinds of impost: the Imperial and the local; taxes and rates. Taxes are levied on various commodities, that those who hire or purchase these commodities may in their hiring or investment pay their share of what the State demands for general protection and administration. Some, still further, pay an income-tax; they pay not only when they spend, but also when they happily receive; a form indeed of confiscation. Then there are stamp, legacy, and probate duties, and some taxes on the vanities of men; all which go into the coffers of the State. These taxes are *specific*; they are raised by special statutes; and they ultimately

ultimately fall upon the whole community of users and consumers.

Rates are entirely different; they are a personal payment, not a tax on things. Their object is to pay for local charity and works, and for the delegated personal expenditure of the community, as undertaken by the local powers; and they are levied on the inhabitants of the several parishes, but not upon the property. When not personally represented by a beneficial occupant, house property and land are not criteria for rating, since there is no annual income or enjoyment. In order that the poor shall pay less, and the rich more, with reference to their several establishments and users of the works, all residences, lands, and buildings are quinquennially rated, mostly in approximation to the actual rental; and the occupants have to pay directly, or in many cases indirectly, in proportion to this rating. It must, however, be explained repeatedly, and clearly understood, that rates are not a tax on a commodity, as is the case with the Imperial taxes; they have reference to the individual. He is rated according to the annual value of his residence, his occupation rent, to pay for various things that the community provide for his convenience, just as he pays his landlord for his house; and if he fails to pay, neither the residence nor the territorial proprietor becomes liable. Moreover, both the rating and the claim are temporary; not, as in the case of taxes, permanent. Houses are rated every few years according to their varying value; and rates are struck each year for the calculated annual expenditure.

Such is the difference and distinction between rates and taxes that was recognized when masters in finance controlled the government. But more recently the Imperial Parliament has sometimes failed to recognize this elementary distinction; and, owing to such legislative laxity, the London County Council have by their new 'betterment' clauses sought, under the name of a mere annual rate on persons, to impose a permanent tax on a commodity; and this commodity not one that if overtaxed could be withdrawn and used elsewhere, but one that must remain and suffer confiscation. The land and houses may decline in value almost to worthlessness, and yet the confiscating tax would be demanded; although this novel project, by its introduction as a 'rate,' suggested a mere temporary and varying charge. Such was the impression that most people would receive on hearing the accustomed name; and, no doubt, very many have been grievously misled and mystified by this device; the object really being an impost, not on persons but on property. Not only so, but the tax was not to
be

be imposed on any actual value ; it was to be a tax by prophecy. Some erring son of man was to declare what he thought possibly might be the expectant, not the extant, or the recent worth of property that, by the action of the London County Council, and from its future situation and surroundings, had been made most dangerously uncertain in its value ; and which had been specially depreciated by the litigation, costs, and general forfeiture of 'quiet enjoyment,' that this proceeding of the Council had occasioned.

When an improvement is proposed, the reason generally is that the property surrounding the proposed improvement has been suffering for many years from great municipal neglect, and that an endeavour to restore the balance with more favoured areas must be made ; that an historical injustice is to be abated, and that a local claim, at length, is to be satisfied. The equity of the matter would evidently be that due compensation should be granted by the London County Council for a long-protracted and injurious inattention. But 'betterment' was not, as might be thought, this compensating form of rectitude ; quite otherwise, a new and further evil was to be inflicted. Special people in a limited locality defined by some unknown and arbitrary delegation were to be surtaxed and worried in their businesses, or in their property, because the public, for their own convenience, needed certain works of general improvement. Uncertainty is to most people worse than ordinary failure ; and an improvement made for the convenience of the county as a whole, and not especially on the demand of the immediate locality, is of most uncertain influence, and is likely to be very dangerous to a large proportion of those occupying or possessing local property. A change of this kind must involve great risk ; since none can tell what others in the neighbourhood may do when a large area is affected by a public work. The ground, as we have often witnessed, may lie waste for many years ; or, on the devastated area, constructions, businesses, and manufactures may appear, of the most objectionable kind to those who hitherto have been secure from such injurious neighbours. Traffic may be entirely diverted, and custom possibly may follow the new line, or even merely cross the street ; or quiet businesses may be disturbed by an obstructive or vexatious increase in the number of conveyances. The character of the neighbourhood may be completely altered ; and shops of various kinds, that have for many years been perfectly successful, may find all their ancient trades migrating to the new erections that resulted from this public work. Yet *these so injured* or endangered people would have no accepted claim

claim against the County Council; but, on the contrary, by 'betterment' they might be made to pay a special tax, beyond the general rate, to carry out this injury. Of course there may be benefit as well as injury to some of those affected by the local change; but whether there will be benefit at all, or when it will be realized, and when exhausted, whether by the ordinary lapse of time, or by still further changes, are the problems that some fallible mortal called an Arbitrator is to solve in his prophetic soul; and yet, in the most arbitrary spirit of a despotism, so characteristic of our modern Liberals, entirely without appeal.—'No objection to any Resolution or Award which could be made under this Act shall be otherwise made or allowed in any court proceeding or manner whatsoever.'

The Arbitrator has, in his imagination, to decide what will be the enhancement given to the property and lands, in the long future, on the areas that the London County Council have, according to their whim or fancy, circumscribed. An Arbitrator in his usual business carefully decides between two parties, from experienced opinion, founded upon actual facts. If he decided on no fact at all, but merely on hypothesis, he would be but a pseudo-prophet, or a speculator; and the word Arbitrator, as in the Bill of the London County Council, would be but a delusive term. The prophet's utterances, most absurdly called decisions, destitute of certainty and fact, would be visionary; and the subjects of them would thus have to pay, not on the value or improvement of their property, but according to the dull or the imaginative state of the poor speculator's brain.

Before, however, there is any call upon an Arbitrator, the Provisional Award inflicted by the Council on the property within their fancy area, is to be the subject of discussion in the Council meetings; and the Council might 'by resolution approve the same, either with or without modification or addition, as they thought fit.' It would be difficult to forecast the amount of jobbery and intrigue to which the victims of the County Council might thus be subjected. By any means, the principle, as it is called, of ultimately plundering landlords, poor and rich, by sectional taxation, not the prompt amount of 'betterment,' was to be secured; and every person interested in the fatal district would have had his property and his affairs discussed, and his peculiar fate decided, by a common gathering of citizens, distinguished only by their want of knowledge, and their clamorous antagonism to the designated victims of their scheme. The *pollex inversus* of the Roman circus was not more dangerous. There the merits or demerits of the case were publicly well understood, and might perhaps be fairly judged within

within the rules; but here there would not be the merest semblance of impartiality and justice. An assembly in which party-spirit is strong would be called upon to judge a question that nine-tenths of them would never, by the habitude of business, understand; and these assessors would approach the subject, not as independent voters, but as men directly interested, and as representing those who are supposed to benefit by an unjust award.

But even this would not be all. The County Council were not only to prescribe the area to be thus exceptionally treated; or to publish an award, and to discuss it; or to obtain the sanction of one specially inspired to estimate the future. The Arbitrator was to have *an absolute, exclusive power to apportion* 'betterment' between the several estates and interests in each plot of land within the area of confiscation. He might thus impose the tax expressly on the freehold property, and even upon vacant houses and on open unused land; so that a landlord who might have no income from the property would still be called upon to pay. Indeed, taxation of all real property, even to confiscation, was the main object, furtively attempted, of the whole affair. On a proposal of this kind the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Town Holdings reported, in May 1892, that

'the proposed assessment is one laid upon capital and not upon income. An annual tax upon capital is at variance with the axioms of taxation generally accepted since the time of Adam Smith, viz. that a taxpayer should contribute in proportion to the revenue he enjoys, and that a tax ought to be levied at the time and in the manner most convenient to the contributor. The proposal thus to tax capital constitutes an entirely new departure from the basis hitherto universally adopted in this country for local taxation; and if accepted, *we cannot see how its application can be fairly confined to the special kind of property now in question.*'

No; of course, it cannot be confined to landed property and houses. Why should the proprietor of these be taxed while other kinds of property go free? The land is but the platform on which wealth is made, and has a long-deferred and tardily repeated profit. But in all commercial towns the wealth comes from the daily sale of movable commodities; and it would be as sensible to tax the ship and not the freight, as to tax urban land and leave untaxed the goods, of an immeasurably greater value, that secure a large proportion of this value from their exhibition on the land.

The County Council would, no doubt, be guided by the best advice; and eminent surveyors are not difficult to find. Their
predecessors,

predecessors, also, had such men of eminent ability at their disposal; and it seems, historically, that when these able men of business came to prophesy, their word was not established. They pronounced prophetic valuations on the Farringdon Street Extension; and, owing to the fanciful appraisement, this large area was left unoccupied, to the serious loss and detriment of the public, for something like a quarter of a century, until the railway came to take the land. Such prophesying, under 'betterment,' might therefore mean the absolute destruction of the value subject to the inspiration. No one would take the overvalued Farringdon Street land; and, similarly, property prophetically estimated and unduly burdened by this 'betterment' taxation would be ruined in the market, and those interested in it would become involved in a catastrophe. Farringdon New Market also, under similar advice, was a prophetic failure; and the New Fish Market did not justify the experts. Even the Holborn Viaduct entirely failed to 'better' all these properties, although they were immediately adjacent, and would certainly have been within a County Council's circumscription; and the ground recovered by the Thames Embankment, being overvalued, has but recently been wholly occupied. Profit and loss alternate in every trade; and though merchants enter into business with the expectation of success, they often fail. But County Council prophets are assumed to be entirely safe, and there is no appeal from their prophetic visions to the common sense of equity and justice. More than all, this 'betterment' is thus to be imposed by those who are to gain, on those who are to lose; while no protecting daysman interposes to prevent the initiation of the persecution, or to contest the incidence of confiscation. Those whom it is now sought to tax apart from their fellow-citizens may be entirely unrepresented, since freeholders, non-occupant, are wholly without franchise for the London County Council elections. It is hardly credible that a large majority of the House of Commons should, to their political disgrace, have accepted a measure so alien from the spirit of British right and freedom.

Though, in our opinion, the London County Council have acted with injustice in this matter, we will not in return treat them with unfairness. They, no doubt, have a sincere desire to benefit the public; and they, also without doubt, are very pardonably ignorant. They have, mostly, had no special training in municipal finance; and, though probably successful in various spheres of business, they have, owing greatly to the form of tenure of the land in London, very slight acquaintance with the incidents of real property. For this they are not held

to blame; but where they so unpardonably fail is in their want of modesty and patience, their acceptance of one-sided information, their neglect of diligent research. Truth is not superficial; it is gained by digging deep, with much exertion; but the London County Council have looked merely at the surface of things, without any understanding of the things themselves.

But we are dealing, among other facts, with failing and imperfect human nature. While the contingent influence of the 'betterment' clauses would be most distressing to the subjects of them, and would, perhaps, be far more trying than the mere accumulated tax, there are the citizens of London, those who pay the rates, to be considered. In most human characters there is a growth of emulation, jealousy, or envy, as it may develop in each individual mind, that in the world of business and municipal affairs must warily be reckoned with. Men are not always wise; and folly enters largely into most political endeavours. Its remoter influence is not altogether bad; it often stimulates to action. Members of the London County Council, having noticed, not perhaps alone, what has been fantastically called an 'unearned increment,' a possible financial gain to neighbouring interests, from, shall we say, the opening of a crooked lane called Shaftesbury Avenue, become aggrieved, and jealous, and resentful. Forthwith they wish to 'intercept' a portion of the gain, without assuming any of the loss. 'Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others,' has a varying interpretation. Many men bear very ill a neighbour's prompt good fortune; and when it is discovered that, even in the remotest and most paltry way, the benefit has apparently resulted from a personal sacrifice by the beholder, the result is public jealousy; which, when combined with want of information, leads, among the lower spirits of the population, to much active envy and mean tyranny, the local substitute for patriotic sentiment and self-devotion.

In London we are in an extraordinary territorial condition, which, with its consequences, needs perhaps some explanation. In our early Medieval England, property consisted for the most part of land, or of the produce of the land, distinct from manufactured goods, which were a small part only of the nation's wealth; and, owing to their common and associated interest in agricultural affairs, the aristocracy led, sympathised with, represented, and sometimes protected the entire population. But as commerce, manufactures, and the funded debt accumulated, and investments could be made in stocks, shares, and foreign enterprises, property became more varied in its character,

character, as well as greater in amount; and customs and excise developed, as a tax on mobile property. Commerce became a power; and commercial leaders became rivals of the aristocracy. The residents in towns regarded landlords with some jealousy; and the incidence of taxation on real and personal property respectively, became a subject of political discussion. Unfortunately for themselves and for the nation, the landlords held too firmly to the land, as a chief source of social influence and of political power; and did not in their due proportion join with business people in commercial enterprises.* They became too obviously an order, socially, with exclusive interests; and so, in appearance, alien from a large and active portion of the nation. Here, in London, this apparent severance of interest has, during the last hundred years, been greatly emphasized by a peculiar tenure of the land; which, though ill-advised, was fair, and even welcome to the original lessees, who wished to save themselves from paying purchase-money down, but now by the results of time becomes offensive to the population, and excites in them antagonism to the owners of the land.

This must be recognized as an important fact. The landlords are, to a most obvious extent in London, a restricted class. As landlords they, quite equitably, pay no rates, except for buildings that they personally use. But all their real property is visible; and if improvement works should seem to inexperienced multitudes to benefit, even indirectly, any portion of this local property, although the freehold landlord may have gained no benefit at all, the lacklands quickly become jealous. The improvement that the population had promoted was entirely for their own behoof; and all the occupants in London are supposed to gain by what is done. Indeed, the benefit to distant occupants and traders would have been incomparably greater than the most that would accrue to occupants in the immediate neighbourhood of the various works; or certainly these works would not have been desired. But if any not within the fatal boundary are, however largely, benefited by the works, there is no special and interminable tax proposed for them. Although their gain is prompt and great, their goods and chattels are not confiscated to relieve the general community. But should property in land and houses seem, by reason of propinquity, to have a chance of

* Of late there have been relaxations of this long seclusion. The Duke of Fife, for instance, has disposed of many of his Banffshire farms; and he has also spoken very wisely on the subject. See also Professor Nicholson's excellent address to the British Association at Nottingham, in 1893.

some deferred improvement, then a clamour of excited, envious ignorance is raised to tax it. Why should this one form of property be raided on, while all other properties go free? 'The public weal is nothing unless *all* the individuals of society are safe and protected.' (J. J. Rousseau.)

Yet, after all, the gain to the community from 'betterment' would have been entirely imperceptible. Will it be believed, that all this trouble to the local area was proposed in order that each individual throughout London may be saved at most one-thirtieth of a farthing sterling in the total annual rates; that, on the other hand, the law costs in obtaining this reduction would quite equal the sum saved; and that for a trumpery 170*l.* a year the isolated few of an immense community were to be tortured, possibly for half their lives, with apprehensions and demands, and public, loud discussions, suits at law, and prophecies, and arbitrary confiscations; till the worry would quite probably remove the subjects of it to a scene where 'betterment' will never be demanded?

The crime for which the devotees of 'betterment' would suffer is stability. They cannot move; and, being there, they can be pounced upon. Their property may never be enhanced at all beyond the general improvement; but it is in the fated neighbourhoods, and it can be touched and seen. The Tower Bridge might possibly be hardly ever used by many of those doomed to 'betterment'; but carts and waggons throughout all the east of London would be greatly benefited by the work. Yet though this 'betterment' was at the cost, as we have been informed, of 'fellow-citizens,' the owners of these very mobile carts and waggons were not to be punished with exceptional taxation. Probably, a line of omnibuses might be started to ply constantly across the bridge; an entirely new business being thus developed, owing to the improvement works; and this new enterprise would be quite free from any special charge. Of course the best way to 'get at' the beneficiaries of this new Tower Bridge would be to put a turnpike on the approaching road, by which those using the improvement most would be those constantly compelled to pay. But this more equitable scheme of 'betterment' would never come to pass. The special beneficiaries, the very people possibly who are now invoking 'betterment,' would then insist upon the common and municipal expenditure being free for public, that is for their own peculiar use, with no pretence of 'intercepting' any of their 'unearned increment'; and tolls for 'betterment' would never be enforced, or even seriously proposed.

Of course the various properties would be taxed or rated according

according to their present boundaries. But when the boundaries were changed, and probably one 'betterment'-taxed property is mixed up with some two or three adjoining plots, what inconvenience and muddling there would be. The landed property in London is already weighted past all patient bearing with encumbrances and deeds; and here is a new scheme for multiplying these annoyances *ad libitum*, and without end. Moreover, if this scheme had been allowed in London, all the kingdom would be subject to a similar oppressive claim; and throughout England property would be a constant means of torturing apprehension for the holders of the land.

If 'betterment' is to be equitably enforced, it must be universal in its personal incidence, and also in its local application. A selection would imply inequity; if one improvement means peculiar taxation, so must another. New sewers and drains, so often wanted, must be a boon to many parts of London, to be paid for by the local residents. A new pavement or a better road; trees planted or cut down; a neighbouring garden or a classic fountain; any refuge or convenience; constructions such as occupy the Piccadilly Circus, quite unnecessary for the neighbourhood, might result in claims for local 'betterment.' If such a state of things should be imposed on London, why should not the whole kingdom be reduced to 'betterment'; and all its counties and municipalities, expressly combinations for the general good, be in respect of public works effectually superseded?

The project was then absurd, and, invidious as it is, was founded on no principle, but, on the contrary, was distinguished for its want of principle. It proposed to give the London County Council an exceptional position before all the nation. Why should the London County Council be the only party to receive a bonus for a seeming benefit accruing to a neighbour from a work of general value? Why should not houses near a newly-opened railway station be additionally taxed for ever?

Again, if the Council can claim for improvement, it must in equity submit to neighbouring claims for injury, to be adjusted by an Arbitrator. It is remarkable that the London County Council is no sooner instituted with a widened area, to relieve the rating and, by a multitudinous aggregate, to diminish risk and special costs, than it seeks to segregate a portion of its own constituency, and make of it financial pabulum to gratify the remainder. It has been said that 'betterment' is but a substitute for parochial contributions. A substitute, most truly, but of quite another character. Parochial contributions

all made with the consent of the inhabitants of each parochial area; they are provided by the annual personal rate, and are not in the least a tax on property. The statement, therefore, if it meant that there was any similarity of detail or of character in the two methods, was entirely delusive; but it is, again, an evidence of curious ignorance in most of those who advocate this scheme of 'betterment.'

In all that has been said there is an element of unreality. We discourse of 'betterment,' and many seem to think that 'betterment' is the real question now at issue. True, 'betterment' is put before the public, who, in foolish eagerness, have largely swallowed this attractive bait. But men of sense must see that here is nothing like substantial food; the thing is but a nibble, at the best. The saving to the whole of London, if the recent scheme of 'betterment' had been allowed, would not have been above the merest fraction of a farthing in the pound; and for this imperceptible amount of gain to the majority, a very small minority of 'fellow-citizens,' many of them poor, would have been tormented, plundered, and, it might be, ruined. Had the Bill passed, the scheduled property would have been entirely unmarketable; the greatest injury and inconvenience would have been occasioned to all concerned in it; and it would thus have put a stigma of discredit and disgrace upon the London County Council. That such men as Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Courtney, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Sir Albert Rollit, with a posse of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, should have given their countenance to such a scheme, is as astonishing as the passage of the Home Rule Bill. These legislators may have been entirely unacquainted with the matter, which is no excuse with reference to a question of taxation; and they may perhaps have taken what the London County Council had to say for actual truth, which would be foolishness indeed; or they may possibly have hoped, or have expected, to secure the London vote at the next Parliamentary election, which would have been the least excusable of all. Than this latter, nothing could be more unwise. The London population are not unintelligent; and when they learn the real quality of 'betterment,' they will regard these erring gentlemen, and their delusive hopes, with something, we regret to write it, very like contempt.

The first reason against the insertion of such a clause in a private Bill, and on the initiative of a municipal body, is the fact that 'betterment' is a project by the major part of a community to make the smaller number suffer for the benefit of those who thus impose a partial tax. This is contrary to every

every sense of equity and to all the traditions of municipal law. A Corporation is a community; it is corporate in order that it may improve, and gain, and suffer in common; that all may bear each other's burdens, that if one member suffers all may suffer with it. This is the reason for its existence; and that a majority should sever a part of the community, and, in spite of the Act by which they have been constituted, should afflict this small minority with special burdens, is a municipal anomaly. As if eleven citizens in a jury-box should be allowed to fine the twelfth because in their opinion he was placed conveniently near the stove provided by 'his fellow-citizens'; although, indeed, he might himself be suffering from overheat. The London County Council represents an extended territory, and a multitude of areas, in order that the combination and community of varied local interests may tend to the alleviation of various local burdens, immediate, temporary, or permanent. But 'betterment' entirely traverses this legislative act of politic insurance; and, imposing on selected properties a special tax, it so far confiscates them; though the beneficiary occupants have been already rated with the general community. We have here a revival of human sacrifices, in a financial form; an imposition of vicarious suffering, wholly inconsistent even with the lowest types of social civilization. Surely this is not to be accomplished by a private Act of Parliament, in a Bill promoted by those hoping to be gainers, at the cost, in part, of those thus doomed to suffer.

Men who can see, and who have understanding of these things, know that 'betterment' was a mere pretext; and that most of those who advocated the rejected Bill were but an innocent decoy, who warbled sweetly about right and justice, and would thus entice the unwary into a protracted course of public wrong and social plunder. The Bill appealed to all the baser instincts of the London population; who well know, and feel, how much improvement is required, and who look around to see whose property they can conveniently, and in the name of justice, seize, to save themselves from further cumulated rating. Not particularly dignified or self-denying, they are prompt to accept the first proposal to obtain from others what they ought themselves to pay; and more especially when this is to be done with all the counterfeited halo of a virtuous and equitable action. Energetic leaders on the London County Council have discovered these occasionally latent characteristics of the London population; and instead of showing some respect for their constituents by seeking to direct them in a better way, they have preferred to pander to their evil inclinations; and in the short
period

period of their own municipal career they have most sensibly degraded the whole tone of London social politics.

It will, therefore, be advisable to utilize the present opportunity by raising this discussion above sectional and party politics, to the superior level of constructive statesmanship. It is reported that in France some sixty-five per cent. of the whole population live in their own freehold houses; but in London not one-sixty-fifth per cent. are thus respectably established. The French freehold cottier is in all affairs of property Conservative to the backbone; but, in London, socialistic feeling and antagonism to the land proprietors are making rapid progress. The questions of Leasehold Enfranchisement, and a material increase of the number of freeholders in London, are fraught with peculiar difficulties, owing partly to legal and personal obstacles to the free and ready transfer of land, partly to the shifting habits of the resident population of London, and a want of eagerness to become freeholders; but evidently a large increase in the number of freehold residents would, more than any other measure, tend to remove the current superficial notion of injustice in our present personal and local rating.

Continued severance between the people and the land in London will give endless trouble on both sides. The evil of this severance was pointed out some years ago; and it was shown to be a great, and probably an insurmountable obstruction to the healthy corporate life of the Metropolis. It is, of course, a question very much of sentiment; and so of human nature. Possibly the greater part of every man's expenditure is due to sentiment; and this, indeed, is his peculiar source of satisfaction in his general outlay. Claims of necessity are almost always held to be a tax, and are resented; but the unessential and the optional is that which is especially enjoyed. No sentiment, apart from that of family, is stronger than the sentiment of home, combined with that of territorial possession; and no national or local sentiment is more important, or demands more urgently true statesmanlike promotion and extension. In its present territorial condition there is not in London the most ordinary opportunity or foundation for a healthy, active corporate existence; and until this sure foundation is conceded the hostility to landlords will continue and increase among the population, while improvements will be grievously delayed. Although the money spent on rates is the best outlay that the people make, yet the knowledge that it is spent with reference to the property of others, although strictly for the public benefit, and only incidentally, infinitesimally, and remotely, if indeed at all, for that of the proprietor, arouses so much questioning that

that local works will always be objected to. The cost of them will be resented by the people who, although the actual beneficiaries, are only lodging on the land, and have no absolute perpetual interest in their temporary place of residence.

The short debate on 'betterment,' in the House of Commons, was much more instructive as to the strange opinions held by those who joined in the discussion than conducive to the general enlightenment about this curious scheme. Sir John Lubbock—as the *Times* reports—asked that 'some part' of the cost of improvements 'should be borne by those who benefited pecuniarily by the expenditure of their fellow-citizens (cheers).' But do not Sir John Lubbock and his cheerful audience know that those who benefit, being ratepayers, already 'bear some part of the expenditure'; that they will pay their rates, increasing or diminishing with the value of their houses, as affected, beneficially or injuriously, by the amount and varied influence of the expenditure; and that this expenditure is not that of 'their fellow-citizens,' but of *all* the citizens, themselves included? An absentee landlord, who would be called upon to pay 'some part of the expenditure,' would not be a 'fellow-citizen,' since he has no vote and no advantage; his ground-rents are unchangeable and cannot be improved while the lease lasts, and he would under the proposal be a mere victim. Indeed, this is the main object of the scheme, to victimise the freeholders while talking about 'fellow-citizens.' It would be difficult in two lines to express more misapprehension than Sir John Lubbock, amid cheering, and quite simply, has accomplished here. 'They were about to spend a large sum of public money; and if the result was that certain *houses* were, in consequence of that expenditure, largely increased in value, *they* should contribute, not the whole'—why not the whole? there is a sense of weakness here—'but a part of that improvement, which was due to no action, no expenditure of *theirs*'; that is of the *houses*! which do not 'expend.' But here, to set Sir John upon his legs and clear his mind, we substitute, for untaxed 'houses,' rated occupants and owners, whom these houses shelter. Were not all these beneficiaries, as 'fellow-citizens,' included in the general rating? and, moreover, will they not, if really benefited by the local works, be, in proportion, further rated? How can Sir John then say that there was 'no expenditure of theirs'? These fated victims had paid just as much, in due proportion, as their fellow-citizens, and why should they, because these fellow-citizens require public works, be thrust away from fellowship, made subject aliens, and duly plundered?

The scheme was an attempt to tax property, and one kind of property

property only; and one allotment of this property, for the present, as an initiative for a general raid. The object is, of course, that residents and occupants, the people who pay rents and rates and have the votes, may put the tax as far as may be on the houses, and particularly on the land, which has no votes, in order to create a useful precedent. The absentee proprietor would have to pay a permanent tax for that which he, as a long-leasing landlord, never would enjoy; and all this without representation, since the freeholders of London have no votes, and no peculiar interest in municipal affairs.

Sir John goes on to quote the alternative to 'betterment,' which he admits is not a perfect plan. 'Under the system of our predecessors the cost of a local improvement was borne, half by the district, say the parish, and half by the Metropolis at large. But our metropolitan divisions were of very irregular shapes; and even if they were symmetrical, it would often happen that those out of the district benefited more by an improvement than those in it.' Precisely so; that is exactly our contention. It is not mere proximity that is the test of benefit; and, if some benefit occurs at hand, yet still, by far the greatest gain must, in the average of things, occur more distantly.

The London County has been instituted and extended, and the Council are now seeking to extend it further, that it may be in the nature of a great insurance corporation; that local works which benefit the immediate neighbourhood and also the less proximate vicinity may be accomplished at the general cost; the individual benefit being clearly undefinable. And now, as soon as they can get to work, the Council wish to repudiate the very theory of their existence; and lay special taxes, not mere rates, but actual confiscations, on most limited circumscriptions. And this is done by people who are calling loudly for an equalization of the poor-rate throughout London!

Colonel Hughes 'thought that this was an opportunity for making an experiment.' What next? Is a community to pen off certain of its members to experiment upon. When general vaccination was proposed, some wretches left for execution were selected to be offered all their chance of life if they submitted to the new experiment. But we have never heard that those who were included in the schedule of the County Council had been guilty of a crime that made them worthy of experimental fiscal legislation, or of a penal 'benefit' which they had never sanctioned or petitioned for.

Now, most Englishmen have a keen eye to their own
interests;

interests; and if there is a proposal before them that will evidently be of special advantage to themselves, they are likely to promote it, even, if needful, by the sacrifice to some extent of their own means. But if the London County Council were to place before the public several local enterprises of improvement, and were to leave it to those interested in the districts to consider whether they would on the whole be benefited or endangered by the works proposed, it would most probably appear that benefit and injury would fairly balance one another. If the benefited are to be reckoned with, so ought the injured. But the leaders of the London County Council are so intent on one aspect of their own favourite scheme that they have no eye for any other, and in their eager haste insist on valuations for the benefit of one party exclusively, while avoiding those by which that party would be called upon to suffer.

In the Lords, Lord Hobhouse put the case, with all the usual error, that 'the Bill required the owners to pay a portion of the enhanced value.' The Bill did nothing of the sort; it would only have estimated the value, without discovering it; and it would have continued the impost in perpetuity, while the special 'enhancement' would probably have ceased in fourteen years. Lord Hobhouse knows quite well that, apart from the general improvements in London, a fresh rating is made every five years, showing how quickly property changes in value; and yet he talks as if prophetic valuation were a real estimate, an actual fact well ascertained, and then that it would never alter. Lord Hobhouse tells us that 'provisions of this character have been inserted in private Bills.' Provisions of this character have never yet been inserted in any Bill, and we earnestly hope they never may be; for though they might afford a warning to the wise, in the hands of agitators they would be a dangerous precedent. 'The justice of the principle underlying the plan' is not, as Lord Hobhouse asserts, 'undisputed.' The plan is but a mask to delude and to impose upon the public, and on undiscerning Members of each House of Parliament. It proposes, and it talks of 'rates'; but that which 'underlies' so furtively is confiscation.

The House of Lords, according to Lord Hobhouse, ought to share 'the feeling of Londoners that they are not receiving due consideration in a matter of peculiar importance to themselves.' Consideration has been given; but the Lords can hardly care to sympathize with people such as these, 'whose talk is the talk of children; and who, like children, snatch at what they covet, not considering whether it is their own

or another's.' But it does seem reasonable that the feelings of the few selected victims of these sensitive and 'feeling Londoners' should be considered; and that *their* interest and property should be protected from attacks of greedy unintelligence. The duty and the honour of the Lords is 'to do justly, and to love mercy'; not to 'follow a multitude to do evil.' And they have, with much dignity, asserted their entire independence of such 'feelings of the Londoners' as tend to wrong.

The Earl of Onslow showed at once that the 'betterment' in the Bill was a mere pretence of a relief to the ratepayers. 'The officials of the Council calculated that the total sum that could be levied would be a moiety of 10,000*l.*, which at 3 per cent. would produce the magnificent income of 150*l.* a year. For the sake of an increase by $\frac{1}{14000}$ th part of the income of the London County Council, their Lordships were asked to revolutionize the whole system of local taxation in this country.' Further, Lord Onslow, in his scathing criticism, told the House that 'some of the most eminent surveyors have declared that it was utterly impossible for them to prophesy unless they knew; and they would not undertake to say what might be the increased value of the property under this Bill. The President of the Surveyors' Institute said, "I am quite certain that all experienced surveyors are agreed that no plans put forward for the purpose are even approximately just or practicable."' And yet this project, which is by the ablest and most business-like advisers thus denounced, was to be treated as an 'experiment' upon the innocent, unhappy victims of the London County Council.

The Marquis of Salisbury 'had no metaphysical or *à priori* objection to the principle of "betterment."' But, as we have just heard from those most capable of teaching us, the principle of this Bill was 'not even approximately just and practicable.' The building of sea-walls in Holland, to which Lord Salisbury alluded, has been regulated by a wholly different 'betterment' from what we are discussing here. There, the whole area affected by the rate is specially and exclusively improved, and what is done is on the application of the great majority of those who have to pay the rate, and not on that of those who are to be relieved. Lord Salisbury's speech throughout was a most clear, discerning judgment on the merits of the case. The want of 'principle underlying the plan' was made distinct and manifest. 'Because they had an impression that one man paid too much, and somebody else ought to pay something, it did not follow that they were absolved from taking any trouble to get at the right person to pay.'

pay. This was the fallacy which pervaded the speeches of those who supported the clause. In order to make good their contention, they must ascertain with accuracy and without injustice the person who ought to pay. The provision in the clause under discussion appeared to him to be the least equitable of all the provisions that had been proposed. The idea of the County Council was that participation in the value of improvements was a question of proximity, in regard to the property taken. They appeared to think that the action of an improvement was a radiating action, like the action of heat and light. He could not imagine where they had got that idea from.' And so, throughout the speech there is abundant insight and sound criticism, offered in the tersest language, and exhibiting the ground on which Lord Salisbury 'objected to this ill-constructed and slovenly measure.'

We have recently been told * that what the Duke of Argyll has wisely called the 'incredible nonsense' of 'betterment' 'has the *imprimatur* of the Supreme Court in America, in the most solemn judgments given by the most eminent jurists, uninfluenced by party or by prejudice, after full argument by counsel of the greatest eminence; and it has since passed into text-books as an accepted maxim.' A wondrous argument! As if such passage of folly into text-books were not commonplace in legal history. We have 'incredible nonsense' enough in our own laws relating to property in land, without going to America for a further supply. Our English judge-made law of Ancient Lights, directly contravening the old Roman law, to which the Scottish lawyers have in common sense adhered, is an example of the solemn nonsense that has passed into our text-books as accepted maxims. Then, 'the eminent jurists and judges who considered the matter have decided that a betterment tax is an interception of an additional value, and is therefore not a tax or rate.' 'Incredible nonsense!' To starve a man to death, then, is not murder, it is only interception of the additional value of his food; to take from him a pound of flesh is but an operation, not an injury. These eminent Supreme Court jurists merely substituted method for effect; the 'interception' being but the method to effect a plunder on proprietors. Those who would raid on other people's property of course look solemn, being over-clever and yet dull; and they can also talk, so simply, about 'even justice' all the while.

For instance, "just" to the public as well as "just" to the

* In a letter signed 'Charles Harrison'; *The Times*, Dec. 5, 1893.

citizen' must mean, at least, that if there is an 'interception' of benefit, there shall also be an 'interception' of injury. But this justice to the citizen is in the most absolute way repudiated; and instead we have the cant just quoted. When turnpike gates were cleared away, and roads were taken over by the local powers, the principle of special claims for special works was practically abandoned. Municipal was substituted for exceptional taxation; and to quote a local Act of seventy years ago for a peculiar form of 'betterment' in Edinburgh, is mere uninteresting, inefficient archæology. Either special or municipal taxation, the crude or the scientific, may be accepted; there may be justice of a kind in either. But an arbitrary combination or commingling of the two must be unprincipled; and would therefore tend to constant jobbery and fraud.

In this discussion we have been compelled to recognize the cause of all the difficulty in the want of information among Londoners on political and economic science. It would be unwise to ignore this want; and as it is upon such facts that all our argument is built, we may in fairness justify ourselves by a quotation. At a late meeting of the London County Council, Mr. Saunders, M.P., 'held that it was a principle of our Constitution that the Lords had nothing to do with taxation. He was not sure that the action of the House of Lords in rejecting "betterment" was not out of order on that ground; but, if in order, it was still contrary to the resolution of the Council'!* Three times has Mr. Saunders been elected by a Metropolitan Parliamentary constituency; and he is a prominent and leading member of the London County Council. What must his constituents and his followers be?

Among a certain class of Radicals there is a clamour for the readjustment of taxation. As we have already stated, that which many of them want is by some way to 'get at' special kinds of property belonging to the wealthier classes, whom they desire to fine for being wealthy; punishing the prudent for economy. The freeholder has but a rent-charge, valued at the time, on an average fifty years ago, when the lease was granted. He has had no benefit at all from any local works, and cannot have such benefit for fifty years to come; whereas commercial men are benefiting every hour at compound interest. How can a tradesman sell his wares if there is no good and well-drained road to bring them to the market? Here the benefit is out of all proportion to that concurrently derived by land. It is the people, in their trade, that need these roads

* 'The Times,' Nov. 15, 1893.

and works, that they may live, and move, and make their gain. The land, on careful calculation, will be found to realize, during a ninety-nine years' lease, an almost imperceptible amount compared with the accumulated aggregate of daily profits made upon its area. It is security, not gain, that makes land valuable in the market; otherwise it is the worst investment that can possibly be made.*

A great proportion of the people to whom this proposal is addressed have little or no knowledge about any property at all; and least of all about the land. It is proposed, according to Lord Rosebery, to 'readjust the burden which now presses with undue severity on the struggling shopkeepers and workers of London.' Why with undue severity? These shopkeepers and workers only pay for what they order for their general use. Why should they cry, like paupers, for benevolence from other people, who hold property that differs from their own, but otherwise are similarly 'struggling'? Here is a plan for making people pay, not because they ought to pay, but because other 'strugglers' desire relief. This is the sort of argument that passes in the world of politics; and yet London is rated fifteen per cent. lower than other towns with not a tithe of its extent, or wealth, or population. But the majority of mankind are profoundly ignorant on questions of finance and revenue; although by sound finance alone can that pure element of justice which should underlie the first foundations of society, and is the means of happiness and right for all men, be secured. It needs some study to be practically understood; and therefore study of it should be made a duty at the schools. To leave this matter to the untrained eagerness of party men with whom the nation has of late so grievously been plagued, would be ridiculous and hopeless. What is wanted is a nation of instructed and discerning freeholders, prepared to accept and to maintain their rights.

To rate the freehold value rather than the actual rental, would be, from the occupying public's point of view, amazingly absurd. An urban or suburban tenant has connected with his house a garden of unusual extent. Perhaps were this large garden 'butchered' into plots and let on leases there would be a great increase of rental to the land proprietor. But the public, who have been the obvious, and possibly the greatest beneficiaries by the unoccupied condition of the property, would, were it built

* It is reported that two partners speculated in freeholds and leaseholds respectively; and after several years' experience it was found that the leaseholder had realized double the freeholder's profits. If this occurred in ten or fifteen years, what would be the result, at compound interest, in a century?

upon, lose a large open urban space, in permanence. Parks, gardens, pleasure-grounds, and playing courts and fields, are most desirable for the population; and, so far from taxing any land that might be gained for these, such open land should, were our public bodies wise, be subsidized and made the subject of negotiation.

But who is to be blamed for all this nonsense? Not the Radicals, for they, as we have shown, are mostly ignorant, but the Conservatives, who do not vote at the municipal elections. Radicals and those who choose to style themselves Socialists at least do something, that, in their perversity and ignorance, they often reckon to be right. Conservatives in London, on the other hand, are grievously indifferent to their duty. And it is owing to Conservative neglect that nations are so often ruined. These gentlemen are mightily fastidious, and are much above 'those people' who are interested in parochial and municipal affairs; and so the forces of the revolution are left unrestrained and unconverted. It is time for those who see how things are going to reveal and to condemn the apathy of the instructed and the honest in our ranks; remembering how, a hundred years ago, the middle class surrendered Paris to the mob. The English are not revolutionists in character or sentiment; and should England sink into a revolutionary slough, Conservatives will be most justly held accountable for the catastrophe.

It is by the sympathetic, helpful action of its members that a body corporate is maintained; a severance of any is injurious, resulting in disease or atrophy. To tax unjustly destroys confidence, and capital at once retires; and to tax all classes for the special benefit of a section of one class, as in providing dwellings for the poor, is both impolitic and foolish. By their projects for the housing of the working class, the London County Council, no doubt quite unconsciously, have banished far more capital than they will ever spend; and those who would have built for working men have so avoided operations of this kind that rents will certainly be raised the more the Council build.

Taxation within a limited area, and on a flourishing community, falls ultimately, whatever be the endeavour to divert it, on the beneficiary occupants of houses, or on the users and consumers of all kinds of produce. But the limit of an area is of various kinds. There is a land frontier, with its custom-houses, or a group of islands, like the British Isles, coast guarded; and of each the limits are defined by a mere line, natural or arbitrary, *which has been adopted by the fiscal powers.* But practically there

there are other limits to the incidence and burden of taxation, traced by the commercial exigencies and the vanities of men; not sharply traced, like cliffs or walls, but gradually sloping off, like varying sea-shores, or an outside glacis. In large towns this latter boundary obtains with reference to the cost or rent of land and houses. There are urban districts, mostly central, which, from the tendency to local concentration in commercial affairs, are of especial and increasing value; and beyond, exteriorly, there are other lands and houses, not so costly, but, by the effect of competition, constantly rising in value with the prosperous increase of the population. Thus it happens that whatever tends to burden real property in successful urban districts, in the same proportion tends to raise the price to occupants; internal success overcoming the competition of external land. There is abundance of good land available beyond the actual buildings, that in due time may be absorbed into the urban area; a sort of foreshore or extending foot of the glacis. But this absorption, so far from depreciating the more central property of every kind, tends to increase its value; and the increased cost or rent, together with all added burden of taxation, those who occupy this valuable property will inevitably have to pay.

And they are obviously well satisfied; they seek these highly rented, highly rated districts, because they can recoup themselves, either in the distinction of a costly, fashionable neighbourhood, or by the profit that they make in the best business quarters of the town. Where traffic is abundant, and where merchants most do congregate, there business becomes brisk; and possibly ten times as much is done as on an equal area of the suburb or glacis. It consequently follows that, although the rents are high, the quantity of business makes these high rents moderate, compared with the commercial and trade profits in the year.

The wealthier and prosperous classes, therefore, are but little injured, if at all, by heavy rates on urban land. These rates all find their way on to commodities that tradesmen sell, and so they tap the purses even of the very poor. But, further, fancy rates and general confiscating taxes fall immediately on the dwellings of the working class; and rents are raised on these to meet the incubus. House building is not meant, by those who build, as a benevolent provision for the due accommodation of the people, but as a commercial undertaking to make money for the speculator; who, if his wares are to be burdened with an extra rate, takes that into account, and holds his hand until the price or rental in the market rises, and the public are prepared to bear the increased cost result-
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ing from the heavier rate, by whomsoever this increase of rating may be paid. It matters little in the end, when contracts terminate, and all are free to bargain. Whatever adds to the cost of a commodity in full demand adds even more to its price; and the idea that a general tax on valuable urban land, although immediately a grievous plunder of the unprotected, unenfranchised owners, would remain a tax on landlords ultimately is absurd. The builders would soon raise the price of houses to support this impost, just as if it were a tax on bricks, or timber, or on lawyers' deeds; and as the terminable leases here in London end, new rentals would, of course, include the added tax upon the land, which then would fall directly on the occupier and his wares.

Rates are but a transfer to a joint account of every occupant's expenditure; a wholesale instead of a retail transaction, and so, in fact, a great economy, not an increase of outlay, for the accommodation that each household may require. It is evident that, if public provision by means of rates were not continually made, there would be a serious loss of health, and wealth, and life to the community. Indeed, the diminished death-rate shows how large has been the public gain by what the rates provide. All Londoners should therefore be intelligently thankful for the economy and the physical results of rates. Instead of whimpering about the increase of these beneficial contributions, they should all, like men of sense, be grateful for the diminution of disease, and waste, and care that the development of rates makes possible and easy.

One egregious and oppressive tax upon, especially, the houses of the poor is the present income-tax, which is still claimed upon the full amount, or nearly so, of rental. But in low class houses the expenditure upon repairs, such are the rough habits of poor families, is very great, at times amounting to a quarter of the net returns; and this all comes out of the poor man's pocket. He, good man, supposes that the repairs are paid for by the landlord; but the landlord first demands a higher rent than otherwise, because of this destructiveness. Builders and capitalists are calculating people; and they limit their investments, on the whole, according to the absolute outgoings and the net returns; so that, as there is no rebate for repairs, not only does the builder calculate for these repairs in his demand for rent, but he adds all the income-tax for which he gets no rebate. Thus the unreputed income-tax becomes, together with the outlay for repairs, a special tax on labour. Our investors are too shrewd a class to undertake to pay, without a fair *consideration*, other people's rates and taxes.

Municipalities

Municipalities are a combination of local residents for mutual protection and improvement, by means of public action and a common purse. Those who are thus combined are on precisely equal terms, and have their equal chance of individual good from varied and unanticipated undertakings. None can assume to dictate to or to impose upon the others; they are all part of one body, and are together to be defended and sustained with absolute efficiency and certitude. There is to be no preference or antagonism among the people, none are to be excluded from the full benefit of the association, or to be deprived of their occasional chance of good; and none are to dominate over, or to alienate or to impair the rights of any others of the local residents. The whole principle of municipal law is founded on this absolute equality. To distinguish between citizens, and to give, even to the vast majority, the power to decree or to invoke an impost on a few, is to degrade these few to excommunicated servitude. They would be betrayed by those who were to be their chief protectors, and would be caught for home consumption by the very sharers of the home. The municipality would be a trap, not a protection; the sufferers would have no chance of safety; they would not even have the option of removal from the treacherous association. For them municipalism would be but a delusion and a snare.

Thus 'betterment' entirely traverses the principle on which municipalities are founded. By it a majority of the community may decide on public works for their own benefit, without any reference to or consultation with the few whom they may arbitrarily condemn to an exceptional taxation, from which these sufferers have no appeal.

And why are these peculiar victims placed within a special line, and not without it? Who decides this matter? Not a public functionary, at the invitation of those most immediately interested, but some people of the London County Council who are absolutely unknown, like torturers of the Inquisition. Why is it not ascertained, except indeed because it is entirely unascertainable, who are *all* the beneficiaries, that all may be thus taxed? Again, who gave to anyone the inequitable right to set apart a few from others who may be, without distinction, similarly benefited? if indeed they may not all be similarly injured. What is there in corporate law to show that any part of a community can have a right to subject to peculiar taxation, and thus to alienate, the remainder? spendthrifts and non-possessors marking out the saving and the prudent for taxation.

Here, however, is the value of a House of Lords. When individual

vidual liberty and pecuniary rights are menaced by enthusiastic, inexperienced democracy, it is to the instructed Senate of the nation that we all must turn for due protection from presumptuous folly. Thus the Lords will steadfastly adhere to the peculiarly British rights of property, and of self-taxation falling equally on all men; and will repudiate the temporary confiscating craze that grievously afflicts so many members of the London County Council.

In history the insecurity of property has always heralded the degradation of a people, and their failing freedom. The diffusion of property among those who have political power secures the property and fortifies the ruling class. At present landed property in London is too concentrated in few hands; and has little or no representation in a multitudinous constituency. Why will not the great freeholders take good warning, and invite their fellow-citizens to buy liberally of their stock-in-trade?

It has been said that the great value of the land in London is created by the labour and the energy of Londoners. This is a misleading notion. The value of the site of London is indigenous; it is developed by the cupidity and rivalry of successive immigrants. As we have recently explained, *Londonium* was the nearest British seaport to the central parts of England, while directly opposite to Central Europe; and it was thus endowed by nature with peculiar advantages for the settlement of a political capital and a vast commercial town. Its site has been, for half the Christian era, the great object of continued competition. To become a London freeman has for many centuries been a stepping-stone to fortune; and thus London has developed with increasing trade. But it is London, its own self, by its essential qualities, that occasions this development. Why else should merchants, even men of wealth, come there in constantly increasing multitudes? It is not London that has gone to them, or sought for any share of their accumulations; it is they who constantly compete, and raise the price of land to what they think its real worth. Upon an average, Londoners remove their homes and families every fourteen years. Why, if the rent of land and rates are such a heavy tax, do they not migrate altogether? As a matter of fact they are constantly competing for a station on this valuable soil; and thus they raise its price to one another. People dig and search for certain minerals, and compete for them, because they are both rare and valuable, and they similarly covet and compete for sites in London, since on these there is the opportunity for gaining wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. At
Byzantium

Byzantium and Alexandria, Tadmor and Damascus, London and Liverpool, Bristol and Bournemouth, New York and Chicago, it has been the site that made the land expensive, since it made the settlers prosperous and rich.

There is no gift by Londoners to owners of the land; it is intelligent desire for peculiar advantage afforded *by* the land that leads the people to compete for sites upon it. Its actual possessors now are mostly those who have thus bought it in the search for gain; and it is amusing to observe our covetous contemporaries seeking by a confiscating tax to cheat the present land proprietors of increase of wealth such as they themselves have come to London most expressly to acquire.

Landlords are dealers in land, like other traders. Their transactions are infrequent, it is true; and here indeed is the gravamen of the indictment against the present landlord system. Owing to this infrequency of transfer, the accumulating profit seems much larger than it actually and historically is. Were land transfers to be made as often as are those of other average articles of trade, the profit would be so minute on each occasion as to be almost beneath appreciable statement. Why these traders in land should be treated differently from all others in the commercial world, and so be bound to find for all their land retailers, to perhaps the fourth or fifth degree, in the conveniences and comforts of domestic life, has never been explained. Suppose our warehousemen were bound to find their tradesmen's customers in hosiery and pantaloons, it would not be one tittle more absurd than to expect the landlord to pay rates for what, as land proprietors, they do not use.

The land is let or sold, like every other article of merchandise, according to a competition price; and every auction is a similar display of competition. But at an auction it is never understood that those who bid have any further and domestic claim on those who sell, because these purchasers, in their endeavour to obtain advantage, raise the price of what they pay for. They do not increase its value as an article of use; but only show that one man gives a greater price than others offer, since he needs the object with more urgency. He pays the higher price as representing, not an increased value, but his own more pressing need.

Of course, if land paid rates, the rents would be increased in due proportion to the amount of rates paid out; and also to the increased risk of loss, and to the further trouble of collection. When the owner of small houses pays the tenants' rates, he always charges to the full amount for rates that he compounds for. Those who would repudiate with scorn any

suggestion of 'taxing the food of the people,' and who account themselves quite philosophical and wise because they have attained to certain catchwords of free trade, are yet so uninstructed in political economy as to suppose that an encumbrance on the land in growing towns will fall on someone else than on the occupying tenants. Here we say 'suppose' advisedly, because we cannot truthfully say 'think.' These people do not think; they cannot with deliberation follow sound instructive argument, as reasonable human beings; they must gallop to conclusions.

When building leases became general, the question to be settled by the deed was not the further needs of the leaseholder, but only his demand for land on which to live and to disport himself. The landlord would have been as likely to provide his tenants fish for dinner as, without charging for the work, to make the road by which the turbot should be brought, to find the water wherewithal to cook it, or to form the drains by which the scullery would be relieved. The landlord is not conversant with the domesticities of all the people on his land; he has his own to attend to, and he leaves his neighbours to their own concerns. The municipal requirements of the people are constantly increasing: why should a landlord, more than a butcher or a baker, provide for these? It has been said that when the land was taken up, some half a century or more ago, it had not been anticipated by the new lessees that rates would rise so greatly. No, of course, all this was not foreseen. The lessees did not then expect that their descendants would become so exacting about their drains and sewers and other needs; but, as they are increasingly particular, these later occupants must also be prepared to pay for what they so increasingly require. The landlord does not want them. In a few years' time the water, gas, electrical, and even coal supply may be municipal: are these then to be partly paid for by one class of traders only, those who deal in land? Amusements also—we already have the County Council 'bands'—may be made free, and theatres and music halls may be adopted by the County Council; or such decorative works as the new 'Wellington' at Hyde Park Corner, the fine Griffin near the Law Courts, or the Shaftesbury Eros, may be multiplied throughout the town and suburbs, and piano-playing may be taught in Board Schools; while the Londoners complain, like under-educated children, that they will not pay for their expensive toys.

Proprietors in London, having long had land in their possession for a pitiful return, are now receiving interest on the value of
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of their former purchases according to the time that they have been content to wait. Had they sold off the property long since, and used their cash as Londoners are apt to do, their income would ere this have been immensely larger than their present gain from ground-rents. But they left the cash which should have been expended in the purchase of the freeholds, in the hands of their lessees, to use in trade. The people, therefore, have accumulated, or have spent, just as the landlord might have done, immeasurably more than all the local capital in what are called 'ground values.' Thus the population, having neglected to attain the dignity of freeholders, have no claim at all upon the landlords; on the contrary, they are overwhelmingly indebted to these large proprietors, who have left them so much capital by which, for generation after generation, though in territorial debasement, they have made their fortunes. Other, smaller freeholders have bought their portion of the land, and are the latest of the numerous proprietors who have consecutively given improved prices for it. Why should these men be deprived by law of their property when every other kind of property is carefully placed under the law's protection?

But here we must again reiterate; there is the statesman's point of view from which the tenure of house property in London has to be regarded. Certainly the law and all pecuniary rights must be maintained; but nothing is more needful to maintain these rights than a concession to expediency. At the present time the London population are not 'men of London,' since the soil of London does not appertain to them; and consequently they are always being nurtured in a sense of irritation and of jealousy, and even of unreasonable indignation, that must tend to wrong. The grievance is, as we have seen, peculiarly one of sentiment; but, all the same, considering their present severance from the land, were these men satisfied with their condition it would be deplorable for England. Were the immensely large proportion of the governing and voting class throughout the country severed from the soil, as is the case in London, patriotism would soon become a word of history, requiring explanation. Here in the Metropolis there is scant devotion to the public weal; but in its stead there is a constant tendency to seize on other people's goods to save the population from their own peculiar charges. Men become undignified and little-minded, local manikins; and London and its County Council have become a byword in the nation. Londoners themselves should be the freeholders in constantly increasing multitudes; that thus the commonwealth may be the aim of all, and individual wealth may be secure with its possessors.

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There has been much reproach of Mr. Gladstone for his bargaining for votes. But here, it seems, we had a wholesale bid for votes by those who have been most severe upon the author of the Home Rule Bill. These politicians seemed prepared to act in violation of political economy, of common equity, and of distinguished honesty in statesmanship, to gain the voices of a class of people whose intelligence and aspirations they must utterly condemn, but still whose suffrages might help aspirants to a seat in Parliament. It may be hoped, however, that by cautious, dignified consideration the endangered honour of these enterprising politicians will eventually be saved.

The House of Commons have, it seems, refused to join the House of Lords in a Committee to investigate their own adopted scheme; and in their generation they are wise. Investigation means exposure; and the evil character of 'betterment' must by experienced discussion be made manifest to all. The House of Lords, it may be hoped, will promptly have a 'betterment' Committee of their own, to give the public well-considered information on the subject; and the Commons will in time be thankful to be thus in safety turned from their too hasty and unfortunate digression into error.

What we have said in this discussion is essentially conservative, and yet is sound, progressive liberalism. It pleads for absolute security for all, and for that equal incidence of self-imposed taxation, known as 'rating,' which is an essential element of honest government; of government which men of honour may promote and men of dignity obey. It is of the same spirit as the men of Boston claimed when they 'made tea' so truculently in their harbour. And to this spirit of determined rectitude we would appeal; with confidence that, when our Londoners have brought themselves to think with free discernment on the subject, they will become enlightened, and will clearly see the fallacy, iniquity, and folly of this new, un-English and 'impracticable,' very paltry scheme of so-called 'betterment.'

- ART. IX.—1. *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer.* By Thomas Madox. London, 1711.
2. *Antiquities of the Exchequer.* By Hubert Hall. London, 1891.
3. *Twelfth Report of the Commissioners on the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown.* (House of Commons Paper, 1792.)
4. *Report from the Select Committee on the Stewardship of Denbigh.* (House of Commons Paper 83, of 1839.)
5. *Public Income and Expenditure, 1801–1869.* Part II., Appendix 13. (House of Commons Paper 366, I. of 1869.)
6. *Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons.* By John Hatsell. London, 1818.
7. *Law and Usage of Parliament.* By Sir T. Erskine May. London, 1883.
8. *Parliamentary Government in England.* By Alpheus Todd. London, 1889.

THE sudden disappearance of Mr. Jabez Spencer Balfour from the House of Commons and the country, in the winter of 1892–93, drew considerable attention to the curious procedure surrounding the retirement of a Member of Parliament. Sins both of omission and of commission were laid at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's door. He was reproached with having granted the 'honourable office' of the Chilterns to a defaulting swindler; he was attacked for not having publicly notified the fact that the grant had been made; and not one politician in a hundred appeared to be aware that, both in what he did and what he left undone, Sir W. Harcourt had acted strictly in accordance with precedent and that unwritten law on which so much of our Parliamentary procedure is based.

The general ignorance upon so out-of-the-way a subject is pardonable enough. Our Statesman's Bible, as compiled by Sir Erskine May, renders but meagre assistance to the enquirer, and that by no means invariably correct; and the very Ministers who have to bear the whole responsibility of granting the Chilterns, have as a rule been content to settle each stray case as it arises, on its own merits, without enquiring too closely into the practice or theory of their predecessors. Every schoolboy may know that for a Member of Parliament to accept the appointment is tantamount to resigning his seat; but it would puzzle even Macaulay's schoolboy if he were suddenly required to explain why a Member cannot resign without having to apply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or what the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds actually means, or why

why acceptance of it should vacate a seat at all. And, if he plunged boldly into the investigation, the more his wonder would grow; for the long and short of it is, that in its present development the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds is as bewildering an anomaly as you can find on a summer's day. Any account of it reads like an unwritten chapter of Rabelais—'How Pantagruel arrived at the Island of Paradox.' In the eye of the law an office, it has no official duties, functions, or characteristics of any sort whatsoever; a post of profit, no vestige of emoluments attaches to it; granted by the Sovereign, Her Majesty has absolutely no voice in making the appointment. Formally nominated as the Crown's agent over an estate where the Crown has no rights, the Steward has to account for moneys which he cannot receive, and to hold Courts which no suitor ever attends. In return he enjoys 'wages, fees, and allowances' no more substantial than the Emperor's new clothes in Hans Andersen's story, and 'privileges and pre-eminences' are conferred upon him which exist nowhere out of Nephelo-coccygia. In actual practice, the House of Commons jealously asserts a right of control over an appointment which it can neither make nor cancel—an appointment the disposal of which, being rigorously guarded from the slightest taint of political motives, is entrusted to whatever political Party happens to be temporarily in power, and rests, not with the Leader of the House, but with the one Minister who has no shred of patronage at his disposal. Until a year ago, that Minister in his turn had professed to 'set his seal' to a document which never a seal touched, and to 'send greetings' to all to whom it should come, before locking it up in his own boxes for ever. Nor is this all. A few decades ago, it was his wont to declare his 'especial trust and confidence in the care and fidelity' of (it might be) the blackest sheep in the House of Commons, and by his agency, even nowadays, Celtic patriots, pledged never to take office under Saxon Government, have forsworn themselves for months and years in blissful ignorance of the crime.

Now let him who would endeavour to unravel this riddle bear in mind two simple facts. In the first place, a Member of Parliament has, properly speaking, no power of voluntary retirement. Secondly, a rough and ready mechanism for evading this restriction is provided by the 'constitutional fiction' (as it has been aptly termed by Sir William Harcourt) of granting an obsolete Crown Stewardship.

The restriction itself is based on a tradition of immemorial *antiquity*. It is a relic of times when Parliamentary duties were

were an onerous and unwelcome burden, and when the county gentry had actually to be compelled *nolentes volentes* to attend the House of Commons. The Squire Westerns of early days had practically to be forced to undertake the troublesome migration to Westminster, under threat of punishment if they did not appear; and, once there, they had to be prevented from resigning the distasteful honours thus thrust upon them. So late as the year 1623, it was found necessary to stereotype this unwritten law into a formal resolution of the House, 'that a man, after he is duly chosen, cannot relinquish.' By death or expulsion only, apart from legal disqualification, could a seat in the Commons be constitutionally vacated.

But a change came in the middle of the seventeenth century. During several generations of comparative freedom from internal wars, the facilities for travelling in England had been considerably developed; and amid all the subsequent turmoil of the Rebellion and Restoration, not only had London succeeded in asserting her position as the true centre of the kingdom, but the Parliament which had 'gart Kings ken that they had a *lith* in their necks,' had won for itself and its successors a prestige and status which could never wholly die. County magnates no longer shunned the trouble involved by service at Westminster, and—most important of all—the Sovereign found it convenient, and indeed not only convenient but necessary, to dominate the 'two-handed engine' of the sister Houses by the help of a numerous and influential Court party pledged to defend the interests of the Crown. *Hinc prima mali labe*s. A sufficiency of disinterested supporters could not be obtained. But votes had to be secured at any cost; bribes of money, honours, and position were indiscriminately lavished by the Crown; and the subservient brigade of 'placemen' soon became a recognized institution and abuse.

To check this growing evil various proposals were made after the Restoration for disqualifying persons holding office under the Crown from sitting in the House of Commons; but they were met not only by the interested hostility of the Court faction, but also by this obvious objection, that any measure for ousting placemen would equally exclude the necessary Ministers of the Crown; and for three reigns no definite action was taken. At last, shortly after Queen Anne's accession, the knot was cut by a simple expedient devised by an ingenious Member whose name has been immortalised as '*Expedient Eyre*'; and by the so-called Place Act of 6 Anne, it was enacted, once and for all, that every Member accepting an office of profit from the Crown, other than a higher commission in the Army, should thereb-

thereby vacate his seat, but should be capable of re-election unless the office in question had been created since 1705 or had been otherwise declared to disqualify for a seat in Parliament.

So far as regards diminishing the numbers of placemen in the House of Commons, the direct effect of this Act was less potent than had been anticipated. In the first Parliaments of George I. and George II., the number of Members holding public offices, pensions, or sinecures was at least 271 and 257 respectively. But the measure was soon to have indirectly a most important and most unexpected result. On the one hand, the antiquated regulation which forbade Members to resign their seats had never been abrogated. On the other, thanks to the new enactment of 6 Anne, if a Member accepted a Crown appointment, he lost his seat forthwith; and it is not surprising that the new rule was soon converted into a simple means of evading the old. Instead of vacating their seats because they wished to accept office, Members began to accept office simply and solely because they wished to vacate their seats. 'The Place Bill,' said George Grenville in 1775, 'was originally meant as the great security to independence in this House, by giving to the electors the power of rejecting those who might appear to them to have accepted employment on dependent principles. By the abuse of the times, this has been long since perverted to very different and unconstitutional purposes; for it is under this Bill that Members wishing to vacate their seats solicit the favour of the Minister.' The gradual growth of this practice during the first half of the eighteenth century is hidden in hopeless obscurity. It is impossible to tell, at this distance of time, in which cases a sinecure office was bestowed, not as a lucrative gift or bribe from the Crown or its Ministers, but merely in order to enable the recipient to resign. But it is more than probable that there must have been many instances of the latter kind before the classical case of Mr. John Pitt, who vacated his seat by accepting the Crown Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds in the year 1750.

And here perhaps a short digression may be allowed while we enquire what exactly a Crown Stewardship may be. A Crown Steward is the custodian of one of the Manors or Hundreds or Honors belonging to the royal demesne. *Manors*, it may shortly be said, are the Anglo-Saxon townships Normanized. The township was the administrative unit of Anglo-Saxon times, and every shire was subdivided into knots or aggregations of townships for purposes of judicial administration, peace, and defence; such aggregations were termed *Hundreds*. Speaking generally, when the Conquest feudalised the

the country, many of the townships, under the new name of Manors, and many of the Hundreds passed entirely into the hands of Norman lords, still retaining however their separate constitutions and separate Courts. Some fifteen hundred of them having already been the property of Anglo-Saxon kings, fell direct to the Norman Sovereign. Of others which subsequently lapsed to the Crown by the royal prerogatives of Escheat or Forfeiture, the greater baronies were styled *Honors*. Thus, in a word, Norman England was studded with royal estates, whether Manors, Hundreds, or Honors.

Speaking generally again, most of the county estates, whether belonging to King or Baron, were left in the custody of agents, known at first only by the generic name of Bailiffs (*Ballivi*) but afterwards by the more special and dignified title of Stewards (*Senescalli*), who presided over the manorial courts and superintended the internal affairs of their bailiwicks with greater or less powers and with more or less independence of the Sheriff of the county, in proportion to the established rights of the lordship and to the rank and power of the lords whose representatives they were. Amongst these officers, the Stewards and Bailiffs in charge of the royal estates, as directly representing the Crown's prerogative and prescriptive rights, and hedged with the reflected divinity of the King, held an exceptionally important position. Their duty it was to account to the Exchequer (sometimes through the Sheriffs, but in most cases directly) for the revenues of their bailiwicks, in the same way that the Sheriffs had to account for the revenues of their shires. They had, besides, to collect the tallages and aids to which the demesne lands were specially subject, and in case of need to raise money for the King by other exceptional means. In short, they administered the royal estates just as the Sheriffs administered the counties. Like the Sheriffs, they as a rule 'farmed' their offices for a fixed sum, and enjoyed innumerable perquisites and privileges in addition to whatever profits they could make out of their 'farming'; like the Sheriffs, they were responsible to none but the Crown—in other words, to the Lord Treasurer and the Court of Exchequer; and, like the Sheriffs, they had exceptional opportunities for misbehaviour, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. In 1170, for example, a great enquiry (the Inquest of Sheriffs) had to be held by travelling Barons of the Exchequer into the exactions of (*inter alios*) the royal Stewards and Bailiffs, resulting in the dismissal of many of them; in 1258 stringent rules had to be directed against their peculations and oppressions; and in 1309 Parliament formally complained of their usurped jurisdiction. It was only by slow degrees that their

their powers were curtailed. Some were transferred to the Justices on circuit or of the peace; others were gradually superseded by the increasing activity of the royal tribunals; and the steady development of Parliamentary control added yet another check to any glaring malpractices. Much of the Stewards' inferior jurisdiction, however, remained intact; and their duties of collecting the revenues of the Crown estates, and accounting for them to the Exchequer, were left unaltered until the reign of Henry VIII., when the management of the Crown Land revenues was centred in two Surveyors-General. Even then, many of the peculiar privileges of the Crown Stewards still survived, and they appear to have carried on their traditional policy of oppression and extortion. It fell to a sovereign who was not altogether renowned for his love of justice, to take decisive action. One of the first acts of Charles II. had been to surrender the Crown's feudal rights in return for a fixed annual sum, thus considerably reducing the Stewards' financial responsibilities; and a few years later, in view of the great abuses of which they had been guilty, it was decided on the advice of Sir Charles Harbord, Surveyor-General of the Land Revenues, to discontinue generally the appointment of Stewards, to grant the manors on lease, and to hand over to the lessee the rights of the King as lord of the manor. A few Stewardships, however, survived—some twenty even down to the present time—either as honorary offices filled up merely in order to preserve the rights of the Crown in exceptional cases, or else as presents to royal favourites, or possibly because the then holders offered a good price for the privilege of farming their appointments, or had a vested interest in them—the duties (if any) of holding Courts and rendering accounts being usually entrusted to Deputies. In one instance at the beginning of this century, the appointment was even given to a Royal Princess.

One of the few Crown Stewardships which survived the clean sweep made by the Merry Monarch was that of 'the three Hundreds of Chiltern in the county of Bucks, that is to say, Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham.' The Chiltern Hills pass right through the county from Tring in Hertfordshire to Henley in Oxfordshire, and two out of the three Hundreds are immortalized in the names of Stoke Pogis and Burnham Beeches. From earliest Norman times this union of Hundreds had been 'in the hands of the Lord the King,' as the Hundred Rolls of 3-4 Edward I. put it; and legend assigns to their Steward the important duty of suppressing and routing out the marauders who infested the beech forests along the Hills. The office was held by figures well known in history—Thomas Chaucer,
Speaker

Speaker under Henry IV. ; Suffolk, 'upon whose eyeballs murderous tyranny sat in grim majesty to fright the world' and Henry VI. ; Richard III.'s Lovel, 'the Dog' of the famous couplet: and it was not infrequently linked with the greater post of Constable of Wallingford Castle. Under the Commonwealth, the estate—like many others which had been 'parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart, late King'—was sequestered and sold; but it reverted to the Crown as soon as the King enjoyed his own again, and appears to have been leased in 1679, with the Stewardship attached, to one Thomas Doyley for 31 years, at a yearly rent of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and a fine of 150*l.* No later appointment of a *bonâ fide* Steward can be traced after the expiration of Doyley's term of office in 1710, and, owing probably to the post being left vacant, the rents of the various properties within the Hundreds, which had amounted in 1679 to 18*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* and were originally payable to the Steward, appear to have been treated like fee farm rents and sold as such. Some of them passed into the hands of one White, a Crown Receiver, who defaulted in 1814, and were again vested in the Crown together with other property of White's under the provisions of an Act of 1817. A few of them are still paid to the Crown as fee farm rents; but the rest of the ancient Crown revenue from the Chiltern Hundreds has for ever disappeared, and with it the disused Courts of the estate. Since the year 1710, the remuneration, the powers, and the duties of the Royal Steward have alike become things of nought.

Between its disappearance as an active appointment in 1710 and its reappearance as a fictitious Parliamentary office in 1750, there is a gulf in the life of the Chilterns Stewardship which history cannot bridge. One thing only seems certain; no Member of Parliament was nominated to the post during that interval. Several active Crown Stewardships were, however, held by Members within the forty years in question—four, for instance, in the first Parliament of George I., and five in the first Parliament of George II. But it seems probable—and this is a curious point—that the post was not at first regarded as an office of profit under the Crown, within the meaning of the Act of 6 Anne. At any rate, no seats were vacated by appointments to Stewardships until 1740, when Sir W. W. Wynn formally appealed to the House to decide whether he had vacated his seat on inheriting from his father, in virtue of a Royal grant, the Stewardship of the Lordship and Manor of Bromfield and Yale, to which an annual salary of 20*l.* was attached. The House decided in the affirmative; a new writ was therefore issued, and he was re-elected. It may very likely

have been the attention called to this case that first originated the plan of utilising the appointment to certain Crown Stewardships for the sole purpose of enabling Members of the House of Commons to resign their seats. The offices were practically sinecures ; the duties (if any) attaching to them could be equally well executed by deputy ; they had been pronounced to be offices of profit under the Crown, and, as they had existed long before 1705, Members accepting them were eligible for re-election under the Act of 6 Anne.

Incidentally, the new scheme was destined to have a curious result, which could hardly have been foreseen at the time of its inception. In early Norman days, the right of appointing the Crown Stewards must have rested with the King's Chancellor, who not only controlled the general patronage of the Crown, but was entrusted with the special task of checking the Treasurer's administration of the royal revenues, in which the Crown estates played the leading part. But by degrees the routine financial duties of the Chancellor and Treasurer passed more and more into the hands of their respective clerks ; and when, in the thirteenth century, a definite partition came to be drawn between the Chancery under the Chancellor and the Exchequer under the Treasurer, the Chancellor's clerk was still retained in the Exchequer on his former work of checking the Treasurer's clerk, and with him was retained the patronage of the Crown Stewardships and other revenue appointments. The powers of the two clerks increased with their responsibilities, till they developed into full-blown Barons of the Exchequer, under the respective titles of Chancellor of the Exchequer and Under-Treasurer. In course of time the former's duty of checking the latter was forgotten, and either officer became equally the Treasurer's lieutenant. At last, under Henry VII., the two posts were united, and they have remained united ever since. Meanwhile a further change was taking place within the Exchequer. During the fourteenth century, the Lord Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Under-Treasurer came to be dissociated from the other Barons of the Exchequer, and the latter gradually coalesced into a separate judicial department under a Chief Baron, while the financial work of the Exchequer proper passed almost entirely into the hands of the Treasurer and his lieutenants. The close of the sixteenth century saw a further alteration. The old Exchequer Office dwindled into a mere channel for the receipt and issue of public money, and the more distinctly executive administration was entrusted to a new department known in later days as the Treasury. During the seventeenth century, the great office of the Lord Treasurer

was

was frequently put into commission, his financial functions being transferred to a Treasury Board created *ad hoc*; and whenever this occurred, it was the Chancellor of the Exchequer who took the prominent place among the new 'Lords Commissioners' in all matters relating to the revenue. It is unnecessary to discuss the rival claims of the First Lord of the Treasury. For the purposes of this article it suffices to note that, upon the complete elimination of the Lord Treasurership after the year 1714, the Land Revenue appointments passed—mainly, at any rate—into the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That Minister's rights of patronage have disappeared, little by little; but to this day he retains the prerogative of appointing Members of the House of Commons who wish to vacate their seats, to an empty and merely titular Stewardship of the Crown.

It was not till the year 1750, as has been said, that this ingenious 'constitutional fiction' came into practical working. In that year, the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds was conferred upon Mr. John Pitt, M.P., solely in order to vacate his seat. It was next granted in 1753, and has been in constant use for the same purpose ever since. Nor does it stand alone. The Stewardships of various other Crown Manors have been applied in the same way at various times, the duties of the post (if any) being executed by a Deputy-Steward. The Manors in question are those of Old Shoreham in Sussex (between 1756 and 1765, and again in 1799), East Hendred in Berks (between 1763 and 1840), Poynings in Sussex (in 1841 and 1843 only), and Hempholme in Yorks (between 1845 and 1865). For one reason or another, these four appointments have all dropped out of use; but one other similar office, the Stewardship of the Manor of Northstead in Yorks, first used for Parliamentary purposes in 1844, survives at the present day.

The grant of these Stewardships has been characterised throughout by extraordinary laxity. When the Crown loses possession of an estate, it loses *ipso facto* the right of appointing the Steward. Nevertheless, as has already been seen, though the Chiltern Hundreds have long ceased to be royal property, the Crown still claims the Stewardship. Similarly, the Manor of East Hendred was sold in 1823, but the Crown appointed its Stewards till 1840. Old Shoreham, again, was not technically a Crown Manor at all, for it belonged to the Duchy of Cornwall. Its Stewardship would therefore have been naturally in the patronage of the Prince of Wales, and its acceptance would not legally vacate a seat in the House. The only cases in which it could properly have served as a Crown appointment would have been when a Prince of Wales was either non-existent, or a
minor,

minor, or Regent; and yet it was used for the purpose of vacating seats on several occasions when none of these conditions were fulfilled. The extinct Stewardship of Hempholme and the still extant Stewardship of Northstead present a somewhat different informality. The estates certainly belonged to the Crown; but they seem never to have been properly constituted Manors at all. There is no record of the existence of any manorial courts; and apparently the Stewardships can never have been more than a bare name, sans fees, sans work, sans everything.

There remain two other appointments, the mention of which is necessary in order to complete the list of nominal offices of profit under the Crown, used for Parliamentary purposes. The appointments in question were not Crown Stewardships, but a somewhat analogous office—the Escheatorships of Munster and Ulster; and the use of them came as a legacy from the Irish to the United Parliament. They, too, have a considerable spice of antiquarian interest. ‘The name Escheator,’ says old Thomas Fuller, ‘cometh from the French word *escheoir*, which signifieth to happen or fall out; and he, by his place, is to search into any profit accruing to the Crown by casualty, by the condemnation of malefactors, persons dying without an heir or leaving him in minority, &c.’ These officers appear, as a class, to have rivalled the Crown Stewards in all manner of malpractices. It was their practice, under pretence of inquest of office, to oust men from lands held by a good title; and their reputation for ‘cheating’ has added a new word to our language. The Irish Escheators are first mentioned in the thirteenth century. In 1605 their number was fixed at four, one for each province, and this division remained permanently in force; the patronage being vested, not in the Treasurer, as in England, but in the Lord Lieutenant. It was not until the last decade of the Irish Parliament that a Place Act was passed, corresponding to the British Act of 6 Anne; and thenceforward the Escheatorships of Munster and Ulster came to be granted at Dublin for the same purpose and in the same manner as the Chilterns and other nominal Stewardships at Westminster. After the Union the Escheatorship of Munster was still utilised, under the provisions of an Act of 1801, in order to vacate seats in the United Parliament, and on a few occasions that of Ulster was used apparently for the same purpose, the use of either being confined, with a single exception, to Irish constituencies. After 1820, however, the Parliamentary use of these Irish appointments was discontinued; but they survived as more or less sinecure posts until their abolition in 1838.

Of

Of the English Crown Stewardships, some twenty remain to this day as actual places of profit under the Crown, and, as has been seen, two others survive in the form of merely titular appointments—those of the Manor of Northstead and the Chiltern Hundreds. Apparently no emoluments ever attached to the one; those of the other have long since vanished; and in point of fact neither of the two are offices of profit at all. But a ‘constitutional fiction,’ unbroken for a century and a half, presupposes them to be endued with sufficient ‘privileges and pre-eminences’ to justify the voiding of the seats of the Members of Parliament upon whom they are conferred, and this pious belief is still embalmed in the wording of the instrument of appointment. As regards that instrument it may be remarked that a formal difference between the creation of *bonâ fide* and nominal Stewards was made from the first. *Bonâ fide* Stewards were appointed by Letters Patent, signed by Lords of the Treasury and passed under the Exchequer Seal, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was the custodian; but, obviously for convenience sake, nominal Stewards have been, from the first, appointed by a simple warrant signed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though preserving in its opening words the language of Letters Patent. No such distinction was, however, drawn in the case of the Escheators of Munster and Ulster. Their appointments, whether real or nominal, were always made, to the very last, by Letters Patent, signed by the Lord Lieutenant and passed under the Great Seal of Ireland; and it is only surprising that, being saddled with so cumbrous a mechanism, they were ever utilised in the Imperial Parliament at all.

In other respects the fictitious appointments in the sister Parliaments at Westminster and Dublin preserved at first the main characteristics of the *bonâ fide* Crown offices which they had ceased to be. The Crown retained its full prerogative of control; and both the King himself and his Ministers claimed and exercised a discretionary power of refusing to nominate unacceptable applicants. Of the earliest case of all—the classical case of 1750—Henry Pelham wrote to the elder Pitt:—

‘I find Jack Pitt is very anxious about quitting his seat in Parliament in order to be chosen at Dorchester. You know the only difficulty. I have assured him I will do my best when the King comes over; had I left it to be managed at Hanover, I am morally sure it would not have ended well. But I hope, when I can speak myself, it will do. I must beg you to make him easy. I believe he is satisfied as to my intentions, and I should do wrong by him if I was to venture the success, for the sake of saying I have wrote strong upon the subject.’

This feature of the new system, evolved as it was under cover of the Place Acts of the two Parliaments, brought about a remarkable instance of Time's revenges; for, by dint of it, those Acts were rapidly perverted into an apt mechanism for enabling an unscrupulous Ministry to pack the House of Commons with the very 'placemen' against whom they had originally been aimed. Openly and unhesitatingly the Government of the day bought over Member after Member on the Opposition benches, conferred a nominal office upon them, and filled the vacated seats with creatures of its own. On the other hand, did a political adversary desire to resign his seat, either in order to contest another constituency or because he was called away from his duties in Parliament: at once the Crown asserted its prerogative, and his application for the Chilterns or the like was roundly negatived. It was vain for him to invoke the moral sense of a packed House; and in those pre-journalistic days appeal to the public there was none. By such means as these, Lord North in the English House of Commons maintained his majority on the American question. By such means Lord Castlereagh carried the Act of Union through the Irish Parliament.

It is impossible to fix the exact date when this bad practice was finally exploded at Westminster; but Lord North seems to have been the last Minister who withheld the Chilterns from his political opponents in the English House of Commons avowedly because they *were* his opponents. So far back as 1775 George Grenville, with Burke's support, made a vehement attack on the Crown's claim, by virtue of its prerogative, arbitrarily to dispose of seats in the House—an attack which he concluded by moving for leave 'to bring in a Bill to enable the Speaker of the House of Commons to issue his warrants to make out new writs for the choice of Members to serve in Parliament, in the room of such Members as shall signify to him their desire of vacating their seats in this House, under certain regulations.' The motion was rejected by the packed majority; but from that time onwards there appears to have been less cause for complaint, and by the end of the century the impartiality with which the Chilterns were granted in the English Parliament was cited in bitter contrast to Lord Castlereagh's manipulation of Escheatorships in the Irish. In a word, the prerogative of veto passed, gradually perhaps but surely, from the Crown and its Ministers to the collective House of Commons, and there is now little reason for Opposition Members to demand a more logical method of resignation. In 1880, it is true, Sir H. Drummond Wolff gave notice that he would move for 'a Select Committee to search the Journals of the

the House and to collect other evidence as to the circumstances under which the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds and similar offices have been conferred on Members desirous of relinquishing their seats, and to report whether or not it is desirable to provide by statute some means whereby Members can relinquish their seats under the control of the House, and independently of the Government of the day.' But the project was tacitly allowed to lapse, and as a rule complaints against the existing system emanate solely from the very Ministers who are technically responsible for making the appointment, and who resent having this somewhat onerous and delicate constitutional function thrown upon them by what may fairly be called an historical accident.

In 1858 the supervising rights of the House of Commons were finally confirmed by means of a section inserted into the New Writs Act of that year at the instance of the quondam Speaker, Lord Eversley. Under that section, if any one of the *nominal* appointments was granted to a Member during the recess, the writ for the new election could not be issued until the House met again and could exercise its privilege of control. It is noticeable, in passing, that two extinct offices were included in the list, the Stewardship of East Hendred and the Escheatorship of Munster—an error which can be due to nothing but sheer ignorance on the part of the ex-Speaker and both Houses. This new limitation may be said to have put the *coup de grâce* to the position of the Chilterns as an ordinary Crown appointment. A few years later, it was found expedient to extinguish the theory that the office was an *honourable* one. For more than a century the form of the appointing warrant had contained words attaching a certain dignity to the post. Technically it was because the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'reposed especial trust and confidence in the care and fidelity' of the retiring Member, that he conferred office upon him. But in 1861 a *cause célèbre* occurred. A well-known Member, Mr. Edwin James, Q.C., who had sought and received the Chilterns in ordinary course, fled the country *instantly*, and was soon afterwards proclaimed to have been guilty of the grossest professional swindling. If not a scandal, it was at least an offence to sentiment that, mere formality as it was, the confidence of the Crown should have been declared to rest on so unworthy a subject, and Mr. Gladstone forthwith expunged the honorific words from the warrant altogether. For some reason, presumably because no official record was kept of the change, the omitted words were subsequently replaced; but in 1877 they were again deleted by Sir Stafford Northcote, and have

never since been restored. No vestige of honour or dignity is now attached to the appointment; but the wording of the warrant has remained substantially intact since 1750.

Meanwhile, step by step during the present century, the general laws of procedure governing the sister appointments of the Chilterns and Northstead have been gradually evolved and stereotyped. It is unfortunately only too true, as Mr. Gladstone informed Parliament in 1880, that no official record of precedents is in existence; but in the unattractive pages of the Commons Journals, the 'Mirror of Parliament,' and Hansard, may be found a tolerably complete clue to the intricacies of modern practice. First and foremost, it may be said, the riddle that is hardest to solve, the knot that fewest can untie, is the great crux of the past in a modified shape—the question whether a nominal Stewardship can be withheld from a Member of Parliament under any circumstances whatsoever. We have seen that the right of refusal was exercised by early Chancellors of the Exchequer altogether independently of the wishes of the House of Commons. But nowadays the insulted majesty of the House has amply avenged itself; the titular patron of the Chilterns is no more its master, but its servant. Is any power of veto left at all?

In the light of the precedents of the present reign, two main principles can firmly be laid down. The first is, that applications for the Chilterns should be granted immediately and as a matter of course, except in very extreme cases. To withhold the appointment on the assumption that, at some future date, the seat may be vacated by other means, is *primâ facie* unfair, both to the applicant himself, who has a general claim to be considered innocent until he is actually proved guilty; to the House of Commons, which desires to purge itself as soon as possible of doubtful characters; to the party to which the applicant belongs, whose reputation is injured, and whose numerical strength would be diminished if he retained his seat without appearing in the House; to the constituency which he represents, which for the same reason would be practically disfranchised; and finally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, who might lay himself open to the charge of opposing a Member's retirement for partisan motives. The second principle is, that it is the Chancellor of the Exchequer's duty to refuse to grant the appointment, either if the House directly enjoins him to do so, or else if the Member's resignation would anticipate proceedings actually pending, either in the House for censuring or punishing him, or before the Election Judges for *voiding his election*.

Following

Following the lines of Sir William Harcourt's important statement in the House on Mr. Spencer Balfour's case (January 31st, 1893), the following more detailed rules can be shown to rest on good authority:—

Firstly.—In ordinary cases the Chilterns must be granted directly they are applied for. Such ordinary cases are—

- (1) When, as constantly occurs, a Member wishes simply to retire from Parliament, or to stand for another constituency or again for his own.
- (2) When it is doubtful whether a Member's return, or the tenure of his seat, is technically valid. (Cases of Mr. Dodson, July 26th, 1880, and Mr. Bradlaugh February 12th, 1884.)
- (3) When a Member who has informally accepted a *bona fide* Crown office wishes to vacate his seat before it is voided by his formal appointment. (Cases of the elder Pitt, June 28th, 1757, and Lord Morpeth April 20th, 1835.)

Secondly.—The appointment is bestowed without reference to the character or fitness of the applicant. This is shown by the change in the wording of the warrant made in 1861.

Thirdly.—It is not the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to investigate individual suspicious cases. He has nothing to do with the motives which may prompt a Member to apply for the Chilterns, and no blame attaches to him if afterwards appears that the applicant has retired in order to avoid the probable consequences of some misconduct. (Lord Palmerston on Lord Chelsea's case, August 6th, 1842, and Mr. Gladstone on Dr. Mitchell's case, August 11th, 1859.)

Fourthly.—The only cases in which it is the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, even without the intervention of the House, to take the initiative in refusing to grant the Chilterns, are as follow:—

- (a.) When the applicant is undoubtedly in a state of mental incapacity, or has some other proved disqualification which is in itself sufficient to vacate his seat. (Lord Palmerston on Lord Chelsea's case August 6th, 1842.) But this rule is unimportant and might well be waived, on the analogy of Section 3 of the first rule above, in cases where delay is likely to occur.
- (b.) When the applicant seeks to retire in pursuance of some illegal agreement of which the House

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cognizant and has expressed its disapproval. (Lord Chelsea's case, August 6th, 1842.)

- (c.) When a criminal prosecution has been actually instituted against the applicant; in which case, if he were found guilty, he would be expelled from the House. (Mr. Sadleir's case, July 24th, 1856.)
- (d.) When an election enquiry has been actually instituted into the circumstances of the applicant's return; in which case, if he were found guilty of corruption, he would be lawfully deprived of his seat. (Mr. Gladstone on Mr. Dodson's case, July 27th, 1880.)

The justification for withholding the Chilterns in any of these four cases is obvious. As regards rule (a), the grant of the appointment would be superfluous, the seat being already *ipso facto* vacant. As regards rule (b), it would imply an approval of conduct which has been censured by the House. As regards rule (c), it would defeat the jurisdiction of the House over offending Members. As regards rule (d), it would involve the assumption that the election was not already null.

Fifthly.—There must always be a certain number of cases on the border line. For instance, as regards rule (b), the House itself in 1859 (Dr. Mitchell's case) definitely rejected a proposal to prohibit the Chancellor of the Exchequer from granting the Chilterns to any Member who under any circumstances whatsoever had agreed to compromise an election petition by resigning his seat. On the other hand, as regards rule (d), Mr. Gladstone in the same case gave an *obiter dictum* to the effect that the appointment might properly be refused to an applicant, merely if another Member should formally lay before the House good *prima facie* evidence of his corrupt practices during his election; and as regards rule (c), Sir G. Cornwall Lewis in 1856 (Mr. Sadleir's case) promised to 'consider the propriety' of granting the Chilterns if applied for by a Member who had merely been declared by a Judge to be *liable* to a criminal prosecution. In such cases, however, the initiative must be taken by the House, and the responsibility must rest with the House; and if the House does not move in the matter, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not justified in withholding the Chilterns *sponte sua* (Mr. Gladstone on 11th August, 1859). *A fortiori*, if the result of an enquiry by the competent authority (whether the House or the Judges, as the case may be) has been to prove the Member personally *innocent* of the charges brought against him, the Chancellor
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of the Exchequer is bound to grant his application for the Chilterns (Mr. Dodson's case, 27th July, 1880).

So much for the circumstances under which the appointment may or may not be withheld; but the very formalities observed in making the grant have a certain quaint interest of their own. The instrument is, as we have seen, a simpler one than that required for *bonâ fide* Stewardships. Appointments to the latter were made, down to the year 1859, by Letters Patent issued under the Exchequer Seal, and after 1859 by Royal Warrant signed by Her Majesty and countersigned by two Lords of the Treasury. In the case of the Chilterns and similar nominal offices, the appointment has always been made by a modest warrant signed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and prepared by his private secretary. From the date of its first institution under George II. this warrant had to be both witnessed and sealed with the Chancellor's office seal, and during the reign of George III. a deed stamp was also imposed; but both stamping and sealing were discontinued about thirty years ago, and more recently even the witnessing dropped out of use. For some twenty years the enactment under which the stamp was considered necessary, has been expunged from the Statute Book; but the seal and witness's signature have quite recently been revived by Sir William Harcourt. The formality of enrolling the warrant in the Land Revenue Records and then sending it to the retiring Member is not observed; but immediately upon the signing of the instrument the private secretary writes to the Member, omitting the letters M.P. after his name, to inform him that he has been appointed to the office, and then notes the name and date in a 'Register of Appointments to Stewardships of the Chiltern Hundreds, &c.,' which is kept at the Treasury. It has been the common practice of bygone Chancellors of the Exchequer to make no formal announcement of the appointment, and also to destroy or carry away on quitting office whatever warrants of this kind they have issued; but here again Sir William Harcourt has lately arranged that the appointments should, for the sake of publicity, be at once announced in the 'London Gazette,' and the warrants be preserved in the Treasury archives.

As a mere matter of symmetry, it is usual to grant the Chilterns and the Northstead alternately, but there is no obligation to do so. Mr. Goulburn, however, in 1846, laid down the remarkable rule that the same appointment could not be granted to more than one person in the same day. Whether this principle was really observed at the time he spoke cannot now be ascertained, as the old Registers of Appointments are missing

missing, but it has certainly not been strictly adhered to since; for on four occasions since December 1850 (the date of the existing Register) the Chilterns have been granted twice on the same day, and there is no obvious objection to such a course, seeing that the offices are merely held during pleasure, with no period of time attached. And in this context should be noticed the strange mistake made by Sir Erskine May, when he declares that the appointment is resigned as soon as its purpose is effected. As a matter of fact every new Steward retains the office until his successor is appointed, and every new warrant expressly revokes the grant to the last holder.

Under the Act of 6 Anne it is the 'acceptance' of an office of profit from the Crown which vacates the seat; but a question has not infrequently been raised as to what constitutes 'acceptance' sufficiently to enable a new writ to be moved for the seat. In the case of *bonâ fide* offices of profit, mere informal consent to accept may, but need not necessarily, constitute technical 'acceptance' within the meaning of the Act; in fact, the Government is allowed a certain latitude in the matter. And with the Chilterns and Northstead the procedure is equally variable. Some Chancellors of the Exchequer have held that a verbal request for the appointment, answered by a verbal promise to grant it, is sufficient to vacate the seat. Others have argued that the promise must be made by letter, the receipt of which vacates the seat. Others have assumed that the receipt of the letter is immaterial. Others again have held that the seat is not vacated till the formal warrant is completed. The question was one of practical interest in days when the instrument was incomplete till it had been stamped at the Stamp Office; but since the discontinuance of this formality, no delay need now occur between the promise and the execution of the warrant, and the principle of the present procedure is that the seat is vacated directly the warrant is signed. It is for this reason that the private secretary, in acquainting the Member of his appointment, omits (as we have seen) the letters M.P. after his name. If, however, after the warrant has been signed and a new writ issued for the vacated seat, the House has any *primâ facie* case for believing that the appointment has not been accepted, it is open to it to cancel the writ by issuing a *supersedeas* thereto (case of Mr. Peter Browne, 10th April, 1826). There is a curious legend that Lord North on one occasion acted on the principle that appointment to a Crown office implied acceptance of it, and accordingly appointed a political adversary to the Chilterns merely in order to vacate his seat. How far this could legally be done

on the assumption that the appointment was a direct mandate from the Crown, hardly requires argument.

As soon as the warrant has been signed, comes the question of issuing the writ for a new election; and enterprising doctrinaires have occasionally argued that, if the Member appointed is a Minister of the Crown, or has not actually taken the parliamentary oath, the appointment does not vacate his seat sufficiently to enable a new writ to be issued at all. Either theory is absurd. It is true that, within certain fixed limits, members of the Government who merely exchange one ministerial post for another, are excused under an Act of 1867 from seeking re-election. But this exception is limited to certain specified *bonâ fide* offices, not including either the Chilterns or the Northstead; and it makes no difference whether Members accepting the latter appointments are Ministers or not. (Cases of Lord Althorpe, a Lord of the Treasury, in 1782; Mr. Bagot, an Under-Secretary of State, in 1808; Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Solicitor-General, in 1852; Mr. Dodson, President of the Local Government Board, in 1880.) Neither does it make the least difference whether the accepting Member is still unsworn, or has taken the oath (cases of Baron Rothschild in 1849 and 1857, and Mr. Bradlaugh in 1884). In each case, acceptance vacates the seat, and a new writ may be issued forthwith. The actual restrictions are comparatively simple. If the Chilterns or Northstead are granted during the recess, as not infrequently happens (Mr. Goschen's statement, February 15th, 1892), the New Writs Act, 1858, forbids the issue of the new writ until the House meets again. If they are granted during the session, the Whip of the Party to which the recipient belongs, is free, on giving due notice, to move for a new writ as soon as the warrant of appointment is signed; and the writ is issued as a matter of course, except when an election petition is threatened, or the Judges after investigation have declared the constituency to be seriously corrupt. In the former case, a new writ can only be issued if the seat is not claimed (case of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, May 3rd, 1852). In the latter, it cannot be issued at all until it has been decided whether or not to disfranchise the constituency (Mr. Dodson's case, 1880).

From the dull limbo of House of Commons procedure it is a relief to re-emerge at last into the ampler ether whence we started. A very few words will suffice to 'knit up the ravelled sleeve' of one of the most curious little chapters of parliamentary history. It has been seen that what had been from Norman days an active and honourable office, bestowed by the autocratic will

will of the reigning Sovereign upon county magnates or court favourites, had dwindled down by the middle of the last century into an empty title of no advantage except to Members of Parliament. Under the second George, and during part of the reign of the third, the grant of that title had to be begged from the arbitrary favour of the Ministry in power; but by degrees it has come to be claimed by Members as an indisputable right, which only the collective voice of the House, expressed or implied, can disallow. Its ancient form and letter have survived more or less intact; but its spirit and intention have been transformed out of all recognition.

Not the form of the appointment alone, but also its only *raison d'être* in the nineteenth century, is a remarkable instance of the vitality of our national traditions. The principle that Members of Parliament have no power to resign their seats has remained theoretically in force down to a time when its observance in actual practice would be absolutely intolerable. It remains unaltered only because it can readily be evaded; and the mechanism for evading it is provided by the 'constitutional fiction' of granting an obsolete Stewardship.

Threatened institutions live long. Were it otherwise, the signs of the times might lead us to believe that the days of the present system are numbered. The alternative course of allowing Members a direct power of resignation, first proposed in 1775 by George Grenville for Westminster, has been revived for Dublin in the Home Rule Bill of 1893. The note of dissatisfaction with the existing *régime*, sounded by Mr. Gladstone in 1880, has been echoed recently by Sir William Harcourt; and it may be that, before very long, the natural reluctance of an over-harassed Chancellor of the Exchequer to assume responsibilities which are his by accident alone—a reluctance backed by the iconoclastic whims of our parliamentary levellers—will undermine this interesting relic of a forgotten past, and the fatal curtain of commonsense and commonplace, falling on the Stewardship of the Three Hundreds of Chiltern as it has already fallen on the Escheatorship of Munster, leave nothing but the dim memory of a quaint custom and an old-world name.

ART. X.—*Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley, late Dean of Westminster.* By R. E. Prothero. London, 1893.

EARLY in Michaelmas term of 1893, one of the few survivors of Arthur Stanley's schoolfellows at Rugby—who may now be almost counted on one's fingers—paid a visit of a few days to Oxford. Somehow or somewhere—possibly in Albemarle Street—he had heard on good authority that the long-looked-for Memoir of his old schoolfellow and friend was in the press, and would be out in all likelihood by Christmas. Full of this news, which he felt sure would stir Oxford to its depths, he lost no time in announcing it in the common room of one of the leading Colleges. To his astonishment, almost to his dismay, what had been to him such good tidings seemed to fall flat, and excite scarcely even a languid interest. 'Our generations here,' seemed to be the general verdict, 'succeed one another so rapidly that personal reputations and traditions seldom survive for ten years, and it is more than that since Arthur Stanley's death, and nearly thirty since he left Oxford. If you were to speak with any enthusiasm of the name of Stanley in any gathering of the young Oxford of to-day, even at the Union, nine out of ten probably of the audience would think you were alluding to the African traveller, not to the Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Moreover, the questions which agitated the University in his day, and in which he bore so prominent a part, move us no longer: even the great secession in the early forties is getting stale; and as for the names of Gorham, Hampden, Williams and Wilson, Colenso, and the rest, they are clean forgotten, with all the details of the smaller controversies which raged round them.'

Our septuagenarian friend, not satisfied with the result of his first experiment, repeated it in another common room. There, though on somewhat different grounds, he met with little better success. 'So far as Oxford is concerned,' he heard, 'the story of the great movement which began with the "Tracts for the Times" has been told again and again. We have had all the chief actors in the witness-box, from Cardinal Newman's "Apologia" to Dean Church's "Oxford Movement," and are even now—such of us as have still an appetite—struggling with the first instalment in two bulky volumes of Dr. Pusey's Life. We know what parts all the chief actors played, including Stanley and his master Arnold—*sat prata biberunt*. No doubt his career touched many centres of intellectual, religious, and political life outside Oxford, both in England and abroad; and his own reminiscences, if we could have had them fresh,

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would have been of great interest, for he was a superb verbal photographer. But he has been dead too long. His biographers—for we have heard of four or five, all first-rate men no doubt—who have had this work in hand, should have taken a leaf out of his own book. The amazing success of his “*Life of Arnold*” was due in great measure to the promptness with which it followed the death of his hero, and the intense love which he bore him. If you want to know what a man really was, study his life in the book of some one who loved him, not in cold impartial biographies, was the wise advice F. Maurice used to give his pupils.’

Such was the reception our friend’s good news received in the University where Arthur Stanley spent so many of his best years as Tutor and Professor, and which owes more of its new and vigorous development—as yet only in its infancy—to him than to any other of her sons. To all which our friend replied with praiseworthy faith, for he had not seen a page of the book, ‘Well, Oxford may “abide in her breaches,” and do or say what she will; but I tell you that this book is going to be read with greater interest than any sensation novel, not only in every centre where men read at all in Great Britain and the colonies, but quite as keenly in the United States, and even on the continent of Europe.’

The book is now before us, and we are therefore in a position to judge between the doubting Oxonians and the man of sturdy faith, and we give our verdict unhesitatingly in favour of the latter. Having regard to the overwhelming mass of material from which the editor had to select, and which would have smothered a weaker workman, we think the unique figure of the little Dean stands out clearly and lovingly, and that even a generation which knew him not in the flesh may learn to understand something of his fascination for men of all conditions from the Court to the slums, and to appreciate Lowell’s famous words at the Commemoration meeting in the Chapter-house of the Abbey in December 1881: ‘I think no man ever lived who was so pleasant to so many people.’

Mr. Prothero in his few words of preface frankly admits that he wants ‘the personal knowledge of Stanley which is essential for a biographer.’ He explains, further, that when the materials were handed on to him in January 1892, he found a continuous narrative already prepared, dealing with the first twenty-five years, from 1815 to 1840. We can imagine his dismay when he realized that this section by itself would have ‘more than filled a large octavo volume,’ in its then *shape*, and can only express our admiration of the courage
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with which he proceeded to cut it down by considerably more than half. The rare self-suppression and disinterestedness of the present Dean of Westminster, and Sir George Grove, the sole surviving literary executor, who seem not only to have allowed, but cordially approved of, this drastic treatment, is equally remarkable and praiseworthy. 'O si sic omnes!' in memorial literature.

We must own to a little regret that the editor should not have carried out his severe method to the end, for to our mind there is a relaxation from 1840, in the length at which documents and letters are set out bearing on the mere trifling daily incidents of ours, or upon bygone ecclesiastical controversies, such as those over the heresies, real or supposed, of such weaker brethren as Bryan King, Page Cox, and Voysey, in which Stanley's innate chivalry and combativeness—strengthened by his conviction that the 'National Church' should be wide enough to include all Christians—led him always to take the weaker side, and to throw himself into the thick of the fray. We will give one instance only, and it shall be the one we most regret, of what we mean. In February 1867, Archbishop Longley called a Conference at Lambeth of the whole Anglican Episcopate, as well as that of the daughter-Church in the United States, to consider the complications which had arisen in the course of the South African controversy over the See of Natal, where Bishop Gray, the Metropolitan of Capetown, and the Synod of South Africa, had already excommunicated Bishop Colenso. Stanley doubted the wisdom of such a conference at this crisis, and his doubts were shared by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of the Northern Province, and the Bishop of Peterborough, who declined to attend. However, the Conference was held, and, on a threat of resignation by Bishop Gray, a resolution was passed, which—though only declaring that the consecration of a new Bishop of Natal would not necessarily sever the communion between the Home and Colonial Church—was assumed by Bishop Gray and his supporters to sanction the appointment of a new bishop of that diocese.

The Conference was to conclude with a special service, which it was proposed to hold in the Abbey. To this Stanley objected, unless it was clearly understood that the service had no relation to the Conference, but was held for some specific purpose, such as the Propagation of the Gospel, or 'the promotion of brotherly good will amongst all members of the Anglican Communion.' This offer was declined on behalf of the assembled Bishops, and the service was held elsewhere. Thereupon Stanley wrote a courteous explanation to Bishop
Hopkin

Hopkins of Vermont, the senior American Bishop, to be communicated to his brother Bishops. To this he received a reply from Bishop Hopkins, occupying four pages of vol. ii. (pp. 203-6), which was sent to the American papers. It was, however, disowned by the Episcopal Church of the United States, and drew from Phillips Brooks, afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts, and then a recognized leader in the Church, a protest that 'the only feeling in our Church at large on reading the Bishop's letter will be one of sorrow and shame.' It was necessary, no doubt, to give the short facts of this Conference, which might, we think, have been sufficiently done in two pages, and this unhappy scandal left to sleep.

But a truce to criticism! We are half-ashamed to have spent so much time over it already, and will now endeavour to give our readers such an introduction as the space at our disposal will allow to a most unique and fascinating Christian gentleman, whose further intimate acquaintance they will be wise to cultivate in these volumes and his own works, and to grapple him to their hearts with hooks of steel for the rest of their lives.

Arthur Stanley was born in December 1815—Waterloo year, when all the boys were Arthurs—in Alderley Rectory, under far more favourable conditions than most boys who come to the front in after-years 'in our rough island's story.' Edward Stanley, his father, was the rector, whose brother Sir John, the head of this branch of the clan, lived at Alderley Park in the same parish. No better rector could have been found for the family living, though Edward Stanley would have been a sailor if he could have followed his natural bent. He was a faithful parish priest, indefatigable amongst his poor; a Liberal, who was one of the first and most earnest advocates of the secular education of the agricultural poor, and a supporter of Catholic Emancipation in 1829; a lecturer on Geology to the infant Mechanics' Institutes in Cheshire, and the author of 'A familiar History of Birds,' of whose haunts and habits he was a loving and accurate observer. He was, moreover, a man of iron nerve and undaunted courage, the hero of one of the most curdling of Alpine exploits, known as the *mauvais pas* in those days—when he refused to turn back, though the path along a precipice had been all but swept away by an avalanche—and probably the only English parson who (in the Georgian era, when Tom Spring rode to his fight for the belt with the Bristol champion, in the Prince Regent's carriage) succeeded in stopping single-handed on his black pony, which he forced through a crowd of roughs right up to the ropes, a prize-fight in *full swing*. Arthur, a delicate shy child—'the little sylph,' as his
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aunt calls him—already a voracious reader, and living in a little world of his own, was at eight sent to a small private school at Seaforth, where he stayed for four years. There, besides getting all the prizes, he became the popular retailer of the Waverley novels and other romances; wrote two volumes of poetry, of which one still survives, and is headed ‘The poetical Works of A. P. Stanley, Vol. II.’ and developed extraordinary precocity as a letter-writer. His mother, watching him with anxious eyes, and noticing that his shyness was only broken by short intervals of boyish brightness, seems to have troubled herself unnecessarily on his account. ‘Often I am sure,’ she writes, ‘he is very unhappy, with a laudable desire to be with other boys, yet when with them finding his incapacity to enter into their pleasures.’ No doubt he was more fond of reading and writing poetry than of games; but as he recounts the defence of a castle on the sandhills, in which he was hit by a stone thrown by one of the besiegers, the mark of which he carried to the grave,—does not hate his drill, ‘at all events double-quick march, which is running as hard as we can,’ though the sergeant would urge him ‘to put on a bold, swaggering air, and not look sheepish,’—and likes rounders very much, and cricket pretty well, ‘though once there was nothing I disliked so much,’—there would not seem to have been much ground for anxiety. In his last year he is already taking an interest in ‘the Catholic question,’ and is ‘walking in the paths of poetry every Thursday, and of course I like it better than any other lesson.’ In ken of which we note that in this half, besides lines on ‘Time,’ ‘Forgiveness,’ and ‘Sleep,’ and two odes to ‘Minerva’ and ‘Neptune,’ he is working at a long poem on ‘the death of Vortigern,’ ‘who is to die in great agony, in the midst of flames, with his wife Rowena.’ One does not see why his old nurse Sarah (who lived with the family till her death) should have been sent with him on his return to school in August 1827; but so it was, or at any rate they were together in Liverpool, where he takes her to see a chameleon, ‘who changed green, turned his eyes, and ate two flies most beautifully for us,’ and the Panorama of Corfu. Here Sarah, like many of his friends in later years, drew the line, and refused to visit a Diorama of the valley of Sarnen, which he ‘liked very much indeed,’ as he tells his mother. His astonishing inquisitiveness is already strong, and his indefatigable industry, as appears by his 5th of November letter, which tells how, after helping to drag branches of trees for the school bonfire, he finds his head in ‘a strange jumble; two or three hymns, part of a new “Deluge,” scraps of “Vortigern,” half-translated odes of Anacreon into verse,

verse, "Despair," battles, squibs, crackers, bonfires, all shooting into morsels of "the Tyrolese," &c. I long to disgorge some of them upon paper, but I have not time.' He manages, however, to get his translation of Anacreon's 'Ode to Woman' on to paper, and to send it to his sister Mary, to whose criticism from woman's point of view he replies, 'I daresay Anacreon didn't trouble to find out whether she had sense, though to be sure it was very inconsiderate of me to send it you in that way.'

His mother must have been cheered on hearing from him in 1828 that he would much rather ride well than write Latin verses, and that he 'has just recovered from a rage of drawing temples and columns and ruins,' brought on by some lectures on architecture. But all other interests were now absorbed in the approaching delight of a tour in the South of France which his father had planned, and for which the family party started on the 17th of July, 1828, *viâ* Dublin and Bordeaux. His passion for travel, so notable in later years, was already quite as strong in the boy of twelve. He and his sister Mary 'sat on the deck screaming with rapture' at the swell in the Bay of Biscay (till a big wave upset them from their seats); and, on the sudden appearance of the Pic du Midi high above the clouds, Arthur danced about in ecstasy on the terrace at Pau, exclaiming, 'Oh, what shall I do? what shall I do?' He managed to see more than any of the rest, though the guides called him *le pauvre petit*, and offered to carry him; and he kept a diary recording every day's adventures. One can scarcely believe that the extracts here given were written by a boy of twelve, so full are they of bright thought and description, and historical allusion.

After one more half-year at Seaforth—during which he wrote great part of an historical novel (site, the Pyrenees) and an ode to Henry IV. in memory of Pau—he went to Rugby in January 1829, where Arnold had become head-master in the previous June. His father is said to have chosen the school through the influence of Augustus Hare, his brother-in-law, but his own sympathy with Arnold's views, both religious and political, are quite enough to account for the selection.

'Such a difference from Seaforth, where I could do almost what I liked. I wish I were anywhere else,' is the summing-up of his first letter to his sister, in which he gives details of his arrival, examination by the doctor, and two days' experience; but we cannot admit that he was forlorn or unhappy even in his first half. He certainly was not bullied, although he came in frills, a cap, and with a pink watch-ribbon; and was nicknamed 'Nancy,' until a poem on Brownsover, set as a form exercise

exercise in his second half, earned him the name of 'the poet,' and his study that of 'poet's corner.' He was scarcely ever fagged during his short transit of six months from the fourth through the 'shell' into the fifth form, when his time of servitude ceased. Certainly in so rough a school as Rugby then was this immunity was remarkable, but is accounted for by the fact that he became known in a few weeks as a first-rate 'construe,' and every morning had a group of six or eight boys round him to get some insight from him into their first lesson, neglected overnight; and as a genius for 'longs and shorts,' for which the demand was unlimited. Of football, in those days compulsory for all below the sixth, he writes, 'I really like it, it is such an enlivening warm game, though I sometimes catch myself looking at the sunset instead of the ball'; and even when he is in the sixth, 'I shall go on playing, I think, though it is a joke amongst the boys, and a form to myself for the most part, for I do little more than run backwards and forwards after a crowd for the space of two hours.' His only other essay in athletics was one run at 'Hare and Hounds,' when at the end of three miles he, with 'the very fat boy and another,' were distanced and turned back. We quite agree with Mr. Prothero that the record of these early days is worth preserving, and they could not have been more vividly set out than in the boy's own letters selected by the editor. In Anstey's house there chanced at this time to be no sixth-form boy, so that on his promotion to the fifth he was at once advanced to the position of 'præpostor,' and would seem, in spite of his small size and left-handedness, to have kept good order in the house, with one exception, when on 'Guy Fox night' he was caught by Mr. Anstey actively promoting the house bonfire with crackers, and, being too dignified to run like the rest, had to translate 150 lines of Greek play for his escapade. In the next spring (1831) one of Arnold's reforms, the fifth-form examination for places, came into force, with the result that Stanley came out first, and went up into the sixth to be for four years directly under Arnold's own hand and eye.

For his unique career during these years, in which he got every school prize which could be won (there being none in those days for mathematics), readers must go to the book in which the story is admirably brought out. One or two points, however, must be here noticed. Looking over his English prize essay, to prune it for Speech Day, Arnold came on an allusion to Smollett, and found that Stanley had never read 'Humphrey Clinker.' "Oh you must read 'Humphrey Clinker'; if you have not got it, I will lend it you. It is not too much to

say that I have read it through fifty times;" and accordingly he jumped up and got it down for me.' (Vol. i. p. 65.) One of Arnold's favourite ways of awakening boys' intelligence was to illustrate some passage in a Greek or Latin author by asking for parallel passages in some modern book (*e.g.* the *Waverley* novels), with which they might probably, or possibly, be familiar. Now, heartily as we agree that the record of the tour of Squire Bramble and Tabitha his sister, and of the sayings and doings of the family, and of Lieutenant Lismahago, are quite in the first rank, in spite of superficial coarseness, of the novels of the last century, we must own we were not a little startled by the record of this interview. 'To the pure all things are pure,' probably was the ground for Arnold's advice, but we greatly doubt if he would have given the like to any other boy of sixteen.

The courage verging on combativeness, so noteworthy in later years, was already there, beneath the small stature and sensitive modesty which his schoolfellows noted in 'little Stanley.' The struggle of the school with the Squire of Brownsover for the right to fish in the Avon, during which a keeper was ducked by Livingstone's Oswell, the mighty elephant hunter, is still a tradition in Rugbyean memories. 'The school,' Stanley writes, 'was on the eve of rebellion; many of the sixth wavered in their allegiance. There was, however, a party firmly and deliberately opposed to the whole affair. I was one'; and at the end of his graphic account adds, 'For myself I rather enjoyed the excitement,' which we entirely believe.

It was not till the summer of 1833, the beginning of his last year of school life, that he shook off the awe of Arnold which made him think he should never get a perfectly comfortable talk with him till the relations of schoolboy and school-master were over. The relief came on the box-seat of the carriage, where they sat side by side on their way to Alderley, where Arnold was to spend the first week of his summer holiday. 'I could hardly credit my senses,' Stanley writes; 'it was a most total change from the exalted state in which he had appeared to my eyes up to the week before—such childlike joy and simplicity.' He 'talked of Coleridge, chivalry, geology, and phrenology, and Queen Caroline, and mobs, and Niebuhr, Thucydides and triremes, and genealogies and races, &c., and then fell asleep,' which completed the metamorphosis of the Head-master of Rugby to his worshipping pupil. This was confirmed during his visit to Arnold at the Lakes, a month later; yet now the happiness was, he thought, becoming dangerous, and that it was well that he was leaving, for this admiration to the verge of idolatry 'must grow as long as I have him

him before me.' The total result of this first act of his life is, we think, perfectly summed up in the words of Dean Vaughan:—

'The influence of Arnold's character, at once so high above and so profoundly in contact, gave to this early period of his life a sort of fire of zeal, at which Oxford undergraduates might afterwards smile, but which had in it the making of the future man, with that unresting energy, that forthright purpose, that resistless attraction, that clean and pure soul.' (P. 105.)

In face of the embarrassing abundance of good material out of which Mr. Prothero had to compose his picture, many biographers would have scarcely noticed the autumn vacation of 1834, which separated Stanley's Rugby from his Oxford career, and which he spent for the most part at Hurstmonceux, where his widowed aunt, Mrs. A. Hare, was living with her brother-in-law, the Rector. We are glad to have it in detail, as it exercised, in our judgment, considerable influence on his future career. At this most impressionable moment, with Arnold's type of liberal churchmanship vividly in his mind, he was brought at once into the most direct and intimate personal intercourse with two other remarkable men, Julius Hare and John Sterling, his curate,—men whose beliefs and sympathies were as wide as those of Arnold himself, but of different types from his. And the precocious boy thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated his chance. 'I have never been in a place so intellectual before; everything seems to breathe with learning and deep thought; and hearing no conversation of an ordinary sort, I feel quite as if it were a dream when I go to bed at night.' He is soon deep in discussions, with both Rector and Curate, on Church politics, Christian evidences, Coleridge's Letters on Inspiration, and the Articles of Religion, as to which he writes:—

'Conceive my delight on finding that both J. H. and Mr. Sterling agree with, or rather believe in most fully, the advantage of comprehending all but Unitarians; indeed J. H. would make the Divinity of Christ the only Article. . . . I am strengthened in my opinion that there is only needed, that there only should be, one, viz. I believe that Christ is both God and man.' (P. 115.)

As to the Atonement, which he discusses with Sterling, he notes that Arnold and Sterling took exactly opposite roads,—Arnold saying, "Ask for the lesson first and the abstract truth afterwards;" Sterling, "The abstract truth first and then the lesson." I quite agree with what Auntie says, that the metaphysical part of Sterling's nature has got the better of him. By the time he left Hurstmonceux his liberal churchmanship

has been not only confirmed, but developed. Even as to Unitarians he has his 'own doubts. They may indeed be excluded from the outward Catholic Church, but not from the Communion of Saints, which he takes to be 'the communion of all good men in all ages and countries—all those who have loved God and served man.' It seems worth noting, and will probably astonish all but our oldest readers, to find such a boy of nineteen as Stanley, in enumerating the books Hare used to read aloud in the evenings, 'which I should not be likely to read, Wordsworth, Lamb, Coleridge, Milton's prose, and (oh tell it not in the streets of Gath) Alfred Tennyson.'

He went round by Rugby to his first term at Oxford, 'to have a little ordinary conversation with my equals, and loose the strings of my tongue for Oxford.' A week with Arnold at his old school would, he thought, give 'the consummation to my heterodox teaching before I go to the place of supreme orthodoxy.' One good morally he has, however, got at Hurstmonceux, 'the diminution of my gossiping tendency.' And so he goes to Rugby for a week, where he has 'a time of the most luxurious happiness he has ever had,' from which he is only partially roused by his old schoolfellow John Penrose, Arnold's nephew, on his way also to Balliol, reminding him of the fact, 'which had never struck me,' that he must have sheets to his bed in Balliol. From this embarrassment he is relieved by his lady friends at Rugby, and starts equipped as to sheets, a table-cloth, and dusters, on 'the Pig' coach, so full as to be in imminent danger of upsetting, and, on his arrival at seven, in fine moonlight, bewildered and helpless, is taken in hand by Penrose, who was on the look-out for him, and safely landed in the Mitre.

Now that he is fairly started at Oxford, we will rest for a moment, and for this reason: in almost any other case no one would think of taking serious stock of a man's character at twenty; but we are convinced that it is the best way with A. Stanley. While in daily contact and converse with Arnold during more than three years, he had taken the keenest interest in the Doctor's polemic with Palmer, Newman, and the party of 'Tracts for the Times.' He is, up to his last half, furious at the treatment of his hero; doubts now and again whether Oxford is the place for himself. This feeling passed off during his last scholarship visit and matriculation. He has already, by study and thought, arrived at settled conclusions as to contemporary burning questions—Apostolic succession, the Atonement, verbal inspiration, and the true relations of Church and State—founded on principles which already he has 'folded

up

up and put away in his mind,' confident that they will give him a safe foothold in any future theological or ecclesiastical controversy, and is 'only afraid that he has quite a bad prejudice against orthodoxy,—except, indeed, that it is somewhat hard to say wherein it consists.' We are not aware of any real change in his faith or practice from this time to the day of his death. Perhaps we can best sum up this faith in the words of his own noble Hymn for the Ascension:—

'He is gone: towards their goal
World and Church must onward roll.
Far behind we leave the past;
Forwards are our glances cast.

'Still His words before us range
Through the ages as they change.
Wheresoe'er the Truth shall lead,
He will give whate'er we need.'

To understand Stanley's position as an English Churchman, which we hold never varied in any essential particular from this time, we must for the moment break our narrative to interpolate a short statement of the ecclesiastical controversies, which were already coming rapidly to a head, to enable readers to understand our view and to test it by reference to the book—an effort, we can warrant them, which it will be well worth their while to make, whether we succeed or fail in getting them to take our view of the history of these years, full of strife and contradictions, and of the part which Stanley bore in them.

In the year then that Stanley went into residence at Balliol, the storm-cloud which had been hanging over the Church and University ever since the passing of the Reform Bill was on the point of breaking; in fact heavy drops had already begun to fall. The followers of Pusey and Newman were bound together by shibboleths and practices which had led many thoughtful men to call in question their loyalty to the National Church. They were fast hardening into a religious party, openly aggressive and proselytizing, and, as was more than suspected, by no means loyal to the principle of Establishment: in fact, had practically become a sect within the Church, with a powerful organ in the press in the shape of 'Tracts for the Times.' On the other hand, the Evangelicals had for more than a generation been organized and recognized as a sect within the Church, represented by 'The Record' in the press—an other-worldish and rather somnolent party, until the doings and writings of the Tractarians had once more roused them into new and aggressive life. As the strife became bitter, each party strove more and more, not to find out for

what truth the other was bearing witness and was prepared to suffer, but to prove some of the supposed teachings of the rival sect incompatible with honest membership of the National Church. Outside these two parties were large numbers both of clergy and laity—forming, we believe, a large majority of Church people—who disliked and resisted the attitudes and doctrines of both the parties, but felt somehow that the Church atmosphere outside was getting very cold. Ought not active steps to be taken to impress upon the nation that these warring sects did not represent, and had no title to speak for, the National Church?

The first and most powerful spokesman, after the Reform Bill, of these masses of quiet English Church folk was Arnold; but he, like his pupil, had in him too much of the fighting character to be an organizer, and died ere the real struggle had commenced, leaving F. D. Maurice the most able by far of the Churchmen attached to neither of the two parties. Judging from the published records of the time, which are abundant, we think there is no question that, had Maurice allowed himself to be made a party-leader, a third or Broad sect would have grown up at this time. This, however, he absolutely and over and over again refused to do, holding that the result would be another sect or party inscribing 'no party' on its banners, and sure to drift into a huge, badly-organized sect, more negative in its tenets than either of the others. To our thinking, no truer service has been rendered to the Church than this action of Maurice's, which kept the 'Broad Church' so long unaggressive, and has practically prevented its taking definite shape up to the present time. But as time went on other leaders began to be recognized, of whom Stanley and Kingsley were the best known; and there are signs that these were not so averse to party action, or at any rate were not unwilling to consider the expedience of some organization which would enable the 'Broad Church' party to make its voice audible. We are aware that the term 'Broad Church' is commonly supposed to have become current only in 1868 or 1870; but this is certainly an error. As early as 1861, when the strife over 'Essays and Reviews' was raging, we find Stanley applying to Kingsley for help from Cambridge in the defence of the Essayists, and getting the reply:

'They did not ask *us*—they called no Synod of the Broad Church—as to what could or could not be done just now. If they fail, they must pay the penalty.' (Kingsley's Life, vol. ii. p. 128.)

So Stanley continued, through all the storms and struggles, whether trivial or important, which from the time he went to Balliol

Balliol as an undergraduate to his death scarcely ceased to fight, like 'Harry of the Wynd,' for his own hand. He was ready to take help from any quarter, but never paused to count who was with him or behind him, and there can be no question that he really enjoyed giving blows, though a fairer fighter never entered the ring, and in all his conflicts no one, so far as we are aware, ever accused him of striking a foul blow.

To return to our story, which we can only follow in meagre outline. The zest with which he plunged into the vivid intellectual life in that stirring time is noteworthy, and the shyness with which he is still credited by his biographer disappeared very rapidly. He took his part as a fighting man from the first: at a breakfast at P. Claughton's he 'was quite driven up into a corner and pommelled, as the only Whig in the room'; and staunchly supported Marriott's motion at the Union for closing the rooms on Sundays, carried by 84 to 80, in revenge for which vote the windows of Capes and Faber were broken, 'the finest thing I have seen since the great Brownsover row' (vol. i. p. 132). He also diligently attended Newman's sermons, the 'general tone, manner, and simple language of which reminded me of no other than Arnold. I have written to Price as strongly as I could, for I dread more and more a collision between Arnold and the High Church party. At present he and Newman seem to be almost antagonistic powers, whereas they are really of the very same essence.' Without neglecting his ordinary work, he in fact took so active a part in current questions, that while an undergraduate he was actually consulted, at the suggestion of Lord Melbourne, as to the appointment of Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity. The lamentable history of that struggle is given in his letters, from which it appears that he actually remonstrated with Arnold for his 'somewhat uncharitable spirit towards two such generally good men as Newman and Pusey.' Arnold replied 'in a beautiful letter, thanking me for speaking openly to him what I really thought.' Thus even as an undergraduate he entered into the full life of the University, and in his third year had made for himself a position such as few undergraduates had ever attained. One incident in his academical career is eminently characteristic. He had been twice a candidate for 'the Ireland,' and had failed owing to his weakness in Latin and Greek verses, and after much hesitation went in the third time, with a heavy heart.

'Words cannot express the delight I shall feel when I wake to-morrow three weeks with the absolute certainty that I shall never do a Greek or Latin verse again.' (Vol. i. p. 175.)

His essay and translations so astonished the examiners that, acting on some vague suspicion that some candidates had obtained previous access to the papers set, they actually withdrew the first two and substituted others. Of course the rumour spread that they suspected him of having seen copies of the questions. The story of his indignation and that of the whole College, and how he enforced a written apology, signed by the Vice-Chancellor and four examiners, is amusing and edifying reading. He got the scholarship and the Newdegate prize poem, and in the following autumn his first class, so ending a career as brilliant as his Rugby one. But his success was embittered by private advice that he should not stand for a Balliol fellowship, as he would not be elected.

The statement seems almost incredible to-day, but so it was. The grounds were the part he had taken in the Hampden controversy, his strong 'Liberalism,' derived, as was supposed, from Arnold, and part of his father's ordination sermon on Schism (as Bishop of Norwich), which he had written:—

'If the heart of man be full of love and peace, whatsoever be his outward act of division he is not guilty of schism. Let no man then think himself free from schism because he is in outward conformity with this or any other Church. He is a schismatic, and he only, who creates feuds and scandals and divisions in the Church of Christ!' (Vol. i. p. 182.)

Hard sayings, no doubt, for Dons responsible for the orthodoxy of their College, to digest. Having satisfied himself of the soundness of the advice of his friends, he turned to University College, where he was received with open arms, but it took him years quite to get over his ostracism from Balliol.

In the vacation he paid his first visit to Rome, whence, returning to Oxford, he has to explain to a friend who is anxious at symptoms of unrest and vacillation in him, to which he frankly owns, adding, however, 'I know no system to which I can hold except Arnold's. If that breaks down under me, I know not where I can look.' And in the pressure as to taking orders which was now disquieting him, he spends much time in Lincoln's Inn and the Temple, and 'feels much reconciled to the life of a lawyer, should I feel invincible obstacles in the Articles or Liturgy.' (Vol. i. p. 196.)

However, after a year's residence at University, and postponing his decision for still another year, he made up his mind, and after expressing with perfect clearness in his papers his views on several critical subjects, above all his rejection of the *damnatory* clauses of the Athanasian Creed, went in for the examination.

examination. To this point he called the special attention of Archdeacon Clarke, the Bishop's examiner, and felt nervous on going to hear his final decision. Great was his relief when the Archdeacon at once declared, 'You need be under no apprehension about it. When several bishops have expressed their opinion, there can be no doubt you may be at ease on the point.' And so he was ordained in 1839, to the great gain of the Church, for he entered orders with the resolve not to rest till he had made the requirements as to the subscription of clerks quite clear, as he at last succeeded in doing. The Act 28 and 29 Vict. c. 122, by which the terms of subscription were relaxed in 1865, was due more to his steady work than to any other cause. Before going into residence at University as Tutor, he gave himself a long tour abroad, in which he visited Bunsen at Berne, who 'flowed like a fountain,' went through Switzerland with Maurice, and with Edward Goulburn through Italy and Greece. It is not possible in the space at our disposal to give our readers even an idea of the joyousness and freshness of his appreciation of the scenes he passed through. We will give one specimen of his power and originality as a word-painter:—

'The piazza is quite unrivalled. I shall never forget the first view when we issued into it from a dark lane on a glorious day of Italian sunshine. It seemed as if at one glance all the whole of Venetian history was unrolled before us. It was not beauty or magnificence alone or grotesqueness. We have been vainly searching after words to describe the peculiar effect. It is a sort of sublime quaintness—the work of a mighty child, with all the strange and lively fancies, and yet with none of the weakness or innocence, of a child.'

On his way home he heard in Italy of the gathering of the storm over Tract 90, and of the protest against it signed by his friend Tait and three other Tutors, and wrote at once to him eager for information, and suggesting that a letter from Ward or from some defender of No. 90 would also be acceptable. Tait replies:—

'I rejoiced you were not in Oxford, lest you should have died of excitement; but I could not help thinking that if your nerves had allowed you to think you would have approved of my act. The result of the whole matter up to the present moment may be shortly summed up. First—as the most interesting to you—the Bishop of London's theory of a literal adherence to every iota of the formularies is blown to the winds of heaven. Secondly, the consciences of Ward and one or two others are much satisfied by having had an opportunity of utterly throwing away the false colours of Church of En

which Pusey mounted last year in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford. Thirdly, — has disengaged himself from the sinking vessel. Fourthly, Newmanism has been proclaimed from one end of the kingdom to the other, by the mouth of its own prophet, to be twin sister of Popery.' (Vol. i. p. 294.)

One can picture the eager excitement in which he hurried home, writing to Hugh Pearson on the way, 'I have read No. 90 and almost all its consequences. The result clearly is that Roman Catholics may become members of the Church and Universities of England, which I for one cannot deplore'; and to Tait, 'I see no reason against Roman Catholics being Anglicans except the impracticability of it. I should not have objected to any mode of rendering it practicable which was not on other grounds objectionable.' One can fancy the half-amused, half-provoked shrug of the shoulders with which the late Archbishop must have received such declarations. But he as well as all the other prominent younger Oxonians, whatever they might think of his Church theories, were eager to welcome him back. He finds the Master, Twiss, Donkin and others gathered in the common room, whence he rushes to his own rooms on receipt of a note, and

'threw myself into the arms of Ward. Fast and furious conversation advanced, till it was interrupted by the door flying open and a long procession entering, consisting of Tait, Lake, Woolcombe, Waldegrave, Goulburn, which after I had pressed,

"with salutations meet
And reverent love, to kiss their honoured feet,"

passed away, leaving me again alone with Ward, with whom I had a long walk and tea—then a long dialogue with Tait—lastly with our dear Donkin, and so to bed.' (Vol. i. p. 297.)

The crisis was delayed for a time, but the view which he took of the state of Church affairs may be best illustrated by his advice to Hugh Pearson, who was about to be ordained, and had qualms as to some of the High Church practices of his future Rector.

'I suppose you will not perfectly agree; but as he is head, and not you, and as I really believe Newmanism is the great religious movement of this as Evangelicism was of the last generation, to be sympathized with by every one to the extremest point that his and its peculiarities do not forbid; and as I still retain a strong belief in the feasibility of preaching and doing much, independently of any belief or disbelief on this side Popery and Socinianism, I do not think this is important.' (Vol. i. p. 301.)

Still

Still dwelling on his approaching ordination, Stanley urges on the same friend that every clergyman should say by himself, when not able to do it in church, the daily prayers.

‘The Psalms and Lessons it may often be impossible to read, but I have always found it possible to say the prayers. The practice is a safeguard against too little thought or prayer; and these prayers are the best that can be used by Englishmen.’

He goes on to speak of the besetting sin of the clerical profession, indifference to strict truth, the habit of using words without meaning or only with a half belief; and then of the ground which may be taken up wholly independent of the debatable points of Newmanism and Evangelicalism.

‘Much has been said about love, but not too much. I seem to see whole wastes of ecclesiastical and political evil which it has never touched. Faith founded the Church; Hope has sustained it; I cannot help thinking that it is reserved for Love to reform it.’

He was now in what he felt to be an unsatisfactory position, a resident in Oxford without regular College work, and finding private tuition not sufficient to fill his craving for active employment, satisfied however that Oxford was the appointed place for him. He was quite unable to throw himself with any heartiness into the recurring contests which stirred the University, and were taken up with blind zeal by the two hostile camps, such as the proposal for a bishopric of Jerusalem, to be founded by England and Prussia in concert. This was a favourite scheme of Bunsen’s, which Arnold had adopted, but which in the autumn of 1841 Stanley could not see his way to assist in promoting. It comes inopportunately, he thought, as an attempt to unite the Church of England with the Protestants of Germany just at the time when Newman and his friends are making such efforts to unite with Rome. He would have been enthusiastic enough if the idea had been to unite with both, but as things stood ‘every attempt to unite with one draws us off more irreconcilably from the other.’ However, the temporary despondency cleared away in the joy of Arnold’s appointment to the Professorship of Modern History. The splendid success of the inaugural lecture and of the subsequent course in the spring of 1842, filled him with hope and delight. The misunderstanding of Arnold, which nothing but his personal presence could have dispelled, he felt had now passed away, and ‘No other professor has, I think, produced such an effect for centuries.’ He noted, however, how much this enthusiasm owed to the reaction against ‘Newmanism,’ and regretted that Arnold had not been able to see more of the persecuted party.

At Easter he succeeded to one of the regular College tutorships, which fixed his work for the next ten years.

'The only unpleasant part I find in my lectures is the total absence of any expression of feeling on the faces of my twelve auditors. Not a shadow of joy or sorrow passes over their immovable features.' (Vol. i. p. 309.)

But this soon passed off, and he writes, 'You will be glad to learn that my audience has at last given signs of human feeling by a burst of laughter at a ludicrous story—I was quite alarmed at the effect of my own wit. I have also succeeded in discovering all their names at length.' He was soon one of the most popular and successful of College tutors. A stream of pupils from Rugby soon filled his room, amongst them his successor at Westminster and Arnold's second son, who both took the highest honours. But he devoted himself quite as zealously to those who were only of moderate abilities, and they too found the fascination irresistible. Especially were his divinity lectures appreciated, so much so indeed that several of his pupils asked and obtained his leave to introduce their friends of other Colleges, an unheard-of innovation at that time.

At this critical moment, in June 1842, in the last days of the summer half-year, when the School had already broken up and only the sixth remained for the Exhibitions' examination, came the sudden and unexpected tidings of the death of Arnold at Rugby. Stanley has told the story in his 'Life of Arnold,' and we are not going to attempt to reproduce it. After the first shock, which prostrated him, he hurried to Rugby, preached the funeral sermon, and was the most trusted support of the bereaved family. He was urged on all hands to stand for the vacancy, but knew himself too well and declined. He spent the summer at Hurstmonceaux, preparing the posthumous vol. (iii.) of Arnold's 'History of Rome' for the press, returning to Rugby on the re-assembling of the School under Tait, to preach the opening sermon, and, after staying for a week to watch the hopeful beginning of the new reign, returned to his work at Oxford charged by Mrs. Arnold with the preparation of the Memoir, the publication of which two years later at once established his position in the front rank of living English authors. The most serious criticism of the book was its 'want of more facts and anecdotes,' with which readers of to-day will scarcely sympathize. From how few biographies does one now rise with unsated appetite! For two years he had secluded himself from Oxford society, but now—

'I have begun to frequent dinner-parties, debating societies, &c., to my great enjoyment. I also preached a Latin sermon the other day,

in

in which I took the opportunity of the decent obscurity of a learned language, to deliver myself of several offensive truths of which I was boursing.' (Vol. i. p. 324.)

Not the least offensive of these to the congregation of St. Mary's must have been, 'That no reforms were so safe or effectual as those which were forced on the reluctant Dons by the indignant undergraduates'!

He had scarcely settled down again to his regular work at University when the ecclesiastical storm broke out more fiercely than ever over the publication of his dear friend Ward's book, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.' As that uncompromising volume proclaimed that 'the whole cycle of Roman doctrine was gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen,' and that the writer had declared plainly that in subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles he renounced no one Roman doctrine, men even as tolerant as Stanley cannot pretend to wonder that Convocation was summoned for Feb. 13, 1845, to annul Ward's degrees, and submit a new test of subscription. Stanley opposed the former only on the ground of the incompetency of Convocation to try such questions, but against the latter he protested on principle, as he himself could not take the new test. The new test was withdrawn, but a resolution substituted by the Heads condemning the principles of Tract 90, now three years old. 'I feel so full of arguments against the whole thing, that I long for a hundred voices and throats of brass,' Stanley wrote, and four days before Convocation published an address which had some effect. But, as we all know, Ward was degraded, though 'No. 90 was left alone!' In the autumn the great secession, headed by Newman, took place, and Oxford sank into repose for two years.

At the end of 1847 Hampden was appointed Bishop of Hereford, and the storm broke out again. Stanley, as usual, took the side of the man he thought unjustly treated, as his book had been published for fifteen years, and not one in ten of his accusers had ever read it, but he had no enthusiasm for the cause, as no man could dislike Hampden's conduct since 1836 more than he did. The storm was lulled after Convocation had further stultified itself, by the consecration of Hampden in March 1848.

There followed several years of steady College work and preaching University sermons, probably as useful and fruitful as any in his life. He refused to be disturbed in his tutorial 'Eden,' as he called it, by the offers of Alderley Rectory and of the Deanery of Carlisle. Probably no Oxford Tutor of his generation,

generation, not even his dear friend Jowett, exercised anything like his influence with pupils, for no man ever had a rarer faculty of sinking the difference of age. To the poorer amongst them he was fond of volunteering to be their banker, 'on condition of silence,' for necessary costs, or even for tours when likely to be well used:—

'Regard me as the Ural Mountains, and see Prague. I should lament your losing the sight of it when it had been in my power to help you to it.' (Vol. i. p. 363.)

In 1847 he published his 'Sermons on the Apostolic Age,' which helped to confirm his position at Oxford—Jowett, indeed, considered that on the whole they had rather improved his reputation for 'orthodoxy.' Mr. Prothero seems to doubt this, and rather attributes to them the failure of his candidature for the Professorship of Divinity, which Jacobson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, obtained.

The Revolution of 1848 carried him to Paris in spring with Jowett, Palgrave, and Morier (afterwards Sir Robert), and again in the long vacation, whence he wrote accounts which no one interested in that strange story should omit to read. We have only room for one characteristic trait:—

'My first glimpse of Lamartine was by climbing on Morier's back, by which means I was enabled to look down into the Tribune, the two others giving me the opera-glass the moment I was fairly on the shoulders of the good-natured giant, and telling me where and what to look for.' (Vol. i. p. 400.)

Another year of quiet work followed, interrupted only by the vacancy in the Professorship of Modern History, which, though he greatly desired, he would not apply for to the Whig Cabinet, and it was given to Mr. Halford Vaughan. 'The course of true love never did run smooth,' is his comment, 'and the Modern History Chair is the greatest offering I could have made to it.' Mr. Goldwin Smith, now a Fellow, was ready to take his place as College Tutor, so the way was now clear for his long-meditated plan of a long tour in the East. This, however, was deferred by a series of deaths in the family. The Bishop's was the first, in September 1849, on a visit to Scotland, where his son arrived only just in time to be recognized. In December the news came of the death of Owen, his younger brother, a Captain of Engineers, in Australia, followed in February 1850 by that of his elder brother Charles, the Captain of the 'Rattlesnake.' Arthur was now the only man left in his family. He could not, as a landed proprietor, return to University, and had to provide a home for his mother and

and sister, which was done to their entire satisfaction by his acceptance of the Deanery of Canterbury, where he went into residence in the autumn of 1851.

His last months at Oxford were occupied with the Gorham controversy, in which he scored perhaps his greatest success as a controversialist, and came to the conclusion (which, however, had very slight weight with himself in later years) that no man ever threw himself into controversy without repenting. He fastened at once on the real issue, whether the Bishop of Exeter had power to impose a new test on his clergy not sanctioned by Scripture, the Creeds, the Articles, or the Liturgy. The Privy Council endorsed his view, and, after a protest from Convocation, the scandal over 'le Père Gorham' sank into oblivion.*

On July 18th, 1850, the House of Commons passed the address for the Universities' Commission, after a debate in which Mr. Gladstone, then M.P. for Oxford University, 'said in the most effective manner everything that could be said against it'; and Stanley, on his return from a six weeks' tour with his mother, was appointed Secretary. Two years later the Report was issued, which for good or evil has remodelled Oxford, for upon it was founded the University Reform Bill, which Lord Aberdeen's Government carried in 1854. Stanley, under the gallery, heard

a superb speech from Gladstone, in which all the arguments from our Report (without acknowledgment of course) were worked up in the most effective manner. He vainly endeavoured to reconcile his present with his former position. But with this exception I listened to his speech with the greatest delight. To hear proclaimed from the housetops what we had announced in sheepskins and goatskins, to behold one's old enemies slaughtered before one's face with the most irresistible weapons, was quite intoxicating.' (Vol. i. p. 434.)

In August, before settling to work at Canterbury, he took his mother and sister to Rome, whence later on he was to start for his deferred tour in the East. The temptation to rush home for the Duke's funeral was irresistible, and he has left us an unrivalled picture of the ceremony. The mere Protestantism of the service seems to have struck him as 'awfully impressive':—

* Perhaps we are overstating the case as to oblivion, for Stanley has himself preserved Sir G. Rose's

'Bishop and vicar,
Why do you hicker
Each with the other,
When both are right,
Or each is quite
As wrong as the other?'

(Stanley's 'Christian Institutions,' p. 16.)

'grand hopes of immortality; deep sense of irreparable loss, exhortations to duty, but not a word of prayer, or thought, or wish for the dead himself. My reason acquiesced in the omission. But what an abnegation of human feeling! What courage in the Reformers who swept it away!' (Vol. i. p. 444.)

The sketch of the travels in the East of 'the Sheikh,' Stanley; 'the Pacha,' T. Walrond; 'the Fez,' Fremantle; and 'the Father of Guns,' Finlay, which ended with a visit to Lord Stratford at Constantinople in May 1853, on the eve of the Crimean War, will be found a most interesting supplement by those who know his 'Sinai and Palestine.' A noteworthy trait of Stanley as a traveller was the charm he exercised on all his humbler companions, who seem to have become devoted to him, not only for his sympathy and kindness but for his helplessness, combined with determined curiosity, which took him fresh or weary, ill or well, to every place within possible reach where anything of historical interest had happened. Mahomed, the Bedouin, who acted as his dragoman through the desert and Palestine, and with whom he only parted at Beyrout, at the end of the tour, is a good instance of this fascination. Ten years later, in 1862, when he was with the Prince of Wales in his Eastern tour, he tells: 'As I was picking my way over the rocks' (in the valley of Jehoshaphat), 'a Mussulman rushed out from some European tents close by, stopped my horse, seized my hand, and covered it with kisses. "Oh, my master! my dear master!" It was Mahomed! He ran along by the side of my horse, I pressing his hand, and he still keeping mine. We parted at the descent of the hill.' (Vol. ii. p. 81.) He also enjoyed and treasured the proverbs and racy sayings of countrymen all over the world, such as that which he picked up from his courier at Stockholm, who was abusing the postmasters. 'They are as stupid,' he wound up, 'as the day they were born; but then you can't get more out of an ox than beef.' We are able to cap this with a Yorkshire saying, of which he seemed even fonder. At a Social Science Congress in the North more than a quarter of a century ago, Stanley, who was rather bored, suggested to a friend that they should run over and explore Fountains Abbey. At the Studley Park gate they were handed over to the guidance of a grim and grizzled Yorkshireman, with whom Stanley at once fell into talk. His friend, who was not attending at first, began to listen when the voices were raised in debate over the character of one of the leading divines of that day, whom Stanley (though opposed to him) was stoutly defending as an able and pious man. The guide stopped short, and looking *him* in the face said, 'May be, may be! The Devil seldom rides

rides a lame horse!' over which Stanley positively chuckled, and which drew from him a most demoralizing 'tip' in excess of the regulation tariff of one shilling.

The next three years at Canterbury were free from ecclesiastical broils, and were well spent in making the old metropolitan city live again for us English in his 'Memorials of Canterbury.' They produced also 'Sinai and Palestine,' and his 'Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians.'

There can be no doubt that he enjoyed his seven years of peace in his green island of Canterbury, but none the less we think that he was glad to get back into the strain and stress of University polemics, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in 1858. 'It is good to get to sea again, though I suppose it will be my fate to be tossed about while I live.' A year later, when he went back to preach at Canterbury, he tells Pearson how the whole place had faded from him, and doubts 'whether it does not imply hollowness of affection that a new home should have sprung up already, with no wish to return.' He came back into the gladiatorial arena more than ever determined to impress on the religious world how entirely they were putting on one side the fact that our Lord's severity is aimed almost exclusively against them; a fact which nevertheless comforted him by the thought of what a vast future was reserved for Christianity whenever this should be really acknowledged. In a few months he was gaining all his old influence over his pupils, and rejoiced at finding he could say what he wished without being attacked or suspected. His house in Christ Church was open to pupils, and he spared no trouble in helping and counselling them. 'What an element of peace and good will he is!' Bishop Cotton, his old and dear friend, wrote in June 1858, after a short stay with him at Christ Church, on his way to Calcutta. But 'peace and good will' were for one reason or another rare elements in the career of Stanley, who at this time was induced to attempt the settlement of the scandal of St. George's-in-the-East, where a Whitechapel sporting publican, with a rowdy mob at his back, was making a bear-garden of the parish church in an effort to put down the ritualistic practices of Mr. Bryan King, the Rector. The story has been told from several sides, but there can be no doubt that Stanley, by the help of his old pupil, Septimus Hansard (now Rector of Bethnal Green), whom he put in as Curate in charge, would have been successful but for the Rector's obstinacy.*

* Mr. Prothero has not noticed, perhaps rightly, a characteristic incident of this crusade in the East-end. The first service under the new Curate in charge was disgracefully interrupted until the sermon, during which the crowded

But the peace, such as it was, was but of short duration. The volume of 'Essays and Reviews' was published in 1860, and might very well have been almost still-born, but for the article in this Review by the Bishop of Oxford in January 1861, which gave the signal for an agitation which kept not Oxford only, but England in a state of angry panic for years, and involved Stanley in the longest and most bitter of all his contests. He replied to the Bishop of Oxford in the April number of the 'Edinburgh Review,' in an article which—without defending the Essays, which he disliked, or his three friends amongst the authors—carried the war at once into the enemy's camp by proving from the writings of the leaders of the assault that they were themselves responsible for most of the 'infidel' opinions which they were denouncing. His mother was 'very glad you have written it, not that I agree with it all, but because it puts out of the question your ever being a Bishop.' 'Had it rained mitres,' it was said at this time, 'none would ever have fitted Stanley's head.' In the summer, starting for his yearly tour, he wrote to Pearson:—

'I wish I could leave Church affairs in a better state. No one knows what a pang it gives me to think of Sarum and S. Oxon combining, with Winchester and Carlisle, to tear the Church to pieces, and render a quiet faith impossible. What good can be done to any human being by turning the most sacred doctrines into mere weapons of offence against the best men in the Church, and trying to keep out of orders those who might else be successors of Arnold and Milman?'

The final judgment of the Privy Council was not delivered till February 1864, from which Stanley went home and wrote:—

'I had not expected anything so clean and clear. That the Church of England does not hold (1) verbal inspiration, (2) imputed righteousness, (3) eternity of torment, is now, I trust, fixed for ever. I hope now all may go on smoothly, and that the Bible may be really read without these terrible nightmares. Thank God!' (Vol. ii. p. 44.)

In December 1861 Prince Albert died, and in January 1862 came the proposal that Stanley should go with the Prince of Wales as Chaplain in his Eastern tour. He received the proposal 'with vast reluctance and misgivings,' chiefly on

congregation were completely silenced by Mr. Hansard's outspoken and severe denunciation of the disgrace they had brought on the whole district. Stanley, listening in the Rector's pew, had, as was his wont when excited, kicked off his shoes; and when he and his friends had to walk to the altar-rails for the Communion between dense ranks (a small part only of the congregation having left at the end of the sermon), he could not find one of them, and went up in one shoe and one stocking.

account

account of the interruption of his Oxford work and his mother's health, but at last accepted on the advice of his most trusted friends. He returned to Oxford in June, his mother having died during his absence. Within a few weeks followed the death of General Bruce, to whom he was deeply attached. 'His last farewell,' he wrote, 'seemed waved to me from the invisible world.' He returned to Oxford, finding 'life very dull—a burthen I can bear cheerfully, but which I would gladly lay down.'

Another fierce ecclesiastical storm came in a few months to rouse him. Bishop Colenso published his book on the Pentateuch, which Stanley had urged him to write 'more like a defence, and less like an attack. No man ought ever to write himself down as a heretic.' But his advice was not followed. The book was out, and Stanley could only write to his friend Shairp of St. Andrew's, 'I regret the book extremely; it is just like our old friend Laing over again, with his scepticism about the furniture, forgetting the identity of Holyrood.' To Colenso himself again: 'The whole plan of your book is a mistake. . . To fix the public attention on the mere defects of structure and detail is, to my mind, to lead off the public mind on a false scent, and to a false issue.' Having delivered his own soul thus frankly, he prepared to defend Colenso with such zeal and thoroughness that he seriously shook the confidence in himself as an ecclesiastical historian in the minds of nearly all persons who had not read his 'Lectures on the Jewish Church'—one of the best of all his books, which came out luckily just at this time, and drew from Maurice, that 'Stanley has done more than any living man to make the Bible a reality in English homes.' We need not refer to the dreary war, which dragged on for years, in the press, in all ecclesiastical centres, above all in Convocation, where the intolerance and unchristian temper of that assembly drew from Stanley the sentence *delenda est Convocatio*, to which he adhered, we believe, up to his death. The question of the relaxation of subscription came up, too, again at this time, and enlisted all the energy he could spare. Once again we come across Mr. Gladstone here. Stanley was invited to meet him to discuss the subject at the Duchess of Sutherland's. 'Gladstone,' he writes, 'was most satisfactory. If he were to say publicly what he said privately, the question would be settled.' The Prince of Wales's marriage came as a relief to him, and he was deeply touched by the request of the Prince that he would go to Sandringham for Easter Sunday, to give the Communion to him and the Princess as he had done in the previous year to the Prince on the Lake of Tiberias.

In the autumn the Deanery of Westminster became vacant,

and was offered to and accepted by Stanley, who was by this time glad to be released from the narrow and heated atmosphere of Oxford. He preached one of his noblest sermons in St. Mary's on 'Great Opportunities,' on his last Sunday in Oxford. In the same week, strange to say, his name was removed from the list of select preachers to the University. He preached his installation sermon as Dean on January 10th, 1864, having married Lady Augusta Bruce, sister of his friend the General, a fortnight earlier. Canon Wordsworth, the best known of his colleagues, refused to attend the ceremony; indeed, had published a protest against the appointment, full of misstatements. A cordial friendship sprang up between the two in consequence of the reception by Stanley of this attack.

From this time his life was so public and well known that one or two points only need be noted here. His first hope was to bring every preacher of eminence in the Church to the Abbey, in which, on the whole, he succeeded, though at the outset he met with decided but courteous rebuffs from the High Church leaders. 'I believe,' Pusey wrote, 'the present to be a struggle for the life or the death of the English Church, and what you believe for life I believe for death.' To Stanley the English Church, 'stamped with reverence for the historic past, yet in detail the offspring of a Reformation, must be neither High nor Low but Broad.' In this spirit he answered the protest of his Chapter against the admission of Dr. Temple as one of the preachers, 'You are acting according to your sense of duty in protesting; I am acting from the same sense of duty in insisting on his name. . . . You may sign the protest, but there is one thing you cannot do, and that is, make me quarrel with you.' In this spirit he invited Bishop Colenso to preach,—an offer wisely declined by the Bishop, for the sake of the peace of the Church. In the same spirit he welcomed the judgment of the Privy Council in June 1872, in favour of Mr. Bennett, the Ritualist Rector of Frome, as 'the last and crowning triumph of the Christian Latitudinarianism of the Church of England.' In this spirit he invited the Company of Revisers of the Authorized Version of the New Testament, of whom Dr. Vance Smith, a Unitarian, was one, to take the Holy Communion together in the Abbey, and defended his action in Convocation,—action characterised by Maurice as 'a greater event than most which have happened in our day.' In this spirit he established Missionary Lectures in the Abbey by persons not in Anglican orders.

The fabric at once became dear to him, and he explored its hidden treasures with unlooked-for success, and published the results in his 'Memorials of Westminster'; he instituted
services

services for children, and week by week guided parties of workpeople and others round the Abbey and its precincts; in fact, devoted himself with ever-growing success to make the Abbey the centre and representative of the religious life of the nation. One example of his methods must suffice here. Two private soldiers, returning from Shoeburyness gun practice to their regiments, got to the Abbey just as the doors were closed. A gentleman, however, intervened and took them round, and as they paused at the monument of a soldier, said, "You wear the uniform of the Queen, and I daresay would like to do some heroic deed, worthy of a monument like this." We both said, "Yes, we should;" when, laying his hand on each of us, he said, "My friends, you may both have a more enduring monument than this, for this will moulder into dust and be forgotten; but you, if your names are written in the Lamb's Book of Life, you will abide for ever." He told them who he was, and asked them to breakfast next morning, after which he paid their fares to Chester, and told them to be sure and get their names 'written in the Lamb's Book of Life, and then, if we never meet again on earth, we shall meet in heaven.'

Happily, with the exception of his championship of Mr. Voysey (which, however, never went beyond subscribing to his law costs); his offer of the Abbey for the consecration of Dr. Temple as Bishop of London, and his arrangements for the expulsion of the religious mob which were supposed to intend to interrupt the ceremony; and his sermon in the 'Old Greyfriars' at Edinburgh, when the storm of indignation some months before for preaching in a Presbyterian church in Scotland had caused the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Oxford to excuse themselves by the plea that they had only preached 'as a mission'!—Stanley's last years at the Abbey were comparatively free from strife. But the same spirit was still in him strong as ever, as his old friend Archbishop Tait saw when he prophesied, on the occasion of the retreat of his episcopal brethren, 'You will see the consequence of this will be that Stanley will preach in Greyfriars.' He had become a *persona grata* at Court, and was asked by the Queen to take the Anglican part in the ceremony of the Duke of Edinburgh's marriage at St. Petersburg in 1874. He went with his wife, and a graphic account of the whole visit is given in his letters to his sister. His wife was struck on their return journey with the fatal illness under which she lingered till January 1876. His activity outside the Abbey during the two years' suspense was limited to his first Rectorial Address at St. Andrew's and to the publication of his third volume of 'Lectures on the Jewish Church.'

He struggled manfully against the depression caused by his wife's death; gave up none of his usual work or engagements, including S.P.G. meetings, at one of which, after an attempt to shout him down, he replied to a sympathising friend that the noise came only from a few. 'From the mass of my brethren, considering the provocation I give, I have met with a generosity and sympathy for which I shall always be grateful.' He continued to preach in many places, and did not give up his tours, the longest and most successful of them being that to the United States in September 1878, the marked success of which gave him for the time new life, and revived his interest in his work and surroundings. But the end was near. On Saturday, July 9th, 1881, in spite of his doctor, he insisted on preaching a sermon, one of a course he was giving on the Beatitudes, and managed to get through with his last sermon on 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' From the Abbey he went to the bed from which he never rose, but passed away at midnight on Monday, July 18th.

He was buried by the side of his wife, in Henry VIII.'s Chapel, in his own Abbey; the foremost Englishmen in the Church and Nonconformity, in science, literature, and public life, acting as pall-bearers. That the National Church, which he loved and served so ardently, is the stronger and better to-day for his life and work as one of her highest and most devoted dignitaries, there can be no doubt in the mind of any man capable of looking at the question fairly. Doubts have been and are still cast on his personal faith in our Lord's Divinity, but in this matter we believe that the truth was tersely expressed by Archbishop Magee when he wrote of 'The Theology of the Nineteenth Century,' published in 'The Essays on Church and State,' as 'bringing out the orthodox side of Stanley's nature, which he used sometimes so provokingly to conceal. The essay is a defence of Broad Church theology, and for that very reason its testimony to the worth of dogma, and still more to the intense belief of the writer in the supremacy and Divinity of Christ, are all the more valuable.' Whether it would be for the good of that Church to have a series of equally convinced and combative Latitudinarians, who might well lack his intense historical instinct and personal faith in and devotion to her Lord, may, in these pages at any rate, be left an open question.

ART. XI.—1. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* 1893.

2. '*The Times,*' and other Reports of Parliamentary Proceedings.

THE popular victory which crowned the long struggle over the first Reform Bill was for a while regarded not only as final, but as complete. All that had been won was secure, and enough (it was then thought) had been accorded to content the reasonable desires of the people for many generations. The demand for organic change was believed to be satisfied: a new and permanent life had begun. Even some thirty years later, the statesman who as a young man had introduced the Bill into the House of Commons, as Prime Minister recommended the people 'to rest and be thankful.' When therefore, some two years after the passing of the Act, the great conflagration of the 16th of October, 1834, swept away the last relics of the royal palace of Edward the Confessor, and left nothing but tottering walls and smouldering ruins of the venerable halls which had for five centuries been the home of our kings and had for nearly eight centuries sheltered the public assembly of the Peers, the former world and its habitations had indeed passed away. With the rest had gone the exquisite chapel of Edward III., in which in Catholic times the Companions of the Bath had watched through the night with the heir apparent of the throne on the eve of his being admitted into the order of chivalry, and which at the Reformation had been assigned to the House of Commons by the Sixth Edward as the place of their assembly instead of Westminster Hall. The lovely tracery of the venerable walls had indeed at that time been screened by a prim veneer of puritanic carpentry, but until the great catastrophe they had echoed with the eloquence of generations of great statesmen. Of all that was time-honoured, of all that was time-wasted, nothing remained but a few rude substructures and the richly-vaulted crypt, protected by its solid roof from the ruthless destroyer:—

'The old order changeth, yielding place to new.'

The ancient halls would have been all too narrow for modern needs. The Jews, after the destruction of their holy city, solaced themselves with dreams of a new Jerusalem coming down from heaven, and the visionary fabric of the Apocalypse enriches with frequent pinnacle and tower the background of many a mediæval picture. Wealthy, and at unity with itself, the nation had not to rest content with the empty imagination of fantastic fabrics floating on the hills of the horizon between heaven and earth. It was easy to gratify the general desire for
a Parliament-

a Parliament-house which should excel in majesty and beauty the legislative chambers of the world. The generosity of the Commons was lavish to profusion in the provision of means; and the constructive genius of Barry created, and the graceful fancy of Pugin (who drew much of his inspiration from religious art) helped to adorn, a labyrinthine pile which 'grew into towers' as varied as those of the dream cities of the medieval painter. Thus there was still a connexion of sentiment with the old. But if homage was paid to the past in the choice of an archaic style, the building was planned for modern uses. The yawning gap burnt out by the fire between the hall of Rufus and the river was not merely to be filled again, but the Thames was to yield up all its strand, and much of its bed, for the site of the new palace; and yet, vast as was the pile and ungrudging as was the expenditure, the development of national life has utilised every corner of the building, and still the interests multiply and that life expands. For the revolution, at the moment thought to be accomplished, was in truth an evolution only just begun.

We have recalled the short history of the new Houses not for the purpose of dealing with problems of architecture, but to rivet attention to the magnitude of the change still in progress, and the tremendous forces, once latent, now set free to work, as they are guided, for our bliss or bale. The structure of stone with a little care is reasonably safe, and additions are a mere question of expense; but how about the ideas and principles that the great fane was raised to enshrine?—that happy mixed government under whose ægis all classes were to have a share of power, and no one class was to be predominant; and individual liberty, that most sacred and inalienable right of the freeborn Briton, was to be safeguarded alike from mob and monarch. How is individual independence to stand erect before the omnipotence of the Elect of household suffrage, the irresponsible Cæsar of the hour, not less an emperor because he is robed not in the imperial purple but in the inconspicuous garb of the man in the street?

Who will ride the whirlwind and direct the storm raised by democratic forces so tremendous? How is order to be maintained in the House of Commons itself, whose Members, whilst they derogate from the wholesome traditions of decorum, are consciously or unconsciously endeavouring to set themselves above the law by claiming immunities as preposterous as those once asserted by the armed noble? Several times recently the friends of Members who have been punished under the criminal law have claimed for them the privilege of freedom from arrest,
which,

which, though acknowledged time out of mind in civil actions, has never existed for criminal offences. Special treatment has been demanded for them in prison, more lenient than that allowed to other offenders. Nay more, the Government is pressed to exercise a dispensing power and set aside the law in their favour, to give immunity to the lawless and leave the law-abiding to their own defence, if only the assailant is a Member of Parliament. The House of Commons not only towers above the other estates of the realm, but is rapidly arrogating to itself sole power, without balance or check. It claims for a simple resolution of its own, which has no force in law, all the respect due to the maturely considered statute. This ukase may be carried by a narrow and ephemeral majority. It may be opposed by responsible Ministers. There is no patient deliberation or investigation of evidence. There are no three readings to be moved in succession after a considerable interval, during which a sound public opinion may be formed. There is no sifting in Committee; no revision on report from Committee of the amended Bill; no reconsideration by veteran statesmen and less excited politicians in the Upper House. The whole matter is despatched after three hours' declamation, it may be in a thin House, and straightway (for Ministers must have a majority whatever dependency may perish) some effect must be given to what is often a mere outburst of amiable but uninstructed sentiment, which may not even be spontaneous, but stirred up to secure votes for the distinguished Member for Great Pedlington, where humanitarianism or fervour, denominational or anti-denominational, are good cards to play, and where folk are far too busy to get up the evidence on a complicated problem of foreign or colonial policy.

In obedience to such outbursts of sentiment the finances of India are to be crippled, and our adult fellow-subjects are to be forbidden to choose their own food and medicine. Perhaps some paternally minded native assembly will resolve that Englishmen are not to squander their money on tobacco, or indulge in any form of alcohol without the written order of a doctor. As freemen we ourselves might just possibly resent such interference as an impertinence, but the native of India is at the same time to be admitted to self-government and have his diet prescribed to him. Another such resolution aims at submitting the proud and warlike Sikh and Mahommedan to the government of the subtle and timid Bengalee, who is wonderfully smart at cramming up for a competitive examination, but is utterly wanting in the faculties which command the respect of proud and warlike races, Justice and Force. Another
tamper

tampers with the common-sense protection of our troops from the ravages of contagious disease, which diminishes by a third their effective strength, all too few as they are for their gigantic task. This total separation of power from responsibility is highly dangerous. A king's head is easily cut off, but who will deliver us from the tyranny of sentimental ignorance? Who will save the carefully wrought work of the wise and brave from the meddlesome interference of an irresponsible majority, cast to the surface by one general election and swallowed up by the next?

While the House of Commons has such far-reaching power in matters beyond the cognizance of the constituencies, has it strength enough to restrain the recklessness of trade combinations at home? The citizens of London may be deprived at any moment of fuel and light, even of food, by a combination which cannot be controlled. Can the Executive even enforce the usages of civilized warfare in these contests, while it fails conspicuously to restrain the open ruffianism which (like camp-followers in the field) always preys and wastes at the heels of the contending forces without any vital interest in the cause? What have our representatives been able to do to prevent or mitigate the widespread misery caused by the recent Coal Strike in families which have never had the faintest interest or influence in the quarrel? The blockade of our shores by a foreign foe may be prevented by the Fleet, but is Parliament prepared to prevent the blockade of our great cities in the new civil war of Strike and Lock-out? For war is not less war because in the main it is property which is attacked rather than life. Even in the dark ages plunder was the object and slaughter the incident. We have to go to Asia to find a Genghis Khan who enjoyed killing for mere killing's sake.

Again, how is freedom of labour and freedom of contract in the open market to be maintained? How much longer will small men dare to expose their limited capital to such tremendous risks? How can they provide against the ebb and flow of tides of self-interest, as remorseless as the brute forces of Nature, but obedient to no law but the fickle self-will of the strongest, a law which cannot be reckoned with? Will trade and industry flourish best when they can only be carried on by huge syndicates and limited companies? Who will deliver us from the 'Liberator' and all his kin? The very name indicates the catchword which at the hour is the best lure to cheat with.

All these are questions lightly asked and as lightly answered in these days by men whose sentimental enthusiasm allows *them no time to unravel* for themselves all the tangled network

of causes and effects in which the subject is involved. It may therefore be useful to try and realize exactly what are the changed conditions under which our popular representation has to discharge its allotted task, and one or two practical suggestions (but not altogether unimportant) will be thrown out how that task might be somewhat facilitated.

The House of Commons is rapidly absorbing all the power and undertaking all the duties in the State; and, briefly stated, of the many causes of its perils and embarrassments the most far-reaching is the spread of education and the consequent increased interest in politics—a cause which (as every sane person would wish) is likely to bear more abundant fruit. Yet the House endeavours to discharge these immensely extended functions under old rules which do not restrain abuse, and contemporary with this there has been a great change in the *personnel* as new classes enter the political arena. In addition to this there is the short and uncertain tenure of political life of the great majority of Members, the advent on the parliamentary stage of the political adventurer in increasing numbers, and the threatened disappearance of the trained politician. The House is no longer homogeneous. Members are no longer amenable to one common public opinion. Then there is the divided allegiance. Men are torn between the loyalty due to the House and the fidelity claimed by the local party organization. It is the local wire-puller who is swift, and the House which is slow, to punish. When the local wire-pullers represent a great combination, and that combination is disaffected, the phenomenon of obstruction is produced in its acutest form. The cohesion of the great parties seems likely now to be strong only on questions of organic change, and perhaps a little longer on those of foreign policy; but the old unanimity on questions affecting national honour is sadly impaired. On these the temper grows more passionate and less conciliatory. Even on questions of practical improvement day by day there is less give and take. Ideas multiply, and opinions divide and parties subdivide. Labour as opposed to work, especially useless labour, tends enormously to increase. Constituents take a direct part in the business of Parliament, forwarding questions and amendments which they insist on being asked or moved. Merit is roughly tested by attendance at divisions. Members speak not to the House but to their local supporters. Argument is replaced by pronouncements full of stilted sentiment. As long as the passion for organic change absorbs all energies and all available time, social legislation will suffer in quantity and still more in *quality*. Never have two long contentious Bills been
passed

passed in a single Session, and the attempt to beat the record has forced the House to sit for eleven months; but overwork makes neither sound work nor swift work. There are inexorable limits of time and space. Let us begin our study of the problem with the lesser difficulty—the deficiency of space.

How little the scope of the revolution initiated in 1832 was apprehended appears from the limited size of the new House of Commons. The architect of course wished to design a spacious Chamber for his own credit, but the men of experience represented to him that the House of Commons was a place for business, not a theatre; that sixty was a working House and two hundred a full House; that though on the occasion of a great party division some four or even five hundred might be present in the precincts to vote, and even in the Chamber to listen to the great speech of the evening, still it would be absurd to expect that Ministers should have to scream themselves hoarse every night in an empty hall because once and again Members who took the least part in the regular business might be inconvenienced for a few hours. So when Barry provided seats for upwards of four hundred Members, it was believed that ample accommodation had been made for actual needs. But in this forecast 'old experience did not attain to something of prophetic strain,' and household suffrage has quite changed the quota of attendance. Twice, on the introduction of both Home Rule Bills, it has been found necessary to crowd every vacant space on the floor with chairs, and during the protracted sittings of the Committee on the second Bill there were between four and five hundred Members continuously present. Moreover, the House is often a theatre rather than a place of business, a stage on which may be performed a drama fraught with the highest interest, when a pin might be heard to drop in the pauses of the impassioned harangue of some great actor, and in a moment, without the transition of a transformation scene, the performance assumes the least inviting features of pantomimic confusion; and again the scene changes, either by some tactful intervention or by the House proceeding to other business, and in a moment the tempest dies away and the troubled waters are at peace. The Atlantic cannot compare with it in instability and variety of mood. The House has once been on the verge of riot, and it too often rings with every kind of noisy interruption, and personalities so gross that they could not be passed over, but that in the hubbub they do not reach the not too swift ears of the occupant of the Chair.

Even after the happy elimination of some of the worst offenders of former Parliaments, the tendency to disorder grows.

The

orders are more numerous, if not quite so outrageous, that the feeling dulls the sensibility of self-respect. The feeling of the individual Member with regard to order is very much less as it is towards economy. In the abstract he is in favour of order as he is against extravagance; but some form of expenditure which might make him popular in his constituency proves too strong a temptation, or some contention in the House on a burning question may win him the credit in certain quarters, and so his scruples are blown away by the winds, and he indulges in occasional disorder or advocates some increased expenditure. One of the humiliating examples of these theatrical displays occurred not long ago, when Black Rod was announced, who came to deliver the time-honoured message:—‘That the Lords, who are authorised by Her Majesty’s Commission to signify the Royal Assent to Bills agreed upon by both Houses, desire the presence of this most honourable House in the House of Peers to receive the Commission read.’ The House of Commons claims the right to be present on these occasions. The form of words and the ceremony have remained unaltered for centuries. The Speaker accompanies the Speaker with any Money Bill, for the delivery of a Supply Bill is with the Commons, whose sole prerogative it is. The hour is fixed by arrangement with the Lords to suit the convenience of the House; but by some mischance on this occasion the delivery of the Commission was delayed some half an hour, and at the moment when Black Rod entered the House Mr. Gladstone happened to be engaged in the House on a question, for questions had begun. Unaccustomed for sixty years to the usages of Parliament, he was taken aback and sat down. Here was a chance for a theatrical display of enmity against the Upper House, and adulation of the Lower House, and of the statesman. Black Rod was hooted as he advanced, and he made three obeisances. Had this happened only once, or been the act of new Members, it might have passed as a casual or accidental outbreak of mere petulance; but several times whenever Black Rod appeared in the ordinary course of duty, the same Members repeated the insult. To prevent the repetition of behaviour so unworthy of the dignity of Parliament, the Speaker, much to his inconvenience and to that of the Members, who for the most part are Members of the House of Commons, had to arrange the Royal Commissions at ten in the morning, when these strange vindicators of Liberty were not to be present. If an old rite becomes inconvenient, by all means change it; but there is no need of schoolboy episodes, and the example is very catching, especially in a new House.

Quite

Quite different from such calculated demonstrations are the sudden outbursts of passion which stir a popular assembly in times of great excitement; but these more pardonable disturbances do not shock so much as they might and ought to do, because they have been led up to by the more common kind of disorder, that of perpetual interruption. The House had gradually become so accustomed to breaches of the unwritten code of good manners as well as the rules of debate that it required the scene of the 27th of July to awake it to a perception of the gravity of the situation. The less flagrant and the more general the offence, the greater is the difficulty of coping with it and the greater the peril to parliamentary independence. Overcrowding undoubtedly contributes to disorder, but the condition which provides the very nidus for the rapid growth and dissemination of this contagious disease is induced by the regrettable determination of the Irish Home Rulers to persist in sitting not on the side of the Ministerialists, with whom they habitually act, but in the very midst of their opponents. In the scramble for seats in an overcrowded House it happens that just in front of the solid phalanx of Irish Home Rulers is ranged the thin Orange line of the Ulstermen. Their orators are interrupted by frequent and by no means whispered comments and jeers discharged point-blank into their backs, and it is notorious that in moments of excitement, though only a small percentage of the cries may be cognizable by the Chair, interruptions and personalities, jests and gibes, are bandied about which may at any moment lead to an outbreak that would disgrace the House. Moreover want of space has driven the Liberal Unionists to camp in the midst of the extreme Radicals. This promiscuous ranking of squadrons with swords already drawn, or actually engaged in conflict, is one of those absurdities which would not be tolerated in any other Chamber. But the same irresolution which characterised the House in dealing with indiscriminate obstruction when that offence was young, and the obstructors a mere handful, pervades all its dealings with disorder. One irrepressible scandal is not enough; it takes an intolerable nuisance established *en permanence* to induce the House to throw off its easy tolerance and enforce obedience to its own orders.

When a notorious Member amused himself by sitting on the wrong side for purposes of annoyance, the Speaker warned him that if disorder did arise he would know on whom to affix the blame. A simple rule, that no Member should be allowed to retain a seat for the night except on the side of the party with which he usually acts, would put an end to this foolish licence to annoy and to a condition of constant hazard.

Another

Another innovation ought to be forbidden, which causes daily inconvenience, and in moments of passion might easily lead to disorder. Between either front bench and the table there is scarcely room for any one to pass; and if two opposing streams meet there, Members have often to take hold of each other to keep their balance. It was formerly a rule of courtesy that, when a division was in progress, Members who supported the Government should proceed to the lobby by the ministerial bench, and the Opposition should pass to the left of the Chair. This practice secured that a single stream of Members, all proceeding in the same direction, passed in front of their friends. Now two hostile files often encounter in the narrow strait and go hustling by, tripping over the feet of the leaders with whom they are politically at variance. Common sense and good feeling alike require the re-establishment of the old rule of the road. It was a contravention of this usage which made possible the first act of personal violence, apart from a mere outcry and noise, on the sad 27th of July. The modern tendency of great parties to subdivide themselves into various groups renders united action against disorder more difficult, and tends to the future complication of a problem which already almost baffles solution. In France, where this evil is most rife, it imperils stable government: there Ministries of six weeks' duration are common, and six months is becoming an exceptionally long tenure of office. In Germany the parties of the Reichsrath are numerous, and many are the sudden and varied combinations and permutations of alliance among them. In England, where this mischief has only begun to threaten, it is fraught with other than political consequences. It weakens the bonds of discipline, and increases the tendency to substitute for the judicial spirit that of the mere partisan. Wherever disorder may arise there is an impulse too often unrestrained in the Members of the group to which the offender belongs to screen or minimise the offence. Subdivision also diminishes the deference which the leader of the House could once safely reckon on, especially on matters of order. But the root of this too rapid growth of interruption and disorder lies deeper. The cultivated classes and those who have leisure to follow the daily proceedings in Parliament grow relatively fewer, and they become more and more *une quantité négligeable*. A little roughness does not shock the bulk of the electors, and the party newspapers cloak the offence and represent any outbreak on their side as a laudable display of spirit. On the other hand, the universal reprobation by the country of the scene of the 27th of July shows that there is a point beyond which leniency and indifference may develop into hearty disapproval.

The next difficulty to be considered is the deficiency of time. The warmth of interest taken in public affairs has fostered what may be called the natural growth of speeches, but it was the artificial heat of disaffection which forced the monstrous growth of obstruction. It is important to understand what it was which differentiated the obstruction initiated by Mr. Parnell from earlier forms of obstinate opposition. Determined resistance to particular measures may be legitimate enough so long as fair argument is used, and even reiterated, for the purpose of influencing opinion in the House, and arousing the country to the gravity of the issues at stake. Thus Mr. Gladstone and Lord Goderich (now Lord Ripon) kept the House sitting far into September in 1857 by their protracted opposition to the Divorce Bill, which they deemed fraught with grave social inconvenience, and injurious to the sanctity of marriage. That opposition, however, was legitimate, and in harmony with the best parliamentary traditions. It was an appeal to public opinion on a new and important question. Another form of opposition, not legitimate and very tiresome, which used to be much in vogue before the passing of the half-past twelve o'clock rule, consisted in objecting to some secondary business after midnight; not on its demerits, but on the pretence that it was too late to proceed. But such opposition did not extend at first to departmental and other non-contentious Bills, so that there was a constant current of quiet reform flowing evenly on, and ameliorating many branches of the law. Mr. Pope Hennessy won the hard-earned but long-forgotten distinction of extending this nocturnal teasing to all Government business, of whatever character, even to the most unobjectionable departmental Bills. The nightly wrangle, whether to proceed or not, kept the House up late, without advancing business; and this constant annoyance led to the passing of the half-past twelve rule, by which a notice of opposition on the Paper prevented any Bill except a Money Bill or Motion from being taken after 12.30 A.M. Mr. Pope Hennessy was translated to a Colonial Governorship, but the lesson was not lost, nor were apt pupils thereby discouraged. Mr. Parnell's originality consisted in extending this familiar system to all business, official and non-official, and to all hours of the day and night, and carrying it out with a persistency and reiteration of words which prevented the business in hand being disposed of and other business being reached. It created a complete stoppage of all practical legislation as well as of party measures, but he soon held himself aloof from so ignoble a strife, and was content to employ the special faculties of a faithful partisan to organize the
talk

talk against time, and to hand in blocks against everybody's Bill. Surprised at the long immunity of his little faction, he set up his agent to speak for several hours on a Wednesday against a private Member's Bill. The orator to economise his voice began in an undertone, and, on the Speaker insisting that he must be audible to the Chair, he gathered up his papers and established himself on the second bench in a line with the Speaker, and continued to murmur on with cynical effrontery in tones which were unintelligible much beyond the Chair. It now seems hardly credible that, instead of the dignity of the House being promptly and vigorously vindicated, Members treated this insolence as a huge joke, went off to lunch, and left the Speaker unsupported. The House was almost deserted, and Members peeped in from time to time to see if there was any change in the situation. Thenceforward no business was allowed to proceed without being submitted to some form of this policy of exasperation. The Conservatives were not eager for legislation; a masterly inactivity was thought opportune, and the Liberals liked to see Ministers discredited. The leader thought the Speaker should take the initiative, but the Speaker without authority from the House could not make rules. The unwritten rules, and few were written, had grown up rather than been made; and their light restraints, amply sufficient though they were to decide precedence and maintain order in a homogeneous House, and whilst there was little pressure, were powerless in the face of this open contempt. The House was divided against itself, and its authority tottered. At this time these Irreconcilables only mustered nine, all told, of whom but seven could speak, while the other two could just mumble a few words and wave a paper whilst their confederates were collecting their exhausted wits and fingering the estimates, or turning over the leaves of the Bill, to find fresh matter of talk. It must, however, be remembered that the little knot of Parnellites were inspirited by unavowed advice from leading members of the Opposition, and they were not without some overt aid. Whenever exasperation reached the boiling-point they cleverly relaxed the strain, and announced that they would no longer oppose the wishes of the House, but no sooner had the anger cooled down than they began again.

At last, in February 1880, after three years of unchecked ascendancy, Sir Stafford Northcote proposed a Rule, which, he was warned, was wholly inadequate, and which Mr. Parnell scornfully recommended his followers to vote for, as it could not possibly do them any harm. Cumbersome and incomplete as was the first effort to control obstruction, it included one

precious principle—that of dealing summarily with offences. As long as judgment and penalty were matters of debate, any attempt at punishment only offered an unexhausted occasion for further obstruction, as fertile as the original business. The House was constrained to submit to almost any prolixity of speech rather than encounter the much greater waste of time sure to ensue from any attempt to impose the slightest penalty on misconduct; but the idea of controlling a determined and successful combination by the terrors of suspension for the remainder of the current sitting, showed a want of appreciation of the facts, which would have been ludicrous if its consequences had not been so grave. The tardily inflicted punishment merely secured the offender one night's comfortable sleep after several nights passed in annoyance, and he returned next morning refreshed and invigorated to laugh in the haggard faces of his opponents who had been contending against his confederates all night. The initiative, moreover, was left with the Chair, who could not act until the offence was rank, and the offender entered next day on a new lease of licence. The Rule itself was of no practical use against obstruction; but the power of checking flagrant disorder without delay, even for a single sitting, was valuable, as appeared in the following February.

After three long years of unrebuked tyranny, Mr. Parnell was justified in boasting, in Ireland, at the General Election of 1880, that he could paralyse Parliament and make the passage of a Coercion Bill impossible. Then came the change of Government, and the contest began for the emancipation of the House from the dictation of a body which was still numerically weak, although Mr. Parnell had come back with his personal following quintupled. Insignificant, however, as his personal following might even thus appear, his evident and astonishing success in obstruction had accomplished a result fraught with momentous consequences, in that it had united all shades of disaffection under his banner. He was the acknowledged leader of the Irishmen beyond sea as well as of the Irishmen at home, and as such was liberally financed from the United States and Australia. He posed not only as King of Ireland, but lord of England and her Parliament. This was publicly admitted by the Minister of the Queen in his place in Parliament, when he declared that it was not the law of Parliament, but the unwritten law of the League which was obeyed in Ireland. Life and property were held there on the sufferance of a Camorra more powerful than any ever established in the kingdom of Naples.

On the other hand, the Leadership of the House had passed into

into stronger hands. After three full nights' debate, followed by the famous forty-two hours' sitting, about breakfast-time on Wednesday, the 2nd of February, 1881, Mr. Speaker Brand intervened, and summarily closed the debate on the introduction of the Protection of Persons and Property (Ireland) Bill, by putting the question, although Members still rose to address the House. On the following day, Thursday, a determined attempt to prevent Mr. Gladstone from addressing the House and proposing the Urgency Rule of Procedure, and to break down the authority of the Chair, was met by the suspension of twenty-seven Irish Members, under Northcote's Rule. The penalty lasted but for the night; but before the suspended Members resumed their places next morning, a resolution had been passed which entrusted the Speaker with the duty of prescribing, at his sole discretion, such Rules as he might deem necessary to ensure the progress of business, whenever the House should declare by resolution that the state of public business was urgent, and that sole condition had also been fulfilled. The Speaker laid the Rules of Urgency on the table from time to time, and the new Code was for a limited period the law of the House.*

This was the Gettysburg of the parliamentary rebellion; and though there was to be many a sharp contest more, from that hour the tide of successful obstruction began to ebb. He would have been a mighty prophet who could have foretold that in five years victor and vanquished would be taking counsel

* The entry in the Commons Journal of the 3rd of February, 1881, runs as follows:—

'Resolved:—That if, upon notice given, a Motion be made by a Minister of the Crown that the state of public business is urgent, upon which Motion such Minister shall declare in his place that any Bill, Motion, or other Question then before the House is urgent, and that it is of importance to the public interest that the same should be proceeded with without delay, the Speaker shall forthwith put the Question, no debate, amendment, or adjournment being allowed; and if on the voices being given he shall without doubt perceive that the Noes have it, his decision shall not be challenged; but, if otherwise, a division may be forthwith taken; and if the Question be resolved in the affirmative by a majority of not less than three to one in a House of not less than three hundred Members, the powers of the House for the regulation of its business upon the several stages of Bills, and upon Motions, and all other matters shall be and remain with the Speaker for the purpose of proceeding with such Bill, Motion, or other Question, until the Speaker shall declare that the state of public business is no longer urgent, or until the House shall so determine upon a Motion which, after notice given, may be made by any Member, put without amendment, adjournment, or debate, and decided by a majority.

'Mr. Gladstone, the First Lord of the Treasury, having declared in his place that the Bill for the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) now before the House is urgent, and that it is of importance to the public interest that the same should be proceeded with without delay;

'Resolved:—That the state of public business is urgent.'

together and uniting their forces to carry out the very ends for which indiscriminate obstruction had been devised.

The House had shown neither spirit, capacity, nor union in the presence of lawlessness. Better is an army of stags with a lion for their leader than an army of lions with a stag for their general. In the Parliament elected in 1874 the herd of M.P.s was not entirely composed of lions, and the leader, however rich in official experience and respected for a variety of sterling and amiable qualities, was not a fighting captain. Moreover, his curious inability to realize that obstruction was not a passing extravagance, but a settled policy, and his consequent reluctance to take any action, had been shared by a certain number of the old and less active Members who clung to the ancient ways. The new Parliament of 1880, after two years devoted to the Irish problem, at last found leisure for the labour of adapting its rules to the novel conditions of its existence, but the scheme of revision had scarcely been formulated when a most ill-advised resistance threatened to mar the work. The proposed Rules, speaking generally, aimed at making the Urgency Rules laid on the table by the Speaker, which had been proved and had answered well, the ordinary law of the House. Some form of Closure was absolutely necessary to enable business to proceed. That could not be denied, and yet its proposal excited so much mistrust and resistance in the minority, that the task had to be adjourned to an autumn Session; and a little knot of so-called Conservatives, led by three-fourths of the Fourth Party of four, determined to prolong the existence of chaos by defeating if possible the Rules, which they did ultimately succeed in emasculating. Thus a party of nine and a party of four had within five years proved that they could balk the House of Commons of its will, the will of the Estate which aspires to sole power in the realm, and the House had to endure yet five more years of legislation by sufferance before it was sufficiently unanimous to take effectual measures to restore its ascendancy over obstinate faction in its own Chamber. But the tension for a time was relaxed because the Irish party was in favour of the extension of the suffrage, and the Conservatives were ultimately conciliated on the redistribution of seats. So the third Reform Bill passed with general assent.

In 1880 Mr. Parnell contemptuously advised his followers to vote for Northcote's Resolution, but he and his Liberal allies fought the Closure Rule of 1887—a rule of seventeen lines—for fourteen sittings. Next year the House in three days passed *fifteen new rules* which, though they have not completely baffled
all

all the ingenuities of obstruction, have greatly facilitated business and enabled legislation to proceed within rational hours, and have placed the House in a position of vantage for the future to deal with the fresh devices of the forces of disorder whenever it is in the vein to complete the task. One of the greatest perils therefore which ever threatened parliamentary government may be said to have been averted.

The Closure Rule of 1887 has been a remarkable success; it could not be made absolutely perfect all at once, not merely because of the proverbial imperfection of all human devices, but because much had to be sacrificed to the morbid fear of any change in procedure; and, to pass it at all, it had to be compressed into the shortest possible compass. But all the exaggerated prophecies of evil have been refuted by experience, and the seven years of practice and constant testing which have since elapsed have not been unfruitful of suggestions of improvement in the direction of greater discrimination and pliancy, rather than of increased stringency. It is effective against obstruction by a few, for which it was mainly devised. Take as an example the Clergy Discipline Immorality Bill, 1892, which was passed through Report in a night in spite of resistance by a minority which varied between 53 and 21, but which under the old Rules could have defeated any Bill for weeks. No one with competent knowledge of the facts can complain of the extinction of free speech. It is not the old Closure Rule that is dangerous to liberty, but the new peremptory order silencing all debate on the clauses of a Bill upon a day named, however important may be the questions remaining to be examined. This most dangerous weapon of war—for it cannot be called a method of procedure—may be so misused as to defeat the very purpose of a Parliament. It inflicts an indiscriminate massacre to secure the punishment of a handful of offenders. It is a despotic power just as handy in an unrighteous as in a righteous cause. No protection can be hoped from the impartiality of the Chair, for the Chair may be as little consulted as the executioner who carries out the sentence of a lawless tribunal. The smallest majority has the same power as the largest. By it a Bill to abolish the Church or the Monarchy, to make judges elective by universal suffrage, or to confiscate some unpopular form of property, could be run through the House in a few days. This weapon was unknown to Parliament until 1881. It was forged when the Parnellite faction endeavoured to subjugate the new Parliament by setting at nought the authority of the Chair and resisting the will of nine-tenths of the representatives. With the sanction and
approval

approval of Mr. Gladstone, the Committee and Report stages of both the abortive Coercion Bills of 1881 were closed by a peremptory order (for the Urgency Rules, according to the old laudable practice, were submitted to the leaders on both sides, and no Rules could be laid on the table by the Speaker unless he had been assured of the full and thorough support of the Government). When the effective Coercion Bill of 1882 had to be in part renewed in 1887 (after other objections had been exhausted), the device was invented of offering as amendments to the Bill rules of Court which would have made every trial a mockery. Rules of Court ought never to be crystallised in an Act of Parliament; they are, and ought to be, left to the Judges, who modify them from time to time as experience teaches and expediency may require. This strategy was persevered in until the temper of the House sanctioned a peremptory order, which brought the farce to a close, first in Committee and afterwards on Report. Finally, in 1893, the stages of Committee and Report on the Home Rule Bill were forcibly closed by compartments, in obedience to a similar mandate from the House; but in this case, and for the first time, the order was imposed by a narrow majority. Thus in twelve years the new weapon has been fleshed nine times: six by the Liberals, and thrice by the Conservatives. It has now its peg in the parliamentary armoury, whence it can be snatched down in a moment; but while the justification of its use must rest on the circumstances of each case, the abuse of it is a standing peril to Parliament. Against such abuse there is but one safeguard—absolute as long as it lasts—in the existence of an independent Second Chamber. But if this safeguard were impaired? Already it is said that there need be no appeal to the people when the two Houses disagree. We would earnestly enjoin every intelligent Englishman to pause and reflect how dangerous such a power might become in the event of a labour dispute, when strong passions were aroused, when parties were nicely balanced, and a majority was up to auction. No minor interest, no limited class would be safe; votes must be had at any price, and instantly; honestly if possible—but anyhow votes. The peremptory order should never be used or usable except against a minority abusing its rights, and on a question on which the mind of the nation has been made up.

If the guillotine (to adopt the accepted nickname) is to come into common use in the hands of a small majority, whilst public opinion is yet in the making, it is to be expected that the House of Lords will throw out or materially modify the measure *passed by such means*. The House of Lords has been plausibly

accused

accused of retarding the passage of reforms, but in nearly every case it has done so as the representative of a very large minority, and the time is at hand when minorities will need a good deal of protection. Hitherto, within the House of Commons they have been protected by the Rules, and by the Chair in case of abuse of the Rules. The peremptory order overrides both and is, like the state of siege, above law. It was once an axiom that to legislate greatly in advance of public opinion was a mistake, and every step (if it be in truth in the path of progress) is safe soon to win the support of a majority both large and stable. The famous refusal, '*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare,*' contains a sound sentiment: it is always in the mouth of the advanced Radical when there is question of a law to restrain violence, but when urged on questions of organic change it seems to him inopportune. Surely it is better that measures of this character (which cannot lightly be undone like the other) should proceed at a pace which, if it may somewhat disappoint the ardour of the enthusiast, will ensure safety. He may console himself with the thought that the retarded change, if an improvement, will in consequence of the delay be more thoroughly thought out and rendered more complete and acceptable. In England alone the development of popular liberty has been peaceful and steady; there have been none of those revolutions and retrogressions which have chequered the history of our neighbours across the Channel. We have had some object lessons in one Chamber government, with its executive committees, in the National Convention in France; and if that lesson comes in a foreign garb, let him consider those of the Commonwealth at home. Besides these there have been other times when there has practically been but one House, when the Lords have been all in all, or the Commons have been supreme. Whether we look to the Middle Ages, especially from the time of Richard II. to the close of the Wars of the Roses, or to the time of the Commonwealth, force inside Parliament has always been resisted by force outside Parliament, and it may well be so again. There are other ways of resisting written law besides war: the Irish have taught this generation that lesson. There will be stubborn resistance to the laws so passed, and the succeeding Parliament will reverse the acts of its predecessor. For matured public opinion we have the highest respect, but how narrow, how fleeting have been the majorities of recent years in many constituencies; how many issues have been confused together; how little the recently enfranchised electorate, absorbed in honest industry, can possibly know of grave and complicated constitutional problems,

of intricate questions of foreign policy, and of naval and military exigency, although the humblest and simplest knows where his own shoe pinches him! That every man should be able to make known his grievance is sane policy; he can do that without much help or instruction; but that every man should come to a sound decision on the unfamiliar, requires that the pros and cons should be put before him in a fair and judicial spirit. But does the orgy of bamboozling and slander which accompanies a general election so thoroughly prepare the elector for a full and impartial judgment that his first decision should be final and irrevocable? The single Chamber simply registers the plebiscite of the last general election, and, if the majority be small, it is probable that the next swing of the pendulum will upset the first decision. Since the establishment of household suffrage no Ministry has survived a general election. It is better to reach the goal in peace without these violent alternations, and it must not be forgotten that it is one thing to control a small and disorderly faction, another to put down a great party. If, owing to the magnitude of the measure and the increased number of Members who take part in debate, opposition is redundant, by all means clip the redundancy; but instead of burking all debate on three-fourths of the clauses, at least make an attempt to perfect the work of 1887-8, and complete the adaptation of the Rules of Procedure to the new conditions and the new environment. Now that so many Members will have their say and press their little nostrum, the Chair might usefully be entrusted with a wider discretion and authority. Old Members are sometimes obstinate and young Members are often out of hand; but trivial and redundant amendments could not be ruled out of order because the Committee must be free to reject badly-drawn in favour of better-drawn amendments, and therefore a recast amendment may sometimes be in order. No rule exists to check this growing abuse, because until the enlargement of the political horizon no formal restraints were necessary.

When fewer Members spoke, they were more manageable. Amendments were readily dropped, either in deference to the party leader or out of respect to the manifest sense of the House. The remedy without being violent must be pliant and permanent. A wholesome control might be exercised by the House over the conduct of its own business by authorizing a motion to be made from time to time in Committee and on Report,—‘That certain amendments (to be defined in the *motion*) be not considered,’—the assent of the Chair, the
appointed

appointed guardian of the rights of the minority, to any such motion being a condition precedent as in the Closure Rule; and the Chair should be empowered to make its assent conditional on the omission from the motion of any of the specified amendments it might deem entitled to consideration. But, the consent of the Chair having been obtained, the question would be put at once without debate, and the frivolous amendments would be wiped out. Though the notice paper may be choked with ill-considered amendments, the Chair often refuses a motion 'That certain words stand part of the clause,' which, if carried, would sweep them all away, because among the mass there are one or two deserving of careful attention. The suggested motion would winnow the chaff from the grain—the proposal of substance from the flimsy pretence. Moreover, as amendments at the same point in the Bill are put on the notice paper in the order in which they are handed in, and there is at times a brisk competition in amendments, another palpable absurdity arises. In order to obtain precedence of a rival a late comer not infrequently moves forward his amendment to an earlier line or clause, and this proceeding is in its turn met by the same tactics from another quarter. This game of leap-frog is neither decorous nor convenient; and though the doctrine of 'Push' and 'First come first served' may be democratic, it is not practical. The drafting of the Bill is deranged, and the systematic treatment of the proposed alterations made impossible. The ever-rising flood of amendments is difficult to control, even when good feeling is general; but this cannot be reckoned on now. Halcyon days are over, and we have entered on a cycle of storms. Under the existing but no longer tolerable practice, questions are prematurely raised and prejudiced on badly-drafted amendments in incompetent hands; for every Member has the right to move his amendment almost where he pleases, so long as the clause will only read intelligibly. Priority of consideration should no longer be determined by chance or alertness, but by the judicial intervention of the Chair.

The Chair is alone in a position to discharge the duty of discriminating between amendments with impartiality, and a strong Chairman does even now exert a beneficial influence, although he has no absolute authority. Partial issues are multiplied, and it is often difficult to determine exactly how much has been decided by a vote on a badly-drawn amendment. The Chair should be directed, whenever there are concurrent amendments raising substantially the same issue, to call on the Member whose amendment appears to the Chair to place the question before the House in the most convenient and
definite

definite form; and when an amendment is inconveniently placed, to point out where it would most properly fit in if adopted. The Chair is always accessible to representations from individuals and from parties, and its ideal is impartiality and fair play. It knows well that its strength is founded on moral influence, and moral influence alone. The House must trust some one. It had better trust its own elected officer. The decision being taken on a properly formulated proposition, all the other concurrent amendments would fall: the issues would thereby be simplified, the Bill improved, the amount of revision on Report reduced to a minimum, and a great deal of time economised. Would not this be an improvement in itself, and what is the alternative? Tedious delay over the first few clauses, and the rest forced through Committee without any consideration at all.

Another great difficulty which embarrasses the House of Commons arises from the divided allegiance of its Members, which has been made painfully evident by Irish disaffection, and has a less troubled source in the wider interest taken in politics by the great mass of electors. The great advantages of this growing interest is to some extent counterbalanced by the tendency to machine politics and the hateful American system of the Caucus, so admirably described in his book on the American Constitution by Mr. Bryce, who, unlike Balaam, came to bless and could not keep back the honest curses which, in spite of prejudice, percolate freely through the studied phrases of his eulogy. Members used to enter the House young, and looked forward to a long public career. Their whole future depended on gaining the ear of the House. But now election to Parliament is often the last reward of local distinction, or the coveted prize of the political adventurer, whose stock-in-trade is promises. In the former case the tenure is likely to be short, in the latter insecure, and consequently the changes at each general election have doubled. There are fewer old soldiers to train the new recruits and teach good form by example; and the veterans in years, not service, ignorant of the old traditions, are less zealous for discipline, and look forward to an early discharge from the service with perhaps a baronetcy, instead of attaining the good-conduct stripe of office as a reward for tried usefulness. On the other hand, brand-new men are pitchforked into the highest without first serving in the lowest offices. One common standard of opinion no longer animates so mixed and so shifting a body. It is recorded on good authority that a persistent bore once appealed to the Speaker, imploring his assistance in obtaining a hearing

ing from the House. The answer he received was to the effect that, while every Member had an undoubted right to speak, it was for the House to decide whether it would hear him or not. Such a caution might well seem out of place in these days, when to obtain the ear of the House is no longer a condition of being heard. Where disorder and obstruction abound, it is difficult for the Speaker to allow any tedious individual to be buzzed down, or silenced by cries of 'Divide,' so the bore gets his say, though the statesman is not safe from interruption. It is obvious that in a House of 670 Members many must forego the right of speech, but it is the modest man, the wise man, and he whose seat is safe in the respect of his constituents who keeps silence in the interest of business, whilst it is the hand-to-mouth politician, dependent on self-assertion and self-advertisement, who must be talking. The causes why the ascendancy of the House as a whole over its Members has vanished are political, not social, though the lost homogeneity of the *personnel* has contributed something to weaken it. The greater the number of social classes that are represented in Parliament, the better: the direct representatives of labour, as the Members who have been working men are called, are, with scarcely an exception, quiet, orderly, and excellent men of business, who entertain a genuine respect for the traditions of the House. The difficulty and danger come from the representatives of disaffection and the representatives of themselves. It is hopeless to look for loyalty to the House when the true allegiance is elsewhere. That misconduct may be very popular, and decency a very dangerous quality, can be proved by recalling the following incident. Once upon a time a notorious Irish Member, wishing to contradict a statement of Mr. W. E. Forster, then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, shouted out, 'You are a liar.' The remonstrance of the Chair drew forth only a double repetition of the offence. The offender was named, and one Nationalist member was foolish enough to vote for his countryman's suspension. He was immediately assailed in his county, and on explaining at a public meeting of his constituents the circumstances of the case, and the claims of the House of Commons to common decency of behaviour, and of the Chair to support, was interrupted by a shout, 'And did he call him a "loiar," like a true-hearted patriot as he was?' Three cheers for the offender. Need it be said that the political career of the supporter of decency was closed. He probably was the first to perceive that the game of law and order was up.

What is notoriously true of Irish disaffection is to some

extent true of the political adventurer from places out of Ireland—those who really represent only their own ambition and nothing else. It is a new experience that a large proportion of the counties of England should be represented by carpet-baggers—men who have no stake in the division beyond a hired residence, and are free to promise the rural labourer anything and everything. A carpet-bagger may be a well-meaning and even an excellent man; he is often a wealthy one; but it is sad that a great constituency should be represented by a stranger of no distinction. The landed interest being ruined, the labourer suffers, as the toiler in any declining industry must suffer. When the cotton industry was paralysed by the great revolt of the slave-owners in the United States, a cry of pity went up from all the land, and subscriptions to assuage the distress were poured forth with no stinted hand; but who among the great manufacturers utters a word of sympathy over the patient sufferers from agricultural distress? Who suggests, not subscriptions, but some slight alleviation of taxation? Oh, no! This is the time to double the succession duty and raise the rates; it is so easy to malign the beggared parson and the impoverished squire, and attribute to them the suffering caused by the low prices and the competition of virgin soils and genial climates. The profuse promises with which the political adventurer decoys votes out of the poor and needy tiller of the ground, recall the advantages promised with like impunity by bubble companies, and the security is the same. When the candidate slipped the ‘fiver’ into the mug on the mantelpiece of the cottager, the benefit was substantial, and it cost the donor something; but corruption by promises is perhaps the most subtle and serious of all the perils which threaten the character of Parliament. The Corrupt Practices Act does not touch this form of bribery, which enjoys absolute immunity, and the House itself is not keen against it. The voters in the main, if they do not quite regard their votes as a trust, honestly wish to make a good use of them according to their lights; but they have yet to learn to shade their eyes from the abundance of lights intended to blind and mislead them,—dazzling promises of State aid for everything, as if the Government had some other fund than the produce of the taxes out of which to make every one comfortable all round at a wave of the State’s fairy wand. Moreover, all sorts of advantages are promised out of local rates, as if rates did not deplete the wages fund; or as if the wealth of the rich would cut up and go round, not once, but every day and for ever. By miracle long ago, *five barley-loaves* fed five thousand, and more than the loaves remained;

remained; but the baker's loaf is the joint product of capital and labour, and once eaten ceases to be. The same powers must combine to make a new one.

Surely false or reckless promises are more demoralizing than the old-fashioned bribery when Hodge was released from an incubus of debt by the quiet settling of a boot bill which had accumulated in bad times. This was an offence if found out, but the new bribery enjoys absolute immunity; yet it corrupts not so much the voter as the politician and the policy. To stick a card in the hat or some such trifle, will void an election; to stand a glass of beer is a crime, but to promise dinners and what not at other people's expense is patriotism—cheap patriotism indeed, but which may bring the prompt recognition that all patriotism deserves. It is a splendid business done 'on tick.' Payment by election precedes the delivery of the goods by any number of years, and the goods are not the candidate's property but his opponent's. This is a peril for which it is hard to devise a remedy, except the slow one of diffused education. Would that our educators would teach a little elementary political economy in the Board Schools—anything practical that could be put to the daily test of experience, and thereby be riveted in the memory, rather than mere smatterings of knowledge which will be never used and therefore quickly forgotten! If false promises must needs escape censure because it is impossible to discriminate between cold-blooded deceit and sanguine self-deception, it is not so with the dissemination of personal slander, which is said to be but too common at elections, especially for large constituencies, in which the difficulty of detecting and exposing the lie in time is very great. Some time ago a Midland election was prejudiced by a slander put about on the eve of the poll, that one of the candidates had imported Coolies to cultivate his estate in Australia, and had displaced British workmen by cheaper Chinese labour. The lie did its work, and the candidate was defeated, for the refutation could not be circulated in time. As a matter of fact he had no estate at the Antipodes, and had never imported foreign labour elsewhere. Slander, of course, is already an offence, but it is hard to get at, and honest indignation has not yet taken the elaborate precautions against it which it has against treating and 'tips.'

These after all are but some of the ugly realities of recent parliamentary history, some of the drawbacks and difficulties that have to be dealt with. We ought not to wonder too much that the abundant stream of national life should be a little turbid and throw some worthless sticks and straws to the

surface;

surface; but surely the energy of the living waters can be employed in something more fruitful than merely submerging ancient institutions. Hitherto the nation in every development has combined stability with adaptability. Some think it would be fraught with unspeakable blessing to knock down the House of Lords and employ the waste stones to enlarge the House of Commons. Would it not be better first to get that mighty engine under control and in good working gear? The House of Commons is unwieldy from numbers and unruly in temper; lack of self-government impedes business until it ceases to advance: the House is overworked, and the result of its labour is disappointing. Lethargy is unknown, but courtesy, consideration for opponents, even fair play, are in jeopardy. There is plenty of work for two Houses, notwithstanding the diminution of private business. In the Upper House the working staff is too limited in numbers. A sense of impotence has caused many of its Members to neglect duties that seem no longer to be functions. Yet the work it is suffered to do it does well. It prepares and passes many valuable Bills for legal and administrative reform, and its Committees do excellent and most useful work; but the Lower House, absorbed in its own differences, has no time for unsensational amelioration of the law. The Upper House, independent, less tempted to opportunism, adorned by men of great ability and unsullied character, contains a vast reserve of educated power and skill, which has rendered, and is still capable of rendering, invaluable service to the State. Unlike the House of Commons, it is possessed of a store of calm leisure if only the opportunity be granted of employing it to effective results. It is not beyond the wit of man to deal with the problem, but it is far beyond the limit of this article to propound a scheme for solving it.

Our present purpose is to endeavour to rouse the mind of the educated public to the many forms of peril which are impending over that great institution which has been the pride of our own country, the envy of the leading statesmen of other nations, and the model of free Parliaments throughout the world.

Every foreign country that has copied our institutions, every English-speaking community which has inherited them, has felt, and still feels, the necessity of a Second Chamber. Switzerland and the United States entrust theirs with the highest duties. The constitution-mongers of the Continent would have given their eyes to find an Upper Chamber ready made to their hand abounding in character, ability, experience, and patriotism. The Government of a great Empire has countless relations, political and commercial, with foreign States, and there are
difficult

difficult questions springing up every day in connexion with our old dominions and new dependencies. We say that no fair-minded man who has the leisure, and will take the trouble, to consider, side by side, the speeches delivered on any important occasion, but will admit that equal knowledge and equal judgment are displayed by the leading spirits in either House. But if comparison is made in respect of calmness of temper, the palm must frequently be given to the Lords. The party needs of the hour, and the endeavour to popularise the view taken by each advocate in the Lower House, induce a blending of passion with argument which confuses the issue in exact proportion to the ignorance of the hearer or reader of the oration. Besides, the House of Commons is overburdened with work; and while it is absorbed in contests over this or that domestic detail, light is thrown on questions of high policy by temperate debates in the House of Lords. As we have already said, our multiplying interests furnish topics enough fully to occupy the attention of two Houses. Naturally those who live in circumstances of greater ease and culture, tend to be a little slower in recognizing new needs than those who mix every day with the people, and the latter should be, and are, listened to with the greatest respect; and when all the conditions of the new problem and all the consequences to others of the solution recommended have been fully weighed, grievances should be and are remedied in the kindest spirit: but there are other interests to be considered as well as the hourly needs of the working classes, and industry itself will sooner or later suffer if these are neglected or oppressed. While labour should receive the most sympathetic treatment, other classes and other interests are not to be shut out from the benefits of the Constitution, as if culture were a crime and capital robbery. All interests, and not only that of the greater number, should be represented in Parliament, and the voices that speak for them should not be drowned in clamour. Classes should be brought together, not hounded against each other. The more the suffrage is lowered, the more the great masses of electors will be manipulated through the caucus. The more machine politics prevail, the more the interests of the middle classes, especially of the lower middle classes, will be neglected, and the less chance will there be for the consideration of any question except the one on which the caucus bosses have given the word to blow the bellows. It will be an evil day for Freedom—the old lodestar of the devotions of the Briton—when Church, Lords, and Crown have gone down, and the resolutions of an all-powerful House of Commons (whose decrees must sometimes be inspired by passion) become straightway law.

There

There is no fool like the old fool, and to think that stout old John Bull should have left his old true love Liberty and gone a philandering after that painted French hussy, Equality, would be laughable if it were not so very shocking. The flirtation has not yet gone so far that anything is hopelessly compromised. We are not quite in the Divorce Court; but the sooner John comes to his sober senses and recognizes that Equality is neither attainable nor desirable, the better it will be for him. There are despotisms worse than any military despotism, more searching, more injurious, and more enduring than was the tyranny of Napoleon. At least for Frenchmen in the public service his motto was '*la carrière ouvert aux talents*'; but the motto of the great combinations whose attainment of omnipotence we dread is equality, not equal laws, nor equality before the law, but equal advantages for the stupid and the intelligent, for the idle and the industrious, for the self-indulgent and the thrifty. We want to be free as our ancestors were free, to feel a quiet confidence in the strength of our country, to enjoy our own, to take our labour to the best market we can find, to make the best provision we can against accident and old age. We do not much like being fined for other folks' fault, especially when intimidation and violence are pretty sure to go scot free. We should like a little protection from bogus companies and chousing directors, at least that the rich rogues should be made amenable for their gambling and their swindling; but for that the House of Commons has either no heart or no time. Your conventional Radical goes on pattering the old jargon as if the Tudors, or at least the Stuarts, were on the throne, and as if no one could hold up his head in the presence of a peer. It is ridiculous. The vanished danger came from above, the imminent danger threatens from below. Where unbridled power is, thence comes tyranny; and it is against possible abuse of the new and gigantic forces of democracy that every beacon should be kindled and every safeguard strengthened, not with any idea of damming back the current—that would be impossible—but to throw light on the waters, and to conduct its abundant and invigorating forces into fertilizing channels.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *The Monthly Naval List.* March, 1894. London, 1894.
2. *Annuaire de la Marine pour 1894.* Paris, 1894.
3. *Ocean Highways ; their Bearing on the Food and Wages of Great Britain.* By the Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, M.P. Read before the Royal Statistical Society, February 20, 1894. London, 1894.

FOR the last ninety years Great Britain has held so undisputed a command of the sea that we have learned to regard the ocean as a British possession. Upon the absolute control of the element which is traversed by the trade-routes to this island is reared the entire fabric of our prosperity. By its means we have established colonies and dependencies in every part of the globe, and have gathered into our hands the greater portion of their trade. By its means we have laid the whole world under contribution, until we have become dependent on foreign countries for the greater part of our food supplies and of the raw materials employed in our manufactures. By its means, finally, we have been enabled, in spite of the pressure of a rapidly increasing population, to lower the price of the necessities of life as well as to raise, not only relatively but actually, the rates of wages among our industrial population. If our command of the sea were interrupted for a month, our whole system would be paralysed: our commerce and manufactures would be at a standstill, and we should be face to face with widespread famine.

This statement is no exaggeration. The great trade-routes are well defined, and, in time of war, would be infested with hostile cruisers. It is calculated that 30 per cent. of our sea-borne imports are conveyed to this country in sailing vessels or ocean-

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going steamers, whose average rate of speed does not exceed 12 knots an hour. Both classes of vessels would naturally fall an easy prey to the cruisers of the enemy. Without adequate protection from our own Navy they would run such imminent risk of capture as to make their putting to sea suicidal. But if a hostile fleet were once to gain command of the Channel, the consequences would be far more disastrous than even the failure of 30 per cent. of our foreign imports of food and raw manufacturing material. The loss of the command of the sea means the hand of the enemy on the throat of the nation; unless the grasp were relaxed, the end would be as speedy as it is certain. The internal resources of the country only provide food for 45 per cent. of the population, and raw material for the manufacturing industries on which three-fifths of the industrial classes depend. In other words, the cessation of foreign imports means that we could not supply daily food to 55 per cent. of our population, and that $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of wage-earners, with their wives and families, would be thrown out of employment at the very moment when the necessities of life were raised to famine prices. This vast and important stake which we have in the command of the sea is only safe so long as our Navy is sufficiently powerful for its protection; it is imperilled from the moment that our line of naval defence becomes at its weakest point anything less than impregnable.

The services, therefore, which we demand from our Navy are of the most extended, varied, and vital character. To Great Britain the possession of a fleet which is strong enough to maintain the command of the sea, and thus to provide adequate protection to the interests of the British Empire in time of war, is more than a question of the very highest national and imperial importance. It is a question upon which not only our existence as a first-class Power, but our very existence as a nation must entirely depend. In the following pages we propose to show, in the briefest possible compass and with careful avoidance of exaggerated language, *firstly*, what are the magnitude and variety of the British interests to be protected; *secondly*, what are the methods and procedure of defence to be adopted; *thirdly*, what is the standard of strength demanded for adequate protection; *fourthly*, what is the minimum increase of strength required to complete the efficiency of our naval defence.

What then are the vast interests of the British Empire, which in time of war must be, and can only be, protected by the Navy? They are briefly these: the shores of the United Kingdom; *our Colonies*, our numerous and most valuable possessions abroad,

abroad, and our coaling stations; our enormous commerce on the high seas, which is the real source of the greatness of this country; and lastly, but by no means least, our sea-borne food supplies. So long as our Navy is maintained at the necessary strength to afford adequate protection to these varied and vital interests, the country may enjoy security; but if once our command of the sea is lost, the ruin of British commerce and the collapse of the Empire will surely follow.

Let us take these different interests in their order; and, firstly, the protection of the shores of the United Kingdom. In time of war, the full energies of the Navy will be most severely tested at sea, where every available ship will be needed. To weaken its strength by locking up sea-going vessels in our home ports to assist in their defence, would be an unwise waste of our resources. It has therefore been decided that the defence of the military ports, both at home and abroad, of the principal commercial ports at home, and also of the whole of the coaling stations (assisted, where required, by systems of submarine mines and torpedo-boats), shall be entrusted to the land forces. Outside these limits all protection is to be undertaken by the Navy. Even within the specified limits, the task of protecting our shores in time of war requires a considerable force. Without going into minute details, the opinion of experts with regard to the disposition of the fleet in home waters is shortly this. It would, in the first place, be absolutely necessary to maintain a superior force, consisting of battle-ships, cruisers, and torpedo-boat destroyers, at certain strategical points, in order to endeavour to shut up the enemies' vessels in their ports, or to ensure their defeat, if they are encountered at sea. Secondly, a considerable number of cruisers must be detailed for patrolling the positions most suitable for the protection of our Mercantile Marine. And thirdly, a large number of torpedo-boat destroyers must be provided for the protection of our harbours and vessels from the attacks of the swarms of torpedo-boats, which have been organized and stationed at various depôts, opposite to our coast, from Dunkirk to Brest.

Passing to the protection of our Colonies, possessions abroad, and coaling stations, it would be unnecessary and undesirable to enter into details. It is probable that no successful attack upon our Colonies and principal possessions abroad need be apprehended. With the precautions that have been taken for increasing their powers of defence, and if our naval force on distant stations is maintained at the necessary strength, their safety is practically secured. In the number and position of our coaling stations, we have a very great advantage.

all other maritime Powers. This advantage is of extreme importance with regard to the movements of our fleets, and especially of our cruisers. We possess a continuous chain of coaling stations along the main line of our ocean steam trade, both by way of the Suez Canal and by the alternative Cape route. Unless our fleet is to be crippled, hampered, and delayed at every turn, it is absolutely essential that our coaling stations should be efficiently protected against the attack of hostile vessels. Although considerable delay has occurred in fortifying some of these stations, yet at the present time their defences are completed, and they may, in our opinion, be considered safe from such attacks as may be reasonably anticipated in time of war. This security is increased when it is remembered that every admiral who commands on a foreign station, being keenly alive to the fact, that upon the safety of these coaling stations must depend the efficient movements of our ships, would render every possible assistance for their protection. In any future war, it is certain that, when our fleets are cruising, they must be accompanied by steam colliers, containing large supplies of coal, and provided with the most suitable fittings for its rapid discharge.

The extreme importance of providing efficiently for the protection of our enormous sea-borne commerce and food supplies cannot be overrated. It must be remembered that, while the whole of the external trade of the United Kingdom is carried by sea, the external trade of France and Russia is, to a large extent, carried overland. Therefore these nations have means of obtaining supplies, and of carrying on their external trade, which render them independent of what may in time of war be captured by enemies' cruisers. In this country, on the other hand, the case is widely different. With our very large and rapidly-increasing population, we are solely dependent on the sea for the bulk not only of the raw material which is essential to our manufactures and trade, but also of our supplies of food. Scarcely one-third of the wheat which is consumed in this country is grown at home; the rest is imported from abroad. Therefore, in the possible event of our fleets being defeated, the British Channel would fall into the possession of the enemy, and would thus be closed to the entry of our supplies. A very few weeks would suffice to produce a famine throughout the country, and we should be starved into making an ignominious treaty of peace with the enemy upon their own terms. If this consideration stood alone, it would conclusively prove the paramount importance of Great Britain *possessing a navy sufficiently powerful to maintain the command*

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of the sea. The tonnage of the Mercantile Marine of the British Empire is 12,427,596 tons, whilst that of France is only 1,057,708 tons, and of Russia 481,799 tons. Consequently, the Mercantile Marine tonnage of the British Empire is eight times greater than that of France and Russia combined. The value of our sea-borne commerce is 970,375,095*l.*; that of France is 276,648,000*l.*, and that of Russia 55,024,000*l.* Our commerce is therefore worth two-thirds more than that of the other two Powers combined, and it is estimated that the average value of the cargoes of the British Mercantile Marine afloat at any one time amounts to 150,000,000*l.*

If our Navy were defeated, and an enemy's fleet held command of the Channel, the length of our resistance might almost be counted by days. We should have to submit to the most humiliating terms, and without further struggle. From one end of Great Britain to another would rise one despairing cry of impotent rage against the Ministers who had lulled us into a false security. At the outbreak of war, it is argued, Parliament would cheerfully vote a hundred millions. Parliament might just as well vote a hundred shillings. A Navy cannot be prepared in three months, and in three months we should be starving. But, it is said, we might be fed by supplies brought to us in neutral ships. Seventy-two per cent. of the Mercantile Marine of the world is British, and the remaining 28 per cent. could not, if it were allowed to do so, bring us the necessary supplies. Nor is there any reasonable doubt that it would not be allowed. What is, or is not, contraband of war, is always decided by the force that commands the sea. The French Government has already declared that not only are arms and munitions contraband, but other articles, 'the trade in which may be incidentally prohibited in time of war, by reason of their usefulness to the belligerents.' If we were at war with France, and her fleets held command of the sea, food would unquestionably be treated as contraband, and thus the scanty supplies which neutral ships might otherwise bring us would be cut off.

The interests which our Navy is required to protect are therefore vital to our very existence. Very different in extent and importance are those which the navies of France and Russia, the second and third naval Powers, are called upon to guard. They cannot for a moment be compared, either for their magnitude or their urgency, with those which the British Empire has at stake. Nor is this all. Our very existence as a nation in time of war depends on the Navy; our means of subsistence can only be secured by its efficiency. France, on the other hand, has comparatively few possessions
abroad

abroad which require naval protection ; her Mercantile Marine is only one-twelfth that of the British Empire ; she is to a greater extent self-supporting, and is not under the necessity of importing her food supplies by sea. In the event of war, therefore, France would be able to operate with the principal part of her fleets in the Mediterranean, and on her own shores, where her great arsenals are established. Here she can concentrate her strength, while a large number of our ships must be of necessity dispersed all over the world, in sufficient strength to protect our imperial and colonial dominions as well as our commerce. It is absolutely beyond doubt that, in the event of war with this country, France would strain every nerve to inflict as much damage as possible on our commerce on the high seas ; and, therefore, if we desire to secure ourselves against the risk of commercial ruin and wide-spread disaster, it is necessary that we should provide cruisers in sufficient numbers for the adequate protection of our Mercantile Marine.

What has been said as to the French independence of seaborne commerce and food supplies, applies equally to Russia. She has very few possessions to protect beyond the limits of the Baltic and Black Sea, where, in the event of war, her principal ships would probably be concentrated. Vladivostock is very strongly fortified, and it is improbable that, if hostilities were to break out between Russia and England, any assistance beyond what could be rendered by the vessels stationed in the China seas would be sent from Russia. Her whole force is therefore available for the destruction of our commerce, and for this object she is undoubtedly preparing. As to cruisers, she has at present only a small number, but she has just completed the most powerful first-class armour-belted cruiser in the world, the 'Rurik,' and two more of this type are building. These vessels are far larger, more powerfully protected by armour, faster, and carry far larger supplies of coal, than any cruiser built or building in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of our two last first-class cruisers, the 'Powerful' and 'Terrible.' Our two cruisers, however, were only put out to build by contract in January, and they will not, in all probability, be completed in less than three years. Is it necessary to ask what is the ulterior object for which Russia is building these three most powerful cruisers ? It certainly cannot be for the protection of her own exceedingly small Mercantile Marine. These vessels must therefore be intended, in the event of war, for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, and most terrible commerce-destroyers they would prove. *Forewarned* ought to be *forearmed*. Delay is suicidal. We
cannot

cannot afford to play ducks and drakes with the interests which we have at stake. We cannot do less than provide, with the utmost possible speed, for building two additional cruisers of the 'Powerful' type, to cope with these vessels on at least equal terms.

It has been suggested lately, that in the event of war with France we should be obliged to withdraw our fleet from the Mediterranean, and thus sacrifice our very considerable trade, our line of communication with the East by way of the Suez Canal, and, eventually, probably Malta and Cyprus. It is incredible that so weak a policy would ever be contemplated by any Government; if it were known to be entertained, it would, we feel certain, be scouted by the country. Doubtless a naval war in the Mediterranean would entail very grave difficulties; but with the necessary number of vessels of different classes, and with capable and energetic admirals at our command, there is no reason to anticipate that we should be unable to maintain our position in that sea, and to protect the commercial and political interests which are at stake in its waters. It is indisputable that Great Britain, if she is to maintain her existence as a first-class Power in time of war, must be able to hold the command of the sea; and it is also certain, as we have already pointed out, that no nation or nations would risk so much in a naval war as would this country. To France or Russia, defeat would mean humiliation; but to Great Britain, it would mean overwhelming disaster. The only certain way of securing ourselves against such a catastrophe, is to insist that, at no point of serious strategic moment, shall our naval forces be found inferior to those of our possible enemies. The idea of abandoning the Mediterranean is quite inadmissible. If our navy is sufficiently strong to command the sea, this covers the Mediterranean; if it is not strong enough to cover the Mediterranean, it probably will not be strong enough to cover the British Channel and our own shores; and if our enemies are strong enough to drive us out of the Mediterranean and to keep us out of it, they will probably be strong enough to defeat us outside its limits. The command of the sea, involving that of the Mediterranean, may have to be fought for within the Mediterranean or outside it, according as the centre of strategic moment may happen to be on one side of Gibraltar or the other. The point of supreme importance to this country must therefore be, in either case, to take all the necessary precautions for ensuring that, whenever and wherever we may have to fight, we have made the final result as certain as human foresight can make it. In any naval war of the future, success must depend on many circumstances.

which are at present incalculable ; but that side which possesses a genuine consciousness of superiority of force must always enter upon the conflict with immense advantages.

An assured position in the Straits of Gibraltar is a strategical necessity to the Power which commands the sea. In Gibraltar we possess an useful place of vantage, from which the strategical disposition of an enemy's fleet seeking to pass the Straits in either direction can be observed, and frustrated by measures duly adapted to the occasion. It is also of very great naval value as a coaling station. But, in the event of war, the want of a dock, with the necessary plant for effecting repairs, would be exceedingly detrimental to the efficiency of our fleet. So long as Gibraltar is unprovided with a dock, vessels damaged in action, and requiring to be docked for repairs, must proceed either to England or Malta for that purpose, and, in their disabled state, would be much exposed to capture by the enemy. The extreme importance of constructing a dock there has frequently been brought to the notice of our Governments ; but up to the present time no provision has been made for supplying this great want. Some years ago the best situation for its construction was fully considered and decided upon by competent authorities, and the estimate for completing the work was stated to be 366,000*l.* This sum is little more than one-third of the cost of a first-class battle-ship, complete in all respects, and the amount is as nothing when compared with the immense value which in time of war would be derived by our naval forces from having such a dock. Here, too, delay is suicidal. The construction of the dock ought most certainly to be commenced and carried out with as little delay as possible. At the same time it is also very important that the new Mole should be considerably lengthened, in order to provide a much-needed increase of shelter for ships of war, and to give additional facilities for the simultaneous coaling of a larger number of vessels.

We have pointed out the interests which Great Britain stakes on the command of the sea, and the methods and procedure of defence to be adopted. We now proceed to estimate the strength, both with regard to *matériel* and *personnel*, at which the British Navy should be maintained, if the protection of our interests is to be adequate.

This is a national and imperial question of the very highest importance to all classes. It is also one to which, until within the last few years, far too little consideration has been given. In our opinion, the only proper basis on which *this question* can be solved is as obvious as it is indisputable.

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After a full and very careful consideration of the relative interests which in time of war must be protected by the British Navy, and after a similar estimate of the existing strength of our own Navy as compared with that of foreign Powers, together with the projected increase of both in the near future, a standard of strength should be decided upon, to which the British Navy shall be as soon as possible raised, and at which it shall be maintained. In order to ensure that this standard shall be efficiently preserved, an unceasing watch must be kept on any future projected increase in the strength of foreign navies, and timely provision must be made to meet it with such a corresponding increase on our part as shall maintain at the proper level the proportional strength of our Navy. If such a course is adopted, and if foreign nations become convinced that it will be rigidly adhered to, then the country may feel satisfied that, as the Navy is in all respects strong enough to protect all that we have at stake both at home and abroad, we shall not be attacked. The strength of our Navy is the best guarantee of peace; its weakness is the most certain provocation of war. If the Navy is allowed, through false economy, to fall into a weak condition, we naturally expose our country, with its vast and vulnerable interests, to attack. Whenever rumours of war are rife, the feeling that we are not prepared, as previous experience has conclusively proved, creates a state of anxiety well-nigh amounting to panic. Under its influence excessive expenditure of money is made in the endeavour to provide hurriedly, and therefore ineffectually, for what should have been ready at hand.

This was the experience of the country in the early part of 1885, when the relations between this country and Russia were in a very strained condition. Deep anxiety was created throughout the country by a feeling that the Navy was not prepared for war, and money was squandered broadcast in hasty preparations both at home and abroad to meet a crisis for which we ought to have been ready. Nor was this feeling of anxiety ill-founded. The real state of the Navy at that time was this. The number of our battle-ships was decidedly too small; our cruisers were far too few in number and far too slow for the efficient protection of our commerce; we had no well-equipped first-class gun-boats suitable for service on distant foreign stations; we were not provided with a single torpedo gun vessel; our supply of torpedo-boats was most inadequate. This most unsatisfactory state of things was entirely due to the fact that the Navy, through false economy, had been starved into inefficiency. Public opinion having been thoroughly awakened to the weak state of the Navy, strong popular pressure was brought

to bear upon the Government of the day, and a sum of 3,100,000*l.*, in addition to the ordinary shipbuilding vote, was granted for new vessels to be built by contract, and also 1,600,000*l.* for their armaments. The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated that this outlay would be spread over five years, and form a portion of the expenditure of the country during that period. Fortunately peace was not disturbed, and since then we have had the good sense and the opportunity to work steadily at increasing the strength of the Navy, until it is now in a stronger condition than at any previous period within our recollection.

But between 1885 and 1888 very considerable additions were made in the strength of foreign navies, and in 1888 the Government, after full consideration, decided to raise the strength of the Navy to a standard which should be equal to a combination of the navies of any two foreign Powers. Provision was therefore made, under the terms of the Naval Defence Act, for building 70 additional vessels of different classes at a cost of 21 millions, the whole of these vessels to be completed by April, 1894. These 70 vessels comprised 10 very powerful battle-ships; 9 first-class, 29 second-class, and 4 third-class cruisers; and 18 very fast torpedo gun-vessels. It is certain that the whole of these vessels will be completed in a very few months. It was not intended that this increase should be a mere spurt, but that this standard of strength should be maintained in future by carefully watching any further increase projected to be made in the strength of foreign navies, and making timely provision for the corresponding increase to the strength of our Navy. Opinions differ considerably as to whether this standard of strength is sufficient to meet our requirements. Our own opinion is that—if the number of our cruisers, which must be proportioned to the efficient protection of our enormous commerce, is not thus limited; if the *personnel* of the Navy is maintained at a sufficient strength to furnish trained crews for manning rapidly the war fleet in an emergency; and if a sufficient Reserve is enrolled to meet contingencies—the country may rest satisfied with this provision. But there is undoubtedly no margin for reduction. On no pretence whatever should any decrease in this standard of strength be permitted.

The only way in which we can ensure the punctual and economical completion, within the limit of time originally contemplated, of such a building programme, extended as it must necessarily be over a number of years, is to lay the whole plan frankly, and fully, before Parliament once for all, and obtain its sanction for all the expenditure involved, by means of an *Act of Parliament*, applicable to the whole period. This is the
course

course which was adopted by the late Government with regard to the Naval Defence Act. But it has lately been stated by a prominent member of the present Government, that this is an entirely wrong principle, and that the needs of each year ought to be satisfied out of the Revenue of the year, subject to the control of Parliament. In this view we cannot concur. If such a course were adopted, the obstructions, alterations, and postponements, to which such a building programme would be annually subjected, would be fatal to real economy, and to the satisfactory completion of the programme within the specified time.

Since the passing of the Naval Defence Act, a very large increase has been made, and is still being rapidly proceeded with, in the strength of the French and Russian navies. In France, the increase in vessels built, and building, up to the end of 1893, amounts to 9 battle-ships, 5 very powerful first-class armoured cruisers, 13 other powerful fast cruisers, and 5 very fast torpedo gun-vessels, making a total of 32. In Russia, the increase amounts to 7 battle-ships, 4 armoured coast-defence vessels, 2 of the most powerful first-class armour-belted cruisers in the world, and 6 torpedo gun-vessels, making a total of 19. Thus, in France and Russia combined, an increase has been made of 51 vessels, of which no less than 16 are battle-ships, and 7 very powerful first-class armour-belted cruisers. Now, in view of this very large addition which has been effected in the strength of the French and Russian navies since the passing of the Naval Defence Act, it was fully expected by naval experts that provision would have been made in the Naval Estimates for 1893-1894, for commencing a new progressive building programme, to extend over a term of years, and to make such an increase to the strength of our Navy, as would have ensured the maintenance of the standard of strength established by the Naval Defence Act. No new programme on these lines was attempted, and consequently the strength of the French and Russian navies, since the present Government has been in office, has been steadily increasing, whilst we have been almost standing still.

What has actually been done by the present Government to increase the strength of the Navy, beyond completing the vessels building under the Naval Defence Act, which they were bound to do? In the Estimates for 1892-1893 provision was made by the late Government for building 3 first-class battle-ships, which would have been commenced during that financial year, had there been no change of Ministry. At the same time Lord George Hamilton stated that he would be prepared in the Estimates for 1893-1894 to bring forward a largely extended
building

building programme. But a change of Government took place before that date, and instead of commencing to build the 3 battle-ships in 1892, the first one was not begun until April 1893, and the two others not until the end of the following December. The only increase which has been made to the strength of the Navy by the present Government, beyond what was provided for by the late Government, consists of 5 cruisers, of which the two most powerful were only put out to build by contract in January, 2 sloops, and a considerable number of small torpedo-boat destroyers. In last June the country sustained the grievous loss of the first-class battle-ship 'Victoria,' with her gallant Admiral, and some 350 of our officers and men, a loss which should, in our opinion, have been replaced with as little delay as possible. But when Lord Hood of Avalon asked the First Lord of the Admiralty in the House of Lords, whether it was the intention of the Government to take a Supplementary Estimate for this purpose, his reply was to the effect that the loss of a single battle-ship was not of such extreme importance as to render it necessary to take a Supplementary Estimate in order to replace the 'Victoria' at once. Thus many months have been lost.

The activity of the French and Russian dockyards was known to the Government as early as August 1893. Yet, when the subject of naval defence was brought before the House in December 1893, the Government treated it as a party question. Mr. Gladstone, who in Midlothian had denounced the expenditure of the Naval Defence Act as passing 'the bounds of prudence and propriety,' declared that there was not 'the slightest pretext for maintaining that we are in a state of present emergency and danger.' Sir William Harcourt took up the same position, saying that 'the supremacy of the British Navy is at the present moment absolute,' and proving his point by reference to a paper which he was subsequently unable to produce. A party division was challenged, and a vote of confidence in the Government was carried by the aid of the Irish members, one of whose leaders had declared that the destruction of the naval supremacy of Great Britain was a consummation devoutly to be wished. The delay of months which the Government has suffered to pass plunges the country into a danger, for which their supineness is alone responsible. It may well be that the superior facilities of rapid shipbuilding which this country possesses, and a vigorous effort to restore the relative standard of strength which the Naval Defence Act established, may regain for us the position from which we have temporarily fallen. But we feel certain that the country is
not

not in the mood to allow its security to be jeopardized by any further waste of time or any unwise niggardliness in expenditure.

A glance at the relative strength of our own Navy and that of the two foreign Powers with which we are most concerned, conclusively proves that the balance established by the Naval Defence Act has not been maintained, and can only be restored by considerable additions to our forces. The following comparison of the strength of the British, French, and Russian navies (above the class of sloop), actually built and building at the end of 1893, is based upon personal knowledge, and is, we believe, absolutely accurate.

Of battle-ships, which are essentially the class of vessel by which the fate of future naval wars must eventually be decided, we have 45, two of which were only commenced in December last; France has 34; Russia, 15. Consequently France and Russia combined have a superiority of four. In first-class armoured cruisers we have 18; France, 9; Russia, 11. Here we are, therefore, in a minority of 2. In armoured coast-defence vessels we have 17, of which 8 are stationed permanently abroad; France has 14, and Russia 16, in addition to 11 old and very slow monitors, not fit for service outside the Baltic. Here we are, therefore, in a considerable minority; but if the number of our battle-ships is maintained at the requisite strength, it is probably unnecessary to increase the number of our coast-defence vessels. In cruisers, in addition to the 18 first-class armoured vessels already mentioned, we have 111; France 53, and Russia 17. We have therefore a majority of forty-one; but the interests which in time of war must be protected by our cruisers are infinitely greater than those of France and Russia combined, and the efficient protection of our commerce imperatively demands a further considerable increase in the number of this class of vessels. We have at present a very large superiority in the number of torpedo-boat destroyers; but we still require a further addition to this valuable class, in order to protect our harbours and vessels efficiently from the attack of the swarm of torpedo-boats which have been organized and arranged at various stations opposite our coasts, and also in the Mediterranean.

Provision has been made in the Naval Estimates of 1894-95 in France and Russia for the following increase to the strength of their navies:—France, 3 first-class battle-ships, 8 very powerful fast cruisers, and several smaller vessels and torpedo-boats; Russia, 3 battle-ships, 1 most powerful armour-belted cruiser, of which type she has already 2 built and building, and several smaller

smaller vessels and torpedo-boats. Consequently, in order to maintain the standard of strength in battle-ships and armoured cruisers established by the Naval Defence Act, our new building programme for 1894-1895 must provide for commencing 10 battle-ships and 2 most powerful first-class cruisers of the 'Terrible' type. Even this addition would merely give us an equality in the number of battle-ships and cruisers with France and Russia combined. We also certainly require an addition, at the very least, of 20 of the latest type of second-class cruisers for the efficient protection of our commerce, and 20 torpedo-boat destroyers. Such a programme is, in our opinion, the very smallest which would fairly meet our present requirements, and we believe that it could be completed in three years and a half without difficulty, at an approximate cost of about $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions, including the annual vote for new construction. Attention must also be drawn to this important fact, that the amount devoted to new ship construction in France in 1893-94 was 2,800,000*l.*, and in Russia 2,674,000*l.*, whilst in this country it was 2,936,961*l.* Consequently, if these Powers continue to devote such large sums to new construction in future, and we are to maintain even a standard of equality with a combination of their fleets, it will be necessary to increase the annual amount for our new construction to quite $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

But the new ships are useless without the men. The *personnel* of the British Navy is at least as important as the *matériel*. Are our resources in this respect at the present time sufficient to provide efficiently for our requirements in time of war? We may say, without the slightest hesitation, that in our opinion they are not. This is a point of the very highest importance, as the very best vessels, without a sufficient number of officers and trained men to form their crews, are, in these days, of little value. We cannot, as in the days of the pressgang and of sailing-vessels, secure a rapid supply of men who could, in a short space of time, be converted into able seamen. A long course of training and instruction is requisite to form a crew which is capable of handling so intricate a piece of machinery as the modern man-of-war. When any naval war occurs in the future, it will, in all probability, commence with very little previous warning. The moment war breaks out, it should be our first object to endeavour to inflict a heavy blow on the fleets of the enemy with as little delay as possible. But how can this be done unless we have trained officers and men, in sufficient numbers, ready to man our war fleet rapidly in an emergency? In France and Russia crews for all available vessels are ready; but this state of preparation is, at the
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present time, very far from being our condition, as we shall proceed to show; and, in the event of war breaking out at short notice, many of our vessels would be detained in port for an indefinite time, waiting for men to complete their crews.

Our total requirements in officers and men, in order to provide crews for the whole of the war fleet which will be available during the present year, amounts approximately to 91,000, of whom about 6,100 are officers. To meet these requirements, our total resources in active-service officers and men amount approximately to 68,600, thus leaving a deficiency of about 22,400.

With regard to officers, the number of our captains, commanders, and engineer officers is tolerably well proportioned to our needs; but there is a want of some 390 lieutenants and navigating officers. This is a most serious deficiency, and is a very difficult question to deal with. It cannot be met satisfactorily by making a very large addition to the number of cadets, as this increase would require an additional training establishment, and even then would not provide a remedy for years. Nor, in our opinion, would it be desirable to increase very largely the number of lieutenants. In time of peace it would be impossible to find employment for them at sea, and, moreover, such an increase must have the effect of very seriously retarding their promotion to the higher ranks, which is at the present time unfortunately far too slow. A small addition to the annual entry of cadets has been made, which will have the ultimate result of moderately increasing the number of lieutenants; but in an emergency the large deficiency in lieutenants and navigating officers can only be met by the promotion of sub-lieutenants, and the employment of a certain number of our retired officers, also of officers of the Royal Naval Reserve, and of a certain number of warrant officers, in the performance of lieutenants' duties. It is highly important that every inducement should be held out to officers of the Royal Naval Reserve to serve for one year in the Navy, and to go through a short course of instruction in gunnery and torpedo work. Such a training would enormously enhance the value of their services in the Navy when called out, and we are glad to say that a considerable advance in this direction has been made during the last two years.

With regard to petty officers and men of all ratings, our requirements, in order to man the whole of the war fleet which will be available during the present year, amount to approximately 85,000, and our resources in active-service men are approximately 62,500, thus leaving a deficiency of about 22,500.

Of these no less than about 6,070 are engine-room artificers and stokers. To meet this large deficiency we have about 7,800 pensioners, and nominally some 22,500 Royal Naval Reserve men. On paper this looks well enough, but two all-important questions to be asked are: what number of these pensioners would be found unfit for sea service when called out? and what number of Royal Naval Reserve men could we rely upon obtaining when called out in an emergency, say at a fortnight's notice? Taking into account the large numbers who would be absent at sea, we should probably be fortunate if we obtained 6,000 in a fortnight. We should thus still be confronted by a deficiency of some 8,500 men, and a very serious point in this deficiency is that the engine-rooms are shorthanded in artificers and stokers. To supply this want, we have only some 990 stoker pensioners, and a certain number of Royal Naval Reserve stokers. At present the remaining gaps can only be filled up in an emergency by obtaining supplies of such men from outside. Nor could such supplies be easily obtained. Very great difficulty would for many reasons be experienced in filling their places at short notice; and the efficiency of our fleet, and its power of striking a swift and heavy blow, would be seriously impaired by the discovery, that, before a large number of our vessels could proceed to sea, so large a number of engine-room artificers and stokers must be obtained from outside.

In addition to our requirements in order to man all available vessels in an emergency during the present year and in 1895, it must be remembered that quite 3,000 officers and men will be needed in 1896 to provide crews for the vessels which were commenced in 1893, and also that a further very considerable increase will be required in 1897 and 1898 to supply crews for the vessels which are to be included in the new building programme which has been brought forward this year.

It is, we think, conclusively proved that, in order to raise the *personnel* of the Navy to the strength required to man the war fleet rapidly in an emergency, both in the present year and in the near future, it is imperative to make large additions in the numbers both of our active-service men and reserves. It is our strong conviction that the following increase, at the least, should be made during the next two years. In active-service men, an increase is needed of 6,500, of whom 3,500 should be engine-room artificers and stokers. The remaining 3,000 should be obtained by increasing to this extent that most valuable corps, the Royal Marines. By thus adding to the Marines, a large number of trained gunners could be obtained in less than half the time, and at less than half the cost to the country, which the entry
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and training of a similar number of boys would entail. A Marine recruit joins the force as a man; in fourteen months he has completed his course of training and is ready to embark. His cost to the country during that period is 48*l.* On the other hand, boys enter our training ships at the age of 15½ years, and at the age of 18 they become ordinary seamen; the time thus occupied is 2½ years, and the cost to the country during that period is 102*l.* per boy.

In the Royal Naval Reserves, the existing numbers are approximately—first-class men, 10,700; second-class, 10,600; and stokers, 1200. A very considerable number of these men must always be absent in their various employments at sea, and therefore are not available when called out at short notice. The first-class men are able seamen, and accustomed to serving in vessels at sea, and are therefore more suitable for service in the war fleet than are the second-class, who are ordinary seamen, and principally fishermen. But there is this advantage with regard to the second-class, that, from the nature of their employment, they are more available for service when called out in an emergency than are the first-class. It is most strongly recommended that the number of the first-class men should be gradually increased to 14,000, of the second-class to 11,000, and of the stokers to 3,000. This addition would give a total of 28,000 Royal Naval Reserve men, as compared with the present number of about 22,500. The increase which is thus recommended in the numbers of active service men and Royal Naval Reserve men is, in our opinion, the very smallest addition which would, in an emergency, provide for the rapid manning of the war fleet in the present year and up to 1896.

Let us now endeavour, by the light of the foregoing statements, to test the adequacy of the Naval Estimates, which were brought before the House of Commons on the 19th and 20th of last month, under the three heads of ships, men, and works.

It is proposed, during the current financial year, to commence 7 battle-ships of the first class, on 2 of which very little work is to be done this year; 6 cruisers of the second class; and 2 sloops. The proposal, we are told, forms 'part of a complete programme, which has been arranged for a term of five years. It is further stated that, 'as battle-ships require longer periods of construction than cruisers, they must be laid down in the earlier years, while cruisers of various types will be built in the later years of the period covered by the programme.' We naturally conclude from these statements, that 7 is the total number of battle-ships to be included in the new programme.

We have already shown that, in order to maintain the relative standard of strength established by the Naval Defence Act, any new scheme of construction must provide for commencing 10 battle-ships, and 2 powerful cruisers of the 'Terrible' type, which will take very nearly as long to build as the battle-ships. Thus the building programme of the Government, so far as it is divulged, will leave us with a positive deficiency, when compared with the combined fleets of France and Russia, of 3 battle-ships and 2 first-class cruisers. We cannot consider that such a result is satisfactory.

The *personnel* of the British Navy also, as we have shown, requires substantial increase, and, here again, we cannot regard the provision made by the Government as satisfactory. It is proposed to increase the Engineers' Department by the addition of 350 engine-room artificers and 2,450 stokers; to add 500 men to the Marines; and to enter 800 seamen direct from the Merchant Service. There will also be an automatic increase of about 1,600 young ordinary seamen, due to the rating of boys. In the Royal Naval Reserves it is proposed to increase the number of officers by 100, a proposal with which we entirely agree, and the number of stokers by 400.

With regard to the proposed increase in the Engineers' Department, we have already shown that, in order to provide for manning the whole of the vessels which will be available during the present year, an increase of 6,070 engine-room artificers and stokers is required. This deficiency we proposed to meet by the addition of 3,500 active-service men and 3,000 Naval Reserve men. The increase proposed in the Naval Estimates amounts to 2,800 engine-room artificers and stokers on active service and 400 stokers in the Reserves, making a total of 3,200 men. This number, added to the 1,200 Reserve stokers already enrolled, of whom many must be absent at sea, and therefore not available when suddenly called out at short notice in an emergency, makes a total of 4,400 men to meet a deficiency of 6,070.

The proposed addition of 500 Marines is, in our opinion, far too small, and we firmly adhere to our proposal of adding 3,000 men to that valuable force within the next two years. It is a very doubtful policy to enter 800 seamen direct from the Mercantile Marine in time of peace. Many obvious difficulties stand in the way of adding a number of Merchant seamen, who have no previous experience of discipline and training, to our own men, who have been brought up from boys to their future service in the Royal Navy. Nor is it the policy only which is *dubious*. It is far from likely, having regard to the higher rates

rates of pay in the Merchant Service, that any number of really desirable men will be found to volunteer.

When we come to the works contemplated in the Naval Estimates, we are equally dissatisfied. Seeing that the Government are alive to the importance of a dock at Gibraltar, the sum of 1,000*l.* which is allotted to the work is ridiculously small. The same remark applies to the much needed and most valuable increase of the dock accommodation and coaling facilities at Keyham. The sum of 1,000*l.* is here again absurdly inadequate. The new barracks at Chatham will supply a want which has been long and seriously felt, and we trust that the work will be pushed forward to completion as speedily as possible.

On the question of establishing Port divisions, we are in complete agreement with the Government. The decision to appropriate petty officers and men of all ratings to the three home ports, in order that each port may be self-supporting and capable of manning and providing for the care and maintenance of all ships attached to it, is, in our opinion, most wise. The mobilization, when carried into effect, will hereafter prove of extreme advantage to the efficiency of the Naval Service.

In thus criticizing the naval programme of the Government, we have not forgotten that it forms part of a scheme of which it is only an instalment; but no adequate reason has been suggested for the concealment of the whole plan. No defence has been offered of the omission to state fully and frankly what are the full liabilities which the country incurs and the full advantages which it expects to derive from the outlay. It is a programme of promises, not of performances, and it is a scheme which is exposed to be altered, mutilated, neglected, or delayed according to party exigencies. When the present Government, which has been lavish in programmes of promises, invites the confidence of the country in a five years' scheme, of which it only divulges one-fifth, it cannot be surprised if distrust is not wholly removed.

ART. II.—*The Life and Times of the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.* By Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P. Edinburgh and London, 1893.

THERE are few spheres of active work in life in which, to the outsider, memories seem so short and recollections so evanescent as in that generically known as politics. An eminent politician dies suddenly, or after a few weeks' illness. Up to the time of his death the daily papers teemed with reports of his sayings and doings, his qualities, his methods of administration, and his management of men; some notices might be friendly, some hostile, but all recognized the power of the man himself, and the impress of his personality on the questions of the day. His death is noted by a kindly panegyric in the press; possibly a sympathetic eulogium from a friend in Parliament testifies to his merits as a colleague; but his old place in popular estimation knows him no more, his sun is set, and all eyes and ears turn instinctively eastward to welcome and watch his successor. To revive and perpetuate his memory becomes now the immediate object of his relatives and friends. Let his biography be written before his name is forgotten, and the sooner the better. It is, however, an error to suppose that public men or the political world generally are less grateful to leaders who have successfully managed their affairs, or less mindful of old friends and colleagues, than those in other occupations. On the contrary, nowhere are truer or more lasting friendships made than in Parliament, and nowhere is the memory of a useful and public-spirited man longer respected or cherished than among those whom he represented or for whom he toiled.

The practical work of the politician lies before and not behind him. It is in the struggle of the day, in noting the effects of perennial legislation, in watching the ever-changing form of the problems and questions suddenly springing up for discussion and settlement, that the energies of the politician are absorbed; the thoughts which he throws backwards in his public speeches and utterances must be few and far between. Yet the past has for him a reverence-inspiring sanctity; it is the mausoleum of the great men whom he has trusted, followed, and obeyed, whose principles he still holds, and whose reputation he savagely guards against detraction.

The memoirs of a great public man should not then be hastily compiled. Those who undertake the task should have time to ascertain fully the drift of the masses of correspondence and papers to be read, to ruminate over each successive stage
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of the life they are writing, so as to depict in impressive and lasting colours the characteristics of the man whose ideas and aims they are attempting to transcribe.

No biographer, however practised, can, by skimming correspondence or skipping over Hansard, fathom in a few weeks, or even months, the innermost thoughts or objects of a successful statesman, who for many years has held high office; he cannot graphically delineate his traits and peculiarities; his biography is apt to become a mere adumbration of the real man, though it may be a popular annual register of the times in which he lived.

We cannot altogether exempt Sir Herbert Maxwell's 'Life and Times of the Right Hon. W. H. Smith,' excellent as it is in many respects, from this general criticism. His long personal acquaintance with the deceased statesman doubtless gave him, during lifetime, a certain insight into his character and qualities, and the kindly relations thus created have imparted a sympathetic touch to the whole memoirs, denoting the friend's anxiety to do justice to the life he is describing. Still candour compels us to say that the book has been hastily written and too quickly published to be a complete and thoroughly satisfactory record of an unique character and an unique career. Making allowance, however, for the difficulties which the author very fairly acknowledges in his preface as besetting him throughout, Sir Herbert Maxwell may be congratulated on having given to the public a pleasant and well-written narrative of the period covered by the late Mr. Smith's life, and he has certainly succeeded throughout in expunging all trace of the partisan, nor has he revived in any controversial spirit the differences and battles of the past.

The Life of a successful man is generally worth perusal; but the peculiarity of Mr. Smith's life was that, while from boyhood to his death he was constantly transferred from the groove in which he wished to work into one which was distasteful to him, yet from the beginning to the end of his life his career was one continuous record of success upon success. He rose from humble beginnings to the highest post a subject can covet; he converted and developed a small undertaking into one of the most colossal business monopolies in the world; as a business man, a member of Parliament, a financier, an administrator, and finally as leader of the House of Commons, he was ever gaining fresh reputation. Yet he carried with him throughout the good will and sympathy of all, even of those he had out-distanced and displaced. Such an achievement justifies our description that his life is a record of an unique character and an unique career. The story of his rise is so remarkable that, though his birth
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and earlier years were surrounded by the essence of all that is prosaic and conventional, they require some notice as contributing in no small degree to the moulding of the remarkable man of after-years.

On the 21st June, 1825, William Henry Smith was born in the Strand, in the house now known as the head-quarters of the great house of W. H. Smith & Co. His father, who at that time was pushing and developing his business as a news-vendor, had already by unremitting assiduity become a prosperous and successful tradesman. His mother was a Wesleyan; and though she was married and her children baptized, according to the rites of the Established Church, she and her husband attended the service of the Wesleyan Society and subscribed liberally to their funds. The father was a man of strong will, narrow in his ideas, inflexible in his decisions. To toil six days for many hours in the development of his business, and to spend an almost equal number of hours on the seventh day in Wesleyan chapels, was the weekly ideal, without break or change, of his yearly life. He was a perfect specimen of what modern culture irreverently designates as Philistinism. Young Smith's life was equally dull and uneventful. He appears to have been a serious and solemn little fellow, impressed from his earliest childhood with the gravity and responsibility of the duties of life. He was kept at home and educated with his elder sisters, one of whom married his tutor, Mr. Beal, who was appointed in 1838 Head Master of Tavistock Grammar School. Under the ægis of his brother-in-law Smith was allowed to go as a boarder to Tavistock school, whence, after a short time, he was brought back home for fear of contamination by bad companions and worldly influences. He was permitted to return later as a special pupil and remained till the age of seventeen, when he was put into the firm, his time being divided between attention to business and spasmodic attempts at self-education. His early years seem to have been singularly joyless and devoid of amusement. A town-bred boy, he had no athletic training or aptitude for games, while his intellectual aspiration for a University education, and his craving to qualify for the ministry of the Church of England, were ruthlessly stamped out by the iron will of his father. Yet the young man never seems to have made serious resistance to his father's wishes, and on the contrary accepts his edicts as being inspired by Providence.

On his coming of age in 1846, his father showed his confidence in his judgment and business capacity by making him a co-partner in his business on liberal terms, with the intimation that they were but a prelude to much greater concession

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Young Smith, or Mr. Smith as we must now call him, is thus launched into practical life. So far he had given little indication of exceptional ability; his letters exhibit signs of depression rather than of audacity; he seems too overburdened by the responsibilities of life to show originality or even idiosyncrasy. His education had been exceptionally narrow and circumscribed; his knowledge of the world was *nil*. He had never passed through the disciplinary training of a public school; he had never competed in athletics or examination with other young men of his standing. His business training was confined to the details of a most prosaic concern, the rapid unpacking and despatch of newspapers. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, we doubt if any kind of education or training would have been so likely to produce the startling series of business successes that this young man at once achieved, as the repressive and narrow system of family tuition under which he had been reared.

Our public-school and University system of training simply consists, from its inception to its end, in one continued series of competitions amongst those whom it is training for practical life, and the most successful competitor is supposed to be the most promising man of the future. But the triumphs thus obtained on the threshold of practical life are, not infrequently, purchased by a strain on the power of adolescent manhood, to be followed by a period of lassitude and indifference when the real work of the world begins. A story is current that in early life one of the ablest and most vigorous of modern statesmen was reproached by a relation for his apparently incurable indolence, and he retorted, 'I am storing energy.' Old Mr. Smith, by restraining his son's craving for a University career, by denying him earlier in life a public-school education, had done all in his power to fund his energy and compress the springs of his intellect. In after-life Mr. W. H. Smith, in reply to a question from a secretary as to whether he read much, replied, 'No; I do not read, I appropriate.' This aphorism, coming from one ever backward to laud himself, shows a consciousness of unusual receptivity. There can be little doubt that if W. H. Smith had been suddenly transferred, at the most plastic period of life, from the narrow puritanical surroundings of his home into the full sea of University intellectuality, his receptive mind would have been so absorbed in, and distracted by, the flood of new ideas around him, that the counting-house in the Strand would have become to him a secondary consideration, and he would not have attempted the audacious series of business conquests and annexations which his biographer with just pride enumerates.

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There are few successes more interesting to follow out than those which are associated with the establishment and maintenance of a great business or trade monopoly, especially if that monopoly be associated with the supply and distribution of a necessary of civilized life. Audacity, combination, finesse, and enterprise are required first to acquire the position and then to hold it against all comers. Yet we doubt if in modern trade or commerce there is any record of a series of bolder and more successful operations than those by which the quiet, diffident, home-trained boy secured and maintained the monopolies of the sale of newspapers, books, and advertisements which the great house of W. H. Smith now enjoys.

In 1846, when Mr. W. H. Smith became a partner in his father's house, not a railway bookstall did it possess. In 1851, he had not only obtained by purchase, bargain, and tender, the whole of the stalls on the largest railway system in the kingdom, but so complete and successful was the revolution he had effected in the class and variety of the literature sold that a public acknowledgment of the reform was made by the leading newspapers of the day, and the 'London and North-Western Missionary' was urged to push and develop his work elsewhere. An advertisement monopoly was next created, and a few years later an ubiquitous circulating library was added to the other branches of the business. Within ten years of young Mr. Smith becoming partner, his firm had obtained all these great advantages over other competitors, and, from that time till now, they have held the field in every branch of business against all comers; and every step which the younger partner had taken was opposed by the elder. In every case the younger was right and the older wrong. The methods by which the young man had out-distanced all competitors were simple enough. In all bargaining and tenders he was liberal and enterprising; having gained the tender, he devoted his attention to obtaining a good return from it by getting for high wages the best men available to undertake the new work thrown upon them. The machinery he employed was human, but it was better than that of his rivals, because he paid it higher, and because, in engaging it, he, to borrow a happy phrase of Sir Herbert's, 'knew form at a glance.' The monopoly he gained was not obtained from a lucky invention, from the accident or advantage of locality, or from overpowering capital. Smith and Co. as newsvendors and booksellers beat their competitors because their packers packed faster, their carts, vans, and agency distributed with greater rapidity and certainty, the sellers at the bookstalls were more attentive and better understood the
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wants of their customers than the employés of any other firm or combination of firms.

This triumph in organizing human machinery was the work of the young partner alone, and was mainly due to his almost unfailing insight into the character of those with whom he came into contact. Egotists, with rare exceptions, are bad judges of human nature, for they are too self-absorbed to watch others carefully; in *W. H. Smith* there was not a particle of egotism. From the early hour of 4 A.M., when he personally superintended and shared the drudgery of sorting and distributing the daily papers, up to a late hour in the afternoon, he was ever watching and noting the work of others; and in the selection of his employés, his clerks, and his partners, he rarely, if ever, made a mistake. If a mistake was made, it was promptly remedied by the dismissal, after due warning, of that item of the machinery which was not up to standard. The business thus conducted grew automatically. The pay was so good, the avenue to further advancement so wide, that every unit in the great organization felt he could not advance himself better than by remaining where he was. It is difficult to describe or define the qualities that enable one man to understand so much better than those around him the capabilities or failings of others. The power, frequently dissociated from the highest intellectual gifts, is not uncommonly the property of an individual otherwise mediocre; it cannot be acquired, it is rarely lost; yet in the highest quarter of political work and administration its possession is sometimes more valuable than the eloquence of a Cicero, and its want more felt than the lack of reading of a Runjeet Singh. Great as the discrepancy may seem between the work of establishing a newsvending and bookselling monopoly and the duties of leading the House of Commons, yet the secret of *Mr. W. H. Smith's* success in both of these very dissimilar undertakings was the same—an accurate knowledge of how far he could rely on others to help him, and the conviction that, whatever had to be done, the action to be taken must be prompt, thorough, and complete.

Early in the year 1858 his father finally retired from active business, leaving his son chief partner and controller of the growing fortunes of the great enterprise he had so ably developed. Of recent years the temper of the old man had become almost unbearable, and his attitude on almost every progressive development had been that of obstinate obstruction; yet the son with wonderful adroitness had overcome all such opposition without in any way losing the affection of the father. This early and long experience in the arts and methods

of circumventing obstruction was good training for one who in the close of his life had to deal with unscrupulous and prolonged obstruction in Parliament, and the skill with which he there always gained his point, without alienating the good will of those whom he thwarted, was another exhibition of the *suaviter in modo* and *fortiter in re* he had so successfully shown in the dawn of his manhood.

In the same year he married Mrs. Leach, and, leaving the family house in Kilburn, established himself with his bride in Hyde Park Street, where for many years they continued to reside. Although his business career had been most brilliant and successful, and his general capacity admitted outside the sphere of business, as was shown by the appointments he held in connexion with important public bodies and by his election to the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855, he still wrote in a tone of diffidence and almost despondency of his shortcomings and want of determination, for in a letter (March 4th, 1858) to his betrothed we find this confession: 'I have not the strong determination to do always that which is right, by God's help, which I admired so much in Auber, and which I see in so many men around me. . . . In good truth in some things I have a really weak character, and I want you to be the means of strengthening it'; and the letter ends by hoping that her prayers may be of help to him in overcoming these defects. A strong man's consciousness of his weakness is like a good man's sense of his wickedness: it is a sincere expression of contrition, not that he is weaker or worse than the majority of those he meets, but that he is short of the ideal standard to which he has set himself to attain. Throughout these memoirs we constantly come across similar expressions, and similar appeals for the prayers of others to aid him in reaching a higher conception of duty. He was, however, too devout and pious to desecrate his public utterances by such appeals; for, throughout life, he strongly discountenanced the practice, to which some public men so frequently have recourse, of invoking the name of the Almighty as the Guardian and Promoter of the particular political enterprises of which at the moment they are the personal patentees.

We now leave the business career of Mr. Smith, with but one further remark. How great was the change that his individuality made in his father's business can well be illustrated by the value of the business as he found it and the amount of his fortune which he bequeathed on his death in 1891. In 1846 the total value of his father's business and property was *estimated to be* 80,000*l.*; in 1891, Mr. W. H. Smith's personalty,

sonalty, independent of his large landed property, in which he had sunk 450,000*l.*, besides Greenlands, was valued at upwards of 1,700,000*l.* During this period he had brought into his house various partners, who had shared to a large extent in the profits of the firm; and for twelve years, between 1874 and 1891, he had held political office, and, whilst so engaged, had participated to a less degree in the dividends of the business, for he retired in 1877 from active partnership. His charitable contributions, though chiefly anonymous, were munificent, and he treated all about him, whether business employés, tenants or servants, with exceptional consideration and generosity. Rarely has the upward rise in life of a self-made man been attended by so spontaneous and universal a distribution of the benefits of well-being and wealth, but in return he exacted from others what he always fulfilled himself—an adequate discharge of the work they were engaged and undertook to perform.

Mr. Smith's long residence in London, and the knowledge which in addition he gained, through the various philanthropic and public bodies to which he belonged, of the social and industrial condition of the London working classes, raised in him a strong desire to enter Parliament. He received, as early as 1856, an invitation to contest the town of Boston as second candidate in the Liberal interest, and the sole ground of his refusal was the belief of the party managers that a second Liberal candidate could not be carried. A similar invitation was received from Exeter in the subsequent year, and refused for the same reason. The Liberal party, at that time, was under the leadership alternately of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, and their home policy was a kind of jog-trot yet progressive Conservatism, which probably nineteen out of twenty Conservative Members, now sitting in the House of Commons, would heartily endorse. Subsequent to these invitations two incidents occurred, each of which had considerable influence in making Mr. Smith look to the Conservative party as that most in accord with his practical but not illiberal views. In 1861 he met Lord Sandon at a public gathering held for the object of initiating the Bishop of London's Fund; Lord Sandon moved and Mr. Smith seconded the main resolution of the day. From that day a close personal friendship sprang up between the two men; on Church and religious matters their views were almost identical, and on social and political questions there was a remarkable affinity both in their ideas and in the position each occupied towards the Liberal party. Lord Sandon had been in the House of Commons, though he was not at that moment a member of that assembly; he had, whilst in Parli-
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ment, given a general support to Lord Palmerston, but the gravitation of the evident future leader of the Liberal party, Mr. Gladstone, towards the views of the extreme wing of his supporters checked any disposition on Lord Sandon's part to lend further aid to the Liberal party as then constituted. In 1864 it was clear that Lord Palmerston's health was on the wane, and that his impetuous lieutenant would soon be his successor.

But whilst Mr. Smith was thus naturally drifting towards Conservatism, his inclinations were undoubtedly accelerated by his name being blackballed as a candidate for the Reform Club. To those not born or bred in trade the vast difference between a wholesale and a retail business man is not at first sight apparent, for it is often found that the difference is obliterated in less than a generation, the small retailer gradually becoming big and blooming into the full majesty of wholesale. But the wholesale plutocracy of the Reform Club (then the Radical Club of London) refused to associate with the most remarkable business man in the Metropolis, for he was a retailer. This act of intolerance deeply wounded the sensitive spirit of Mr. Smith, for, throughout his life, he rarely, if ever, asked a favour, so unwilling was he to put himself under any obligation to another, and his failure to pass this ordeal, which in almost every case is a mere formality, freed him from any kind of obligation to the party whose managers thus ostracised him. He therefore accepted a proposal to contest Westminster as a Liberal-Conservative, and early in 1865 began his campaign as a candidate for parliamentary honours. The significance and far-reaching effect of Mr. Smith's candidature for Westminster, successful as it ultimately proved, can only be gauged by a brief retrospect of the relative position of the two political parties, and the tendencies of their respective leaders at the moment when his first candidature began.

The Liberal party in the House of Commons, at that time, considerably outnumbered its opponents; but it was composed of three sections—the followers of Lord Palmerston, those of Mr. Gladstone, and those of Mr. Bright—and in the aggregate the party almost monopolized the representation of the large boroughs, both in the Metropolis and elsewhere. The doctrines of the Manchester school, professed partially by Mr. Gladstone and wholly by Mr. Bright, one of the prophets of that sect, were too parochial and wanting in patriotism to satisfy the national aspiration of a large number of the middle classes; but every effort made by Mr. Disraeli to catch the allegiance of this section of the electorate had been checkmated by the bluff joviality and the national ring of Lord Palmerston's attractive personality.

personality. The last ripples of the Free Trade and Protection controversy had not subsided long enough from the surface of political discussion, to efface entirely the traditional jealousy of town and country. If a political crusade were to be started in the Metropolis with any chance of success, its standard-bearer must not be a territorial magnate, but, if possible, one of the class whose suffrages and good-will it sought to propitiate. Mr. Smith was the best possible representative of that class; his broad and liberal instincts repudiated the narrow selfishness of the Whig *coterie*, whilst his sense of duty and patriotism was equally repugnant to the little England theories of utilitarian Radicalism; but he believed in Lord Palmerston. Mr. Disraeli, with his unfailing sagacity, foresaw that the real struggle for political supremacy must be after that statesman's death, and that the enfranchisement of the artisan was only a question of time. It was of great importance, before that electoral reform occurred, to bridge over in the Metropolis the gap existing between what are now known as the 'classes and masses,' by absorbing into the Conservative party the bulk of the middle-class electors. In addition to his other qualifications, Mr. Smith was a large and munificent employer, and likely on that account to be popular with those awaiting enfranchisement. He was therefore warmly pressed by the Conservative party and leaders to come forward, but he only accepted on the terms contained in his letter to Colonel Taylour, the cheery and popular Conservative Whip of the day, viz.:—

'It will be well to repeat that I am not a member of the Conservative party as such, nor am I a member of the Liberal party, but I believe in Lord Palmerston, and look ultimately forward to a fusion of the moderate men following Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston into a strong Liberal Conservative party, to which I shall be glad to attach myself. Such an expectation may be chimerical, but I cannot help indulging in it, and I wish to stand by it.'

To this Colonel Taylour replied:—

'I consider your letter an extremely fair one, and I shall advise the Westminster Conservatives to give you their unreserved support.'

In the ensuing contest Mr. Smith was beaten; still the numbers he polled were not unsatisfactory, whilst the relations he had established with the local leaders of Conservatism were cordial and enduring. He had been singularly well received: the coalition against him was a strong one, for Captain Grosvenor and Mr. Mill had contrived to combine all the varying sections of the Radical party, without alienating the votes of the

section of the constituency. The close of the poll gave the following result:—

GROSVENOR	..	..	..	4,384
MILL	..	..	..	4,379
SMITH	..	..	..	3,812

Thus ended Mr. Smith's first political venture. It had failed, and as a failure it was dismissed from the minds of the practical politicians of the day; yet there was no successful candidature, in the whole of the general election of 1865, which was ultimately destined to have so far-reaching an effect on the respective representation of the two great parties, as the unsuccessful movement headed by this diffident political neophyte.

In the autumn of 1865 Lord Palmerston died, and Mr. Gladstone became the leader of the House of Commons. In the general election he had been ousted from the representation of Oxford, and this victory had been welcomed as a great Conservative triumph; yet we doubt if any single election of modern times has done more to advance the doctrines of 'reckless opportunism' than this severance of the ties which bound the great popular orator to the intellectual and religious orthodoxy of Oxford. The alteration in the man himself was immediate: he described himself to the constituency who elected him after his Oxford defeat as one 'unmuzzled'; and the nature of the measures he advocated between 1865 and 1868, and the language he used in support of them, were widely different from the sentiments and attitude of the late Member for Oxford University.

This sudden change had its natural effect upon Mr. Smith, who threw in his lot with the Conservatives, declined to stand for any constituency other than Westminster, and finally accepted an invitation from 3,000 electors of the borough to come forward as their representative. The adoption of household suffrage by the Reform Bill of 1867 in place of the old 10*l.* rating franchise, had largely increased the number, and in many cases completely altered the character, of the old borough constituencies. In which direction would the new voters move? Mr. Disraeli was unflinching in his belief that the English *demos* was Conservative, and that the old restricted franchise gave to the political Nonconformists a preponderance they would not generally retain with a lower franchise. His leading political opponents ridiculed the very idea of such an anomaly existing as a Conservative working-man, Mr. Gladstone going so far as to say that, if such an oddity could be found, he should be put in a glass case, and kept in the British Museum as a perfect specimen

specimen of a political *lusus naturæ*. Looking back now to the earlier stages of the contest of 1868, it is hard to realize that at that time no Conservative working man's club existed in England except in Liverpool, and that it was with much misgiving and many shakes of the head that the old Tories heard of Mr. Smith promoting a Conservative working man's club in Westminster, and taking other measures to secure the co-operation of working-men electors in the conduct of his election.

As the contest in 1868 progressed, it became clear that Mr. Smith was very popular, his two old opponents, Captain Grosvenor and Mr. Mill, finding it difficult to secure that exchange of split votes between their respective supporters which in 1865 gave them their victory. Mr. Mill's extreme views, and the tactlessness with which he promulgated them, had also alienated from him the more moderate of his old supporters. Still, to win Westminster on a household franchise by a large majority seemed to the old-fashioned Tories an impossible task. Yet it was accomplished, for at 4 o'clock on the day of the poll the Carlton Club was electrified to hear that Mr. Smith had successfully stormed the political Redan of the Metropolis, and later came the news of a Conservative being returned, but by the minority vote, for the City of London. The monopoly of representation in the Metropolis had been broken up, and from that day forward, under the leadership of Mr. Smith, as senior Conservative metropolitan member, the Conservative cause advanced with rapid strides in all parts of London and the suburban districts, until in 1886 the Unionist party absorbed 90 per cent. of the total representation of 5,000,000 people. It is not unduly flattering Mr. Smith to say that this remarkable transformation in the representation of the Metropolis was to a very large extent due to his example, leadership, and parliamentary behaviour; for, from the time he entered the House of Commons till his death, he most carefully watched the London political and social barometer, whilst his sagacity, liberality, and great business success made him to the middle class a model parliamentary representative. This remarkable contest signalized the entrance of Mr. Smith into, and the exit of Mr. Mill from, parliamentary life. The Liberal papers were much surprised, and still more annoyed, at the unexpected result. One day they rated Mr. Mill for his follies, the next Westminster for its folly in rejecting so great a man. Looking back now to 1868, it certainly does seem strange that when the Radical party in a great and populous district had to choose between two candidates—one of whom,

Mr. Mill,

Mr. Mill, was the inventor of the expression 'unearned increment,' and the other, Captain Grosvenor, the representative in its most extreme form of that unpopular method of accumulating wealth—the latter should have been chosen and the former rejected.

Mr. Smith thus, in the very outset of his political life, secured a victory, finally leading to political results little less startling than those which he had already accomplished and was extending in the business world. It really seemed the destiny of this quiet and unobtrusive man to be associated with great enterprises and works that could only succeed from their very audacity and presumption.

It is impossible to part from Mr. Mill without some feeling of regret that so great a thinker, so clear a writer, should have been a parliamentary failure. Between Mr. Smith and him there was little in common, except that both during boyhood were completely dominated by the will of their respective fathers, and restrained from following their own aptitudes, and from studying those branches of human thought and imagination for which they craved. The result of the same system of early repression upon two men of very dissimilar temperament is curiously different: Mr. Smith, being compelled to concentrate all his thoughts and intellect on the management and extension of a business concern, developed a genius for the practical management of men and things; Mr. Mill, deprived in early life of all works of fancy and poetry, unconsciously so rebelled against this restriction, that his emotions and fads in after-life not only impaired the value of his judgment in practical matters, but to a large extent neutralised that authority and prestige which the logic and clearness of his early politico-economical writings had obtained for him. A story current in the India Office, which we believe to be authentic, well illustrates the difference between Mill as a writer and Mill as a practical adviser. Amongst the officials transferred from the old East India Company to the Crown in 1858, was a gentleman of exceptional financial experience and capacity, under whose prescient and fostering care Indian finance so flourished that the huge deficits following the Mutiny gradually diminished and disappeared, until the difficulty was to determine what taxes could be reduced or abolished. It was the duty of this official to advise the parliamentary representative of the office upon all questions connected with finance which might be raised in Parliament. One day, whilst engaged in this duty, it was noticed by the Parliamentarian that his adviser was much *perturbed*, and, on inquiring what was the matter, he received
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the following reply: 'There has been to-day a warm discussion in the Finance Committee as to the taxes to be remitted or imposed in India. My views have been over-ruled. To that I do not object. But Mr. ——— would constantly quote against me the opinion of Mr. John Stuart Mill. Mr. John Stuart Mill! I knew him well. I was a great friend of his. We worked together for many years in the same room: he was an admirable writer, but' (his voice rising *crescendo*) 'I can truly say that any man who would accept Mr. John Stuart Mill's opinion on a practical point of finance would justly be esteemed an idiot.'

At the time when Mr. Smith began his duties in the House, the prospects of Conservatism were black. Not since the Reform Parliament of 1832 had the party been in so small a minority, whilst the majority, unlike that of the earlier date, was homogeneous, and under the undisputed control of a great parliamentary tactician. Mr. Disraeli was so discredited by the failure of his franchise predictions, that no small section of his party thought they should look elsewhere for a leader, and in that opinion Mr. Smith was disposed to share.

If the prospects of the party to which he had attached himself were bad, Mr. Smith's likelihood of making for himself a parliamentary reputation seemed also small. He was an indifferent speaker in all external attributes; his voice was thin and weak, his diction somewhat halting, and he was wholly devoid of the histrionic and magnetic properties which so impress popular meetings and assemblies. Notwithstanding all these impediments, so rapid was the resuscitation of the Tory party, and so general the recognition of Mr. Smith's solid and practical ability, that, in less than nine years from his entering Parliament, he became a Cabinet Minister of the highest rank.

In his first session Mr. Smith spoke seldom and briefly, and only on questions he thoroughly understood; the sagacity and grip of his subject shown in his few speeches made a favourable impression on all who heard them, but in the subsequent session he became the hero of the hour. The disproportion in number between the two sides made it exceedingly difficult to raise any question or to make any motion which, if pushed to a division, did not advertise the overwhelming strength of the Government. Mr. Disraeli generally discountenanced divisions unless necessary for the assertion of a principle, as they tended to solidify the ministerial majority. It fell, however, to Mr. Smith's lot to bring forward a motion on the subject of the ground reclaimed from the Thames by the new embankment, by which he was able to inflict a severe defeat on the Government, and

subsequent years to drive them from every position they occupied until they capitulated to his original terms.

A considerable amount of ground had, by the expenditure of the London ratepayers, been reclaimed in the immediate neighbourhood of a dense population: the Government proposed to assert the rights of the Woods and Forests Office over the foreshore by taking this ground and building public offices upon it; Mr. Smith contended that it should be reserved as a pleasure-ground and garden for the people of the Metropolis. Mr. Lowe and Mr. Gladstone most vehemently opposed this idea, as 'opposed to the law of the land,' by which Crown lands were to be farmed to bring in the most revenue,—a proposition which, if pushed to its full conclusion, would have required the parks of London to be covered with streets of buildings. The House, by a majority of 158 to 108, rejected these extreme pretensions, and in the majority was included every metropolitan member except Mr. Ayrton. Great was the delight of the Opposition at this victory; the Government unwisely decided not to yield to the evident wishes of the House and Metropolis: Committee after Committee was appointed to postpone or alter the decision arrived at by the House; but these tactics only aggravated the dimensions of the original defeat, and made Mr. Smith, the solitary Conservative metropolitan member, the champion of the rights of London against the apparently arrogant appropriation by a Liberal Government of land not equitably belonging to them. Ultimately, in 1873, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests accepted Mr. Smith's terms, and the ground thus acquired was, later on, opened publicly by him, as an ornamental garden for the Metropolis; and his conduct throughout this prolonged controversy raised him much in the estimation of his party as a shrewd and able tactician. In this session he also took a leading part in the discussion on the Elementary Education Bill, and it was largely due to his influence that Mr. Forster consented to change his original proposal of twenty-three School Boards for London by the creation of one Central Board for the whole of the Metropolis, to which Mr. Smith was returned as a member at the first election. At the very outset of its proceedings Mr. Smith solved the thorny question of religious instruction in Board Schools by carrying a resolution ordering that the Bible should be read, and instruction in religious subjects given thereon. Every subsequent attempt to upset the basis of this compromise has acted prejudicially to the interests of those on whose behalf the change is demanded,—good proof of the wisdom and *prescience* of the men who originally carried it. So great were the
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services which, in the first two years, he had rendered to the School Board, that in 1873 he only avoided being elected its Chairman by saying 'that nothing would induce me to take it permanently, and so my friends gave way, and I think I shall escape being nominated.'

Mr. Smith had by this time established the reputation of being a strong and reliable man, whose brain-power and capacity were much above his facility of speech. The Government, during this period, were steadily losing ground, both in the home and at by-elections, till, in March 1873, they were defeated on the Irish University Bill. Though compelled to continue in office, their prestige was gone, and the Conservatives continued to carry all before them until, by the loss of a seat at Bath in October 1873, they received a check which was especially noticeable, as Mr. Disraeli had, in anticipation of a victory, written a strongly-worded and epigrammatic letter of denunciation of the Government. The distrust with which he was still regarded by many of his followers is shown by a letter of Mr. Smith's written just after the defeat. 'Disraeli has ruined himself, and rendered reconstruction of parties—a new choice of leaders—almost inevitable.'

Within four months of writing that a new leader was 'inevitable,' Mr. Smith came within reach of the enchanter's wand, by accepting the appointment of Financial Secretary to the Treasury in Lord Beaconsfield's Government. From that time forth we hear no more about the reconstruction of parties, or the selection of a new leader.

Sir Herbert Maxwell seems to think that a considerable section of the Tory party looked 'askance' upon this appointment. So far as we can gather from the press or the opinions of men in Parliament at that time, the appointment was universally approved, it being felt that, politically and personally, Mr. Smith deserved recognition both for the great service he had done the party and for his own intrinsic merits. In the General Election of 1874 the Conservatives gained 9 out of 16 contested metropolitan seats, and these victories were largely due to Mr. Smith's initiative and his management of the Thames Embankment question. Amongst the causes contributing to the defeat of the late Government were the discourtesy and incapacity of two successive Treasury Secretaries, Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Baxter. Both seemed to take a pleasure in snubbing and irritating those who questioned them, or who had to transact business with the department they represented. The work of the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, especially if he be entrusted with the management of the business of the House,

brings him much in contact with Members from all parts of the House, and no member of the Government has more opportunities of popularizing the Government with the House of Commons than this official. Mr. Smith became an ideal Secretary. Omniscience he was compelled to assume, for it is the first qualification of the Treasury; but he moderated the assumption of universal knowledge with a courtesy and the possession of an actual knowledge which at once endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. Whilst zealously guarding the Treasury, his pleasant 'no' was preferable to the acrimonious 'aye' of his predecessors; his quickness in unravelling traditional interdepartmental controversies, his consideration in suggesting that a refusal to a request made in one shape might be converted into acquiescence if the request came otherwise, and his extraordinary business instincts, taught all about him that he was a financial administrator of no ordinary type. No one more quickly recognized his business genius than Mr. Disraeli, for it exactly supplied that in which, as a Minister, he was himself most deficient. Questions outside the sphere of authority of an ordinary Secretary were referred to him for settlement, and so great was the confidence of the Prime Minister in his subordinate that it became a formula to his private Secretaries, when any thorny administrative trouble required a settlement, 'that it should be referred to Mr. Smith for his opinion.'

The confidence thus reposed in him largely added to the heavy burdens of work naturally belonging to his office, and in the middle of the session of 1877, whilst walking home late at night with a friend, he told him that his doctors had reported that he was killing himself with overwork. Relief, however, came suddenly and unexpectedly. Mr. Ward Hunt died whilst First Lord of the Admiralty, and a few days afterwards Mr. Smith received a letter from Lord Beaconsfield offering him the vacancy in these flattering words:—

'If you accept this post, I doubt not you will fulfil its duties with the same devotion and ability which have distinguished your transaction of affairs in the all-important department to which you are now attached.'

He accepts the promotion, but whilst his appointment brings him from all sides congratulations and approval, he is himself still diffident as to his capacities and fitness for his new office. No success, however continuous, is able to get rid of his innate humility as to his deficiencies. To his wife he says:—

'The responsibility is very great, and nothing would have induced me to seek it; but as I am told I am deemed fit for the work, I do *not think* I ought to refuse it.'

And

And again to an old friend :—

‘I am really almost sad, for now I am one of the twelve men who are responsible for the government of the country, and I am at the head of a great department in which it is more easy to fail than to succeed ; but I look for strength and wisdom, and I trust it may be given me.’

Sir Stafford Northcote, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in writing to congratulate Mrs. Smith on her husband’s promotion, condoles with himself in losing so able and strong an adviser.

‘I am troubled to know what to do without my right-hand. . . . Nobody would have succeeded as your husband has done in this office. He has had a very important, laborious, and delicate task to discharge, and I do not think he has made a slip in the whole three years. He carries with him the affection as well as the respect and good wishes of us all.’

High as is this eulogy, it was fully endorsed by Lord Beaconsfield, who, in a letter written in 1877, told Mr. Smith that he was the best Financial Secretary he had ever known.

The promotion was rapid, but the compliment paid him was far greater than an advancement in ordinary times to a first-class political post implies, and of this he suddenly becomes aware ; for, writing to his wife at Homburg, he informs her :—

‘There is a heavy drawback to this new duty. Beach tells me that the Cabinet have been warned that none of them must go out of reach of a sudden summons to a meeting ; so that while foreign affairs are in the present critical state, I could not go further from London than this (Greenlands) or the coast.’

To place a London tradesman at the head of the first fighting service in the world was, as Sir Herbert points out, a remarkable compliment to the qualities of the man so selected ; but the circumstances prevailing abroad at the moment made the appointment especially noteworthy. Turkey and Russia had for some time been engaged in a war of unusual dimensions, and it was more than probable that, as the war progressed, Great Britain might be compelled to intervene in defence of her interests in the East, and, if any such interference did occur, upon the Navy would be imposed the brunt of the work. Yet at this critical moment the Prime Minister deliberately selected out of all the men available around him this diffident pacific man as the individual who was the most likely to help him if the use of the Navy became necessary to carry out his vigorous policy.

Lord Beaconsfield’s knowledge of human character had not misled him, and during the anxious period of the next twelve months, ending with the memorable Treaty of Berlin, he never

had

had reason to regret the promptitude or determination of the colleague he thus suddenly raised to be his helpmate.

After the resignation of Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Smith's presence in the Cabinet, from his known moderation and sobriety, also did much to reassure the country, that the objects of the policy from which they had seceded were pacific and precautionary; and the large majorities, which in the House of Commons the Government obtained, whenever their actions were challenged, were greatly due to a general acceptance of this assumption.

In 1879 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. at Oxford; and the Regius Professor of Civil Law, on whom fell the duty of introducing the candidates, happily described the First Lord of the Admiralty 'as one whose fleets crossed the sea, and his newspapers the land,' whilst the undergraduates welcomed him with the Admiral's song from 'Pinafore.' On this occasion he was in memorable company, for the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Earl of Dufferin, the Bishop of Durham, and Sir Frederick Leighton were recipients of the same honour.

After the Treaty of Berlin the inevitable reaction against expenditure set in, exaggerated by bad times and the cost of military operations in Afghanistan and Zululand. Mr. Smith loyally co-operated with his old chief, Sir Stafford Northcote, in endeavouring to reduce the expenditure of his own department, and thus his great administrative faculties hardly had fair scope in reforming or improving the Navy. Still, on the resignation of the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, he carried away with him from the Admiralty the good will of all with whom he had worked, and such an appreciation of his administrative capacity as to cause a general wish for his return.

So popular was Mr. Smith that, at the disastrous election of 1880, he polled almost the same number as six years back he had obtained when the unpopularity of Mr. Gladstone's policy was at its zenith; but elsewhere things went badly. Writing to his wife, he says, 'The elections are all going against us'; and then, with that reliance on an over-ruling Providence which so constantly crops up in his correspondence, he adds, 'We know, however, that there is a Ruler, and that the votes of men can be controlled by Him, and I am quite content.'

As one of the leaders of the Opposition he had, from 1880 to 1885, a period of comparative rest; the Parnellite party being in such numbers and antagonism to the Government that the greater part of these sessions was occupied with Irish debates of acrimony and violence, in many of which the intervention of
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the official Opposition was unnecessary. We then get during these years a pleasant insight into Mr. Smith's relations with his friends, family, and dependants. Being an acknowledged leader of the party, he moved from his old residence in Hyde Park Street to a large house in Grosvenor Place, which became one of the centres of Conservative hospitality and entertainment. As a host he was charming, and his home dinners and household all bore the strong impress of his personality, being excellent, unpretentious, and admirably organized. The celerity and smoothness with which even the largest of his dinners were disposed of within the hour, was a lesson to many more ambitious Amphitryons; his genial cordiality in the entertainment of his guests, shared by all the members of his family, was unaffected; and, as a landed proprietor, his relations with his neighbours, his tenants and dependants, were a model. But it is in his correspondence with his family and friends that we get glimpses of the simplicity, unselfishness, and grandeur of the real inner man. Take, for instance, his description of his installation as First Lord of the Admiralty:—

‘My patent has come to-day, and I have taken my seat at the Board, who address me as “Sir” in every sentence. It is strange, and makes me shy at first; but I have to do what I hardly like—to send for them, not to go to them; but they tell me they expect me, as their chief, to require respect.’

Here is an extract from a letter to Sir Stafford Northcote on the composition of the future Government:—

‘I am perfectly ready to stand aside altogether, and to give you from the back benches all the help I can to bring things round. We have a very stormy and dark future before us, and no personal interest or personal ambition ought to stand in the way of doing the best that is possible.’

On accepting the leadership of the House in 1887:—

‘My ground of hope and trust, not confidence, is that I believe I am doing my duty. I could not help it, unless I had shrunk for fear of personal consequences to myself, and it does not matter what happens to me or my reputation, if for the time being the work is going on.’

And to Lord Iddesleigh, urging him not to give up office:—

‘I do not like the work I am called to do. I distrust my own powers to do it, and I remain and try, probably facing political death, because I am told it is my duty.’

Writing from the Treasury Bench, physically tired and depressed from interminable obstruction:—

'As I grow older I realize that I am getting to the end myself, and while the close of life loses any terror it once had, the duty of being useful to all around me, of so using my power and my life as to do the best I can under any circumstances in which I find myself, comes home to me every day with greater strength.'

Or on accepting fresh work as a member of the Army and Navy Commission, of which Lord Hartington was chairman:—

'Salisbury thought there was no one else to do it from among us, and as I can be only at work at day, I may as well do one thing as another. And it is all work in the highest sense of the word—the discharge of duty—and that gives me strength.'

Again, as his health was giving way:—

'I should never have dreamt of putting myself forward for this work. It is a burden, and an anxiety as well; but it is difficult sometimes to see for one's self the plain line of duty. . . . Is it the burden of responsibility and care which is heavy, where there is no personal ambition to help a man to bear it, warping one's judgment and making one long to escape and be at rest? Perhaps it is; at all events I will wait patiently, and go on with my daily task until the change comes.'

We have taken these extracts almost at random from the whole period of his official career, though some of them relate to years of office we have not yet reviewed, to show the extraordinary self-abnegation, unselfishness, and courage of this man's life. He had everything to make life enjoyable except strong health. Wealth, reputation, the happiest of domestic circles, and an immense power of enjoyment in making others happy were all his; and yet for the sake of performing unpalatable work, because it was his duty, he wilfully risked his life, and deprived himself during the last years of his existence of the legitimate enjoyment of his hard and early toil. It would be difficult to find in the whole political life of this country a nobler example of self-denying patriotism.

Admirable as were many of his qualities, he wanted the physical power and disposition to play a truculent and pushing part while in Opposition, and the least remarkable period of his political life was that spent on the front bench to the left of the Speaker. The official Opposition were much hampered by their want of crisp and effective debaters, and by the prominent part that remarkable band of men known as the Fourth Party took in all important discussions. The opponents of the Government were divided into three parties, those led by Sir Stafford Northcote, those following Lord Randolph Churchill, and those under the orders of Mr. Parnell. The power of
speech

speech of the last two sections was much more racy and telling than that of the *ex-Ministers*. Sir Stafford Northcote was in failing health, and Mr. Smith, conscious as he was of the want of go and vigour in the quarter where he sat, would not himself, so far as speaking and interposition in debate were concerned, supply what he knew was lacking. Many unjust aspersions were thus cast on him for the restraining influence he was supposed to exercise over those with whom he acted, but his consideration for the feelings of his leader compelled him to stand by him against criticisms, the justice of which he to a certain extent acknowledged. Still his influence with the less violent partisans on both sides did not recede, though it was felt rather than seen, and the moderation and strength which he exhibited during the agitation for an increase of the Navy in 1886 largely contributed to the success of that movement.

He visited Ireland, and made sagacious and careful enquiries into the land tenure system then existing, arriving at the strong conviction that a wholesale purchase scheme was the only remedy for the chaos which continuous and inconsistent legislation had created. In June, 1884, the Government were defeated on their Budget, their followers declining to support them; and thus the Opposition, composed of Conservatives and some forty Home Rulers, found themselves in a majority of twelve.

Lord Salisbury had considerable difficulty in the formation of his Government, but ultimately an arrangement was made by which Sir Stafford Northcote moved up as Earl of Iddesleigh to the Upper House, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach taking his place in the Commons. This apparent deposition of an amiable and most capable politician is attributed in these memoirs entirely to the hostility of the Fourth Party, but no evidence whatever in support of this contention is produced from Mr. Smith's letters or papers. On the contrary, in writing a year later upon Lord Iddesleigh's sudden death in Downing Street, he says: 'I have known for years that there must be a sudden close to his life.' We believe that, whenever an authentic account is written of the formation of the 1885 Government, it will be found that the only reason for Sir Stafford Northcote's supersession was the unanimous opinion of all his older colleagues that his frail and uncertain health rendered it dangerous to himself and his followers that he should, at this critical time, undertake the heavy duties of Leader of the House.

In taking the War Office as his department in the new Government, Mr. Smith acted with his usual magnanimity. 'My office,' he writes, 'is nominally superior to the Admiralty, but I should have preferred my old post. I have taken, how-

ever, that which the Chief thought best for me and for the Government.' Translated into plain English, this means he took an onerous office he did not like, and gave up an easier one he did like and could have claimed, in order that a younger and less experienced colleague might not have a duty put upon him which might be beyond his strength. In the few months he was at the War Office, he showed the same rare powers of quick perception, administrative grip, and of attaching others to him, which had been his characteristics throughout life. So soon as the election was over, and he was returned for a division of his old constituency by the large majority of 5,645, as against 2,486, he received a letter from Lord Salisbury, asking him to undertake the post of Secretary for Ireland: 'It is the post of difficulty now, and therefore the post of honour. . . . The difficulties are formidable. I am afraid you are the only person who can avert them.' The formidable difficulties alluded to were not merely those inseparable from the administration of Ireland in ordinary times, but the fresh stock of trouble which the strange political events of the last six months had added to the ordinary anxieties of an Irish Secretary.

The powers given by the Crimes Act of 1881 had lapsed with the prorogation of the Parliament of 1885. The attempt to govern Ireland under the ordinary law had failed even when associated with the conciliatory methods of Lord Carnarvon. Boycotting and intimidation had spread during his short tenure of office with remarkable rapidity. Mr. Parnell, in accordance with his unflinching practice, had given his support in 1885, as in the general election of 1880, to the weaker party, that he might hold the balance of power. Contrary to the confident predictions of the managers of the Liberal party, the Conservatives returned in the new Parliament a now compact body of 250 members, a number some 50 in excess of what their opponents deemed to be possible, while their opponents were 50 short of their lowest estimate. The Parnellite party numbered 86, being within an unit of what it was known before the election they would be. Simultaneously with Mr. Parnell becoming master of the situation, Mr. Gladstone hoisted the Home Rule flag. It was clear that Ireland could only be governed by strengthening the ordinary law, and it was equally clear that any attempt to strengthen the existing law could only be successful with the co-operation of those sections of the Liberal party who were not prepared to follow Mr. Gladstone in his repudiation of his past self. The best, if not the only, prospect of securing the support of these doubtful men was to appoint as Irish Secretary the man in whose character, moderation,

moderation, judgment, and firmness they could place the fullest reliance. The acceptance by Mr. Smith of this unpleasant duty was not surprising, as he never refused responsibility, but his selection for the work is noteworthy, as showing how high his reputation was, not merely with his own party, but also with his opponents. Short as was his tenure of office, for he was only 72 hours in Ireland, it was sufficient to convince him that the position was retrievable, and that the exercise of courage and firmness in Parliament and in Ireland would fully restore the lost authority of the law; and this strong view sustained him in the dark hours of the struggle of the future.

On the retirement of the Government of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Smith had attained a position above that of the ordinary Cabinet Minister. For, despite his weakness as a debater, he was regarded on both sides as the man fit for work or duties outside the capacity of an average Cabinet Minister. Fresh from contact with authorities in Ireland, who had convinced him that order and law could be re-established, it is not surprising that the pusillanimity and crudity of the Home Rule and Land Bills of 1886 stirred up in him a sense of deep indignation, the wrath of a strong man who always faced duty. Writing on April 27th, he thus expresses himself:—

‘I have been studying the new Home Rule and the Land Purchase Bill in the quiet here (Lake of Como), and if these Bills pass, I am very much inclined to clear out of the Old Country altogether, with such means as I can carry away with me, and find a home clear of the dishonour of English politics. But we are not beaten in the fight yet, only one’s indignation grows. Better, more honest Bills would have been drawn by a College debating society.’

In the election following Mr. Gladstone’s appeal to the country, Mr. Smith was returned by a larger majority than before by the electors of the Strand, and in Lord Salisbury’s second Government he went back to the War Office, where he soon developed the kindly relations with all around him which his first tenure of that office had established.

When Lord Randolph Churchill suddenly retired from the leadership of the House of Commons in December 1886, his successor had to be rapidly nominated, and there were only two men on the Conservative side capable of assuming the duties he had resigned, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Smith. But the former could not be spared from Ireland, where the Parnellite allies of Mr. Gladstone were trying to make government in their island impossible. The selection of Mr. Smith as future leader did not take the Conservative party by surprise, so soon as they had recovered from the nine days’ wonder of his predecessor’s

predecessor's resignation; but that the experiment was a hazardous one was felt by no one more acutely than by him who was selected for the post.

As each Reform Act makes Parliament more democratic, the opportunities afforded for unexpected debate and questioning without notice are more and more utilized by that increasing proportion of members who live on the changing sensation of the hour. The questions and subjects suddenly sprung upon Ministers, and especially upon the Leader of the House, require, if they are to be effectively disposed of, readiness and dexterity of speech; Mr. Smith's weakness was his lack of the 'gift of the gab.' He had succeeded wherever he had been placed, because power of action, rather than power of speech, was the first requirement for success; now the conditions were reversed; eloquence and facility of speech were primarily necessary; could anyone do otherwise than fail who lacked these qualifications? The conflict, into the thickest of which, as a leader, he must at once plunge, was the bitterest and most important of the last half-century—no quarter was to be expected, and against him were allied the greatest and most versatile orator of the day, and the ablest and most unscrupulous of parliamentary tacticians. His own immediate party were in a minority. There was only one quarter from which he could expect assistance, but this section of the House was composed of men many of whom had all their lives been in collision with the Tory party, and agreed with them on nothing save Home Rule, while agreeing with the Gladstonians on every point except Home Rule. Was it possible for anyone to weld together, out of these elements, a majority firm enough to stand the inevitable hammering which awaited any party who had recourse to the old and discarded methods of asserting the authority of the law in Ireland, and, by governing Ireland and meeting the legislative wants of Great Britain, endeavoured to explode the fallacy that Ireland so blocked the way that any terms she might dictate must be assented to? The task was a desperate one, but how it was accomplished is now so much a matter of public history, that it is unnecessary to trace at length its vicissitudes, except so far as they bear on the personal action and character of the new Leader of the House of Commons.

Gloomy as were the prospects before him when he became Leader, they became worse during the next few weeks. His old and beloved friend Lord Iddesleigh fell down dead in one of the ante-rooms of the Treasury; Mr. Goschen, as his new colleague, was defeated in his first endeavour to return to *Parliament*, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's health and eyesight

so failed that he was obliged to retire from the Government. A round-table conference on Home Rule was initiated by Mr. Gladstone to bring back the erring sheep into his fold; and ominous rumours were afloat that the old shepherd's crook had not failed in the recapture of some of his lost flock. The session of 1887 was the longest and most rancorous on parliamentary record. The events of the last few weeks had greatly encouraged the Home Rulers, who believed their opponents to be disorganized and their Leader incompetent. They attacked the Government furiously, the early months of the session being a continuous *ding-dong* fight. The debate on the Address lasted from January 27th to February 17th, when it was carried by closure; the first rule for the reform of procedure in the House occupied thirteen nights, and by June 10th only four clauses of the Crimes Bill had been carried. When the House was prorogued, towards the end of September, the Unionists had been successful all down the line of conflict; they had carried their two great Irish measures, a Crimes Bill and a Land Bill; Ireland no longer blocked the way, either as ungovernable in itself, or as an insurmountable obstruction to legislation, in subsequent sessions, for other parts of the United Kingdom. Under most trying conditions the new Leader had succeeded. His methods and tactics differed from those of several of his predecessors, yet, taking the session as a whole, few mistakes had been made; on no occasion had he been outgeneralled, and the House generally recognized that, under a diffident manner and unpretentious mien, there existed, to a pre-eminent degree, the qualities of tact, dexterity, straightforwardness, and strength. He had been tested in the very highest sphere of political work, and from that time forth he was associated with a prestige and authority that in subsequent years lightened and relieved the burden of his duties.

It will not be out of place here to investigate what were the sources of strength enabling an indifferent speaker, with no special power of expression or command of original language, to lead and control effectively, for nearly five troublous years, an assembly so capricious and turbulent as the House of Commons. Conscious of his defects as a speaker, his speeches were terse and short, but adequate to the occasion, and colleagues and followers unconsciously take their cue from their leader. A great orator, who cannot answer a question without a speech, or make a speech on any subject under half an hour, sets an example in consuming time which others soon follow; long speeches become the rule and rapid transaction of business the exception. In no Parliament of modern days has so large a proportion of
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the leading subjects mentioned in the Queen's speeches passed into law as in that led by Mr. Smith, because he made it his business to push on legislation and curtail speaking.

He wasted little time in the preparation or elaboration of speeches, but he looked most carefully into the principle and details of almost every Bill brought in by his Government, and he paid especial attention to questions put, or motions made, by private members, thus gaining a personal knowledge of and insight into the peculiarities and vagaries of the members themselves that he never failed to utilize when opportunity offered.

In the management and arrangement of the Order Book and business of the House he was specially dexterous, and a rare adept in obtaining the time of the House for any special Bill or object he might wish to expedite. As a negotiator he was without a rival, and in all the many transactions to which he was a party he was never outmanœuvred or outwitted, and on the other hand he never attempted to trick or delude opponents by ambiguous expressions, and always adhered to the spirit and letter of an agreement made. He was thus a lesser target to his opponents than many other Leaders of the House of Commons. No personal attack upon him could elicit more than a few words in reply, and no bluster or bullying had any effect upon the decision he had announced. These negative qualities, associated with a conciliatory and pleasant manner that nothing could ruffle, soon had their effect upon his opponents; they could not help liking him personally, and this liking was soon changed into esteem when they saw the self-sacrifice he was making from a sense of duty alone in carrying out antipathetic duties. But the relations he established between himself and his followers and allies were of a very different nature.

So long as the two wings of the Unionist party held together they were omnipotent in that Parliament. Two sets of politicians of widely different ideas, except on one subject, could not harmoniously co-operate through the changing business of a session unless there were mutual concessions. Nobody was more capable of obtaining such concessions to the common cause than a man whose very Leadership involved the highest self-sacrifice. To form a constant and reliable coalition for all parliamentary purposes was Mr. Smith's first duty, and his ingenuity was at the outset sorely tested. The Crimes Bill and the Irish Land Bill of 1887 each tried the strength of the links which bound together the Unionists; some Liberal Unionists did not favour the first; many Conservatives disliked the Land Bill; yet in neither case were there any serious defections.

Having at the outset established a working equation of views
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between the two branches of his supporters, he never lost sight of this difficulty in subsequent years, and his smooth touch and firm hand almost invariably effaced any symptom of subsequent disagreement.

With the Conservative party his relations were even pleasanter. His hospitality, accessibility, unfailing patience and charm of manner to all who sought him for advice or for the transaction of business, so gratified his supporters that his position towards them gradually came rather to resemble that of the head of a family than that of a political leader, whilst the sagacity and prescience of judgment he invariably displayed in his action as Leader more than compensated for his want of ornate speech.

One of the most invidious of the present duties of a Cabinet Minister is the moving of the Closure; some are too impatient, some too slow, some too nervous to grasp the exact moment where, with the consent of the Chairman and the least irritation to opponents, the debate can be summarily closed. 'Smith's pounce,' as it was familiarly called, was unerring; he hit upon the exact instant when, in the opinion of reasonable men, the discussion had been adequate, and rarely in the discharge of this repressive duty did he fail in his object, or elicit from those silenced genuine demonstrations of annoyance.

Quiet and unassuming as he was, he could, when necessary, assert an exceptional authority over his colleagues and subordinates, but the exercise of his influence was so judicious and benevolent that those brought under its sway accepted or anticipated its conclusions as if they were their own. How could anyone refuse to undertake an unpleasant duty, or decline some task he did not like, when the request came from a leader overburdened by his self-denying work, and when its acceptance would in some infinitesimal degree afford to him relief? Whilst he was leader he never lost a colleague or subordinate, never alienated a supporter, never incensed an adversary.

At the close of this memorable session Mr. Smith was physically quite prostrate, for, successful as his method had proved, it necessitated a wear and tear of body and mind he could ill sustain. The personal qualities of the leader himself must largely determine his *modus operandi*; one may be so endowed with the inspiration of the instant and the magnetic influence of an assertive personality as to be able to dispense with preliminary investigation of the difficulties or trouble of the hour, while in another the insufficiency of such qualities can only be made good by unremitting vigilance and circumspection, and Mr. Smith belonged to the latter rather than to the former class of Leader. Yet, successful and assiduous as he had been,

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he was unable to prevent an injudicious supporter, Sir Charles Lewis, from starting a troublous question in a shape which for years to come gave him such increasing anxiety and annoyance that it may truly be said to have tended to the shortening of his life. The circumstances that led to the Parnell Commission are so well known as to require no general statement. Any impartial reviewer of that parliamentary period must admit that the appointment and proceedings of the Commission damaged rather than benefited the political prospects of the Unionist party, whilst it is equally clear that, to the fatuous motion which Sir C. Lewis in 1887 persisted in making, contrary to the protests of the Unionist leaders, may be attributed the train of events which ultimately compelled the Government to have recourse to a Commission.

In the earlier stages of the controversy Mr. Smith's hands were forced; in the final stage he was free to exercise his discretion, and his proceedings were thoroughly characteristic. The Report issued in February 1890 by the Commission, whilst declaring the published letters to be forgeries, proved and condemned in emphatic terms the criminality of the whole organization and agitation of which Mr. Parnell was the head, but which, since the fusion of the Gladstonian and Parnellite parties, had received the official *imprimatur* of the former. The Radical press and party committed the silly mistake of eulogizing the Report of the Commission as a complete acquittal of their allies, before they had fully mastered its contents. Mr. Smith patiently waited until his opponents had irretrievably committed themselves, and then he gave notice that he should move that the Report be adopted by the House and inscribed in its journals. Seldom was an attacking political party more taken aback, or made to look more foolish, than by this simple but ingenious motion; their own words were too fresh to be explained away. One course only was open to them: to re-try the case before the House of Commons, and a singularly dull debate, ending with the substantial majority of 65 for the Government, was the prosaic conclusion of the series of strange and sensational episodes connected with 'Parnellism and Crime.'

The sessions of 1888, 1889, and 1890 were largely devoted to Imperial and British subjects, which were not contested in a bitter spirit; with the exception of the Irish debates upon everything and everybody connected with the Irish Government, the parliamentary atmosphere, though heated, was less thunderous than in the preceding year. But the strain of keeping together a dual party, and the incessant guerilla warfare waged by the
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Nationalist and Radical members, gave the leader of the House no rest or leave from duty. Early in 1889 he pressed his resignation on Lord Salisbury, and in reply was told that,

‘if you had heard the general expression of consternation with which the apparent failure of your health was watched by the principal men of the party, you would have no doubt that in their judgment your retirement from the lead in the House of Commons would be one of the heaviest blows that could befall it.’

This opinion was subsequently endorsed by a spontaneous presentation to him of an address, signed by the great bulk of the Unionist party, expressing high approval of his leadership, and pressing him to remain; so the dutiful and self-sacrificing public servant stayed at his post, conscious of the risk he ran. In the following year, overwork and anxiety produced an outbreak of violent eczema, ‘depriving him of sleep at night, and of repose by day’; but he still resolutely held on to his work. To his doctor, on the 10th July, 1890, he writes privately, explaining his position:—

‘You let drop the words yesterday, “Is the game worth the candle?” . . . a sense of loyalty to my colleagues and to the country keeps me with them so long as they want me to stay, and I am at all able to do the work.’

Through the session of 1890 he managed to drag himself, and it was hoped that a course of baths at La Bourboule, and a subsequent cruise in the Mediterranean during the recess, might restore to him some recuperative vitality. On his return from abroad he found himself suddenly called upon to face the prospects of a financial catastrophe, unparalleled in magnitude, caused by the prospective insolvency of the great house of Baring. Strong testimony was borne by the Governor of the Bank of England to the decision and sagacity with which Mr. Smith averted this calamity, and the promptitude with which he initiated a guarantee fund by a contribution of £100,000 was, at that critical time, a lead and example of untold value to unstrung and distracted financiers. Early in November the divorce case occurred in which Mr. Parnell was the undefended defendant, and in December the parliamentary session opened auspiciously for the Unionist party, who had the amusement of watching the various sections of the Gladstonian-Nationalist party lustily belabouring one another with the vituperative abuse and personalities of which they had, for the last six years, been the sole recipients. Peace reigned in the House of Commons, while the storm raged in No. 15 Committee Room. The

Address was voted in one night; the Tithes and Irish Land Bills were read a second time without division. Friends and colleagues noted with concern the wan and worn looks of the leader, his lack of tone and strength, and, as the session progressed, his diminishing vitality.

About Easter time in 1891 the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports became vacant by the death of Lord Granville, and the Queen, through Lord Salisbury, offered Mr. Smith the high honour, with the happy compliment, 'No one deserves it more than he does.' His acceptance of this historical post elicited from all political parties a kindly appreciation of his services and merits, culminating in the refusal of the Radical party to contest his re-election, necessary under an obsolete statute. The filippic this generous recognition of his work gave to his overstrained physique soon died away, and a few weeks afterwards he was violently attacked by gout, which at first seemed to benefit him, but his want of strength prevented him from shaking off this ailment, which slowly yet steadily seemed to make itself his master. He insisted, contrary to his colleagues' remonstrances, in attending the House, and on July 10th, though obviously very unwell, he answered a question put to him in respect to an invitation to the President of the French Republic to visit England, believing that a reply from another official than the Leader of the House might offend the susceptibilities of our sensitive neighbours.

The following day, he felt himself strong enough to go on his visit to Hatfield, where the Emperor of Germany, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and a large and most distinguished gathering were enjoying Lord Salisbury's hospitality. He was warmly welcomed by all, and notably by the illustrious visitor, but on the day following his arrival a change for the worse in his appearance was noted by all with whom he came in contact. As the day went on his physiognomy and personality gradually became more and more impressed with the indescribable yet unmistakable stamp of one whose days are numbered, and later in the evening no one could approach him without noticing his pained and suffering attitude. Early next morning he returned home, and though, during the next few weeks, there were occasional flutterings of a revival of strength, yet the downward course of his vitality was so steady that a few weeks later the struggle was over.

His death elicited deep and genuine sorrow on all sides. The Queen mourned his death: 'The country and his sovereign lose in him one of the wisest and best statesmen, and kindest and best of men.'

LORD

Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall, in words which roused a sympathetic echo from his vast audience, thus described his lost friend :—

‘The death of my beloved colleague, Mr. Smith, is one which any Ministry and any party might feel as the deepest blow they could suffer. He was quite an exceptional man in his generation. He presented in the very highest form those splendid qualities which are developed in the commercial spirit of this country. His transparent honesty, his clearness and straightforwardness, his kind consideration for the feelings, the prejudices, the difficulties of all, his unbounded self-sacrifice, made up for the lack of that quality which is superficially supposed to govern the country, the quality of oratory alone. They secured for him undisputed and unparalleled influence among his colleagues and in the House of Commons, and they left behind him in the minds of those with whom he served a sense of affection and reverence that no time can efface.’

So ended the noble life of this good and remarkable man, a career unique amongst those of the public men of the country, from its unselfishness, self-sacrifice, and success.

No one can rise from reading these memoirs without feeling that he has been studying a career which is a lesson and example of how success in political life can be attained by the light of the highest Christian faith, and elevated above the mundane considerations of personal or party advancement.

ART. III.—1. *Natural History of Insects mentioned in Shakespeare's Plays.* By R. Patterson. London, 1842.

2. *The Ornithology of Shakespeare.* By J. E. Harting. London, 1892.

3. *The Henry Irving Shakespeare.* London, 1890.

DR. JOHNSON, when passing judgment upon Shakespeare, laid a trap for succeeding 'critics and editors' into which many of the profession have punctually fallen. 'Shakespeare,' said he, 'is, above all writers, the poet of nature.' Three times he says this. And again, 'Nor was Shakespeare's attention confined to the actions of men; he was an exact surveyor of the inanimate world; his descriptions have always some peculiarities, gathered by contemplating things as they really exist.' Finally he quotes with complete approval Dryden's saying, that Shakespeare 'needed not the spectacles of books to read nature.'

This phrase of Johnson's has been passed on by pen to pen, and in time his 'nature' has come to be written 'Nature,' and his words to mean that Shakespeare was a born naturalist. Now Johnson never meant anything of the kind; at any rate he never said it; but that delusive sentence, 'Nor was Shakespeare's attention confined to the actions of men; he was an exact surveyor of the inanimate world,' sounds so much as if he had, that it has more than once been the text upon which editors and critics have discoursed of Shakespeare's knowledge of the animal world, and the author of the *Entomology of Shakespeare* has actually made it the basis of his enthusiastic but worthless volume. The context of Johnson's words and of Dryden's have not circulated with the phrases that we quote, but there should be read after the first, 'for he holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and life,' and after the second, 'for he looked inwards and found her there.' By 'nature' both Johnson and Dryden meant 'human nature,' and the word was written without a capital. In the other sentence it should be noted that Johnson says, '*inanimate*,' and, failing to note this, critics and editors have one after the other quoted the great Doctor as vouching for the accuracy of Shakespeare's descriptions of animated Nature.

That he did not do so is a striking proof of Johnson's perspicacity. He brings together, without the intervening link of the animal world, 'human nature' and '*inanimate*' Nature, deceiving, perhaps, in the unexpected transition, the reader's mind, but thus displaying side by side the two aspects in which *the genius of Shakespeare* is most triumphantly asserted. As
to

to the poet's 'natural history' he said nothing; a self-restraint so remarkable in Dr. Johnson, who seldom indulged himself in the reservation of his opinion, that critics of Shakespeare's animated Nature should take special note of it. The words 'survey' and 'contemplate' are extremely happy when applied to inanimate objects, as distinct from that 'observation' of living creatures which so many enthusiasts, thinking they have the Doctor behind them, have insisted upon reading into Shakespeare. A poet can survey and contemplate the phenomena of the skies and the air, and give his 'attention to the actions of men,' without any of that particular form of 'love of nature,' as it is called, that leads him to observe 'the manners and life' of animals; and Johnson, being aware, probably from his own knowledge of himself, of the vast difference between the two processes, designedly said nothing about Shakespeare's beasts or birds. Who was more competent than the author of the 'Vanity of Human Wishes' to recognize the sublimity of Shakespeare's study of mankind, or who more becomingly diffident of passing judgment upon another poet's natural history than he, who was himself so chary of venturing upon it? So that those who have come forward thus light-heartedly, bucklered and greaved, as they thought, with a misquotation from Johnson, have after all been fighting on the wrong side; and though no consciousness of incompetence led them to withhold their opinion, they might at any rate have studied Shakespeare's text before they endowed him with accomplishments, which he nowhere claims, but even seems consistently to deprecate.

Chaucer wrote of what he saw and heard in the animal life about him with a sense of personal delight that convinces the reader of his familiarity with animate Nature. So, too, with Spenser. Though the scholar in him was often led aside by classical precedent, we are certain that his swans were real swans upon the Thames, and 'the culvers on the bared boughs' actually upon trees in the poet's sight. Ben Jonson, again, was beyond any doubt very fond of Nature, and singularly well-informed: had he finished his 'Sad Shepherd,' we should have possessed a most valuable and delightful document on the outdoor life of his time, for the fragment that we have is instinct with authentic observation and a fine fidelity to truth. Marlowe is quite different, preferring the bizarre and outlandish in natural history—the flying-fishes, remoras, and torpedos of Pliny—to the more moderate fauna of his own neighbourhood. Shakespeare resembles none of them. He borrows from Gower and Chaucer and Spenser; from Drayton and Du Bartas and Lyly and William Browne; from Pliny, Ovid, Virgil, and the Bible:
borrows.

borrows, in fact, everywhere he can, but with a symmetry that makes his natural history harmonious as a whole, and a judgment that keeps it always moderate and possible. But, with the exception of his treatment of the victims of the chase—an exception well worth the notice of those who claim him as an enthusiastic ‘sportsman’—he is seldom so personally sympathetic as to convince us of his sincerity; indeed, so very seldom, that the beautiful line about Clifford’s dead horse—‘the bonny beast he loved so well’—comes upon the student of the spirit of his natural history with a positive shock. But though he borrows so miscellaneously, he compresses all his details within strongly drawn outlines—too often, unfortunately, those of classical myths—and leaves nothing ragged at the edges. We can depend upon all his animals being consistent, doing the same and being the same whenever we meet them. Exquisite as his interpretations often are, a single epithet would cover all his nightingales, two apiece would suffice for his doves and larks, while the wolf, owl, and raven might almost all hide together under one. His lion is the chivalrous lion of Pliny and of romance; his tiger is Hyrcanian; and so on. In a word, his natural history is commonplace when it is correct, and ‘Elizabethan’ when it is wrong; but the manner of it is so beautiful, incomparably beautiful, that the matter borrows a beauty from it.

Indeed, if it were not for the momentous effect that Shakespeare’s handling of animated Nature has had on all succeeding poetry, and for the noisy championship of those who have misrepresented him with such industry that we are in danger of losing sight of the real man in the pretended scientist, this aspect of Shakespeare’s intellect might have been left, as Dr. Johnson left it, to silent and respectful acquiescence. As it is, Poetry has sung of Nature on Shakespeare’s lines with an extraordinary fidelity. A hundred poets say hardly more than one, each repeating after the other the prejudices of antiquity, the misreadings of Holy Writ, the absurdities of medieval heraldry and a folklore that was ancient before Chaucer. Because, in the mists of a remote past, a poet said a vulture gnawed Prometheus’s liver, the vulture has been gnawing livers ever since; the lion, ‘for such is the royal disposition of the beast,’ scorns to hurt the weak and generously seeks out an equal or superior foe; the toad, but for the jewel in its head, remains utterly abominable and venomous; the ‘fiendish’ owl and ‘fatal’ raven exult over man’s disasters; the ostrich is still ‘formed of God without a parent’s mind’; the female nightingale, leaving her eggs to addle, sings all night

right long about having had her tongue cut out; and so on, with the 'death divining' swan, the 'chaste' turtle, the blind mole and wicked bat, the bear with unlicked cubs, and ass fortunate in having so thick a skin to bear predestined cudgelling, and most of the rest of the poets' fauna. The nineteenth century, of course, marked a considerable departure from Elizabethan modes, but even within it the beasts and birds about us continued to be made ridiculous or abominable in the very phrases that Shakespeare made his own. Nor is it only the individuals which he misrepresented that continued to suffer, but whole groups of creatures. Thus the birds of prey, though so beautiful in plumage, so admirable in courage, so useful to man, fare very ill; and reptiles, a term that in poetry is co-extensive with an ordinary school-girl's list of 'horrid things' and includes the spider and the snail, fare worse. The monkey-folk, poor animals! are loaded with all the vices of humanity, and then abused for their 'postulatory resemblance' to man.

Nor is it in their direct reproach of many creatures that poets are alone to blame; for their neglect of many others deserving of their notice is quite as conspicuous. Outside of falconry, what mention do we find of the peregrine, the kestrel, or the merlin?—three beautiful creatures whose very names are poems. Or take our sea-fowl: how rare is the mention of a name, and yet what force a petrel, a fulmar, or an albatross gives to a line! Or take foreign birds: why are there no humming-birds in poetry, no orioles, no birds of paradise? They were well enough known more than two hundred years ago. Why should poets be content to work always with the pelican and the ostrich? There are many others of singular beauty, which afford, if the poets are in search of them, quite as convincing 'morals' as 'the silliest of the feathered kind, the steele-devouring estridge,' and the 'life-rendering pellicon.' Or turn to the beasts: the poets refuse to sympathise with the Carnivora, or to acknowledge their place in Nature: they are symbolical only of a purposeless or indiscriminate ferocity. While the lion is so greatly belauded, they have nothing but hard words to throw at the tiger; and as for its congeners, the noble heptarchy of the cats, there is in two hundred poets scarcely a mention of them, except the leopard, a wicked beast. Or our British quadrupeds: what can we find in poetry about that beautiful beast the badger, which is in itself a woodland poem, or the wild cat, or the pine-marten, perhaps not yet extinct in Britain, or even of the fox, except for abusing it and killing it? As for the smaller animals, the weasel and stoat, the water-vole, the dormouse and harvest-mouse, the hedge-
how

hog or the squirrel, all the mention that they get would scarcely satisfy the dignity of a cockatrice, or suffice for the night-raven. Lovers of Nature who have not rummaged our poets will be surprised to hear that there is hardly a kingfisher or a woodpecker in all their poems, hardly a dragon-fly or a recognizable moth. Who will find quotations about the osprey, the heron, the curlew, the bittern, the corncrake, or the night-jar, that will fill a page of this Review? And our little birds of song—that really make that woodland melody which poets so admire, and which they divide between the nightingale and the thrush—what can we find about them all put together, the bullfinch and goldfinch, the warblers, the woodlark, and the rest, that amounts to the praises bestowed on the death-song of the swan? Now why is this procedure so persistent, so stereotyped? Because each poet went for much of his ‘Nature’ to his predecessors, and all—to Shakespeare.

This poetical procedure of neglecting four-fifths of animated Nature and ill-treating four-fifths of the remainder, can of course be apologized for by the privilege of poetical license. In that case the license is simply the privilege of being unsympathetic, which is unbecoming in poets, so that the procedure of misrepresentation and neglect stands formally judged and condemned by the apologists themselves. Or it may be contended that it is unfair to expect all poets to be zoologists. Certainly, just as it would be preposterous to expect them to ‘observe’ birds and beasts from the taxidermist’s or poulterer’s point of view. And cases are to hand of too much science spoiling the poetry, as in Darwin, or Drayton, or Montgomery. On the other hand, if we examine, say Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Keats or Shelley, we find that every sympathetic touch of real Nature adds a vivid beauty to the line, just as in a score or two of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poets we find their lines on Nature are without life or charm because of their artificiality. Certainly there is no necessity for a poet to be a naturalist in order to be true to Nature; but there is the most urgent necessity that he should be in sympathy with Nature and ready to acknowledge the good and beautiful, even if it should approach him in such questionable shape as ‘the deadly owle,’ or ‘a full-blown toad that venom spits.’ It were an absurd pretension that poets should study zoology before they begin to write; but it is surely the poetry that becomes absurd, when writers, because the bird of paradise, ‘being legless,’ slept upon the wing, go on to make it lay its eggs on the wing and hatch them; or when the porcupine, said to shoot its quills at its assailants, is made to ‘whet them’

them' before attacking: or when they describe themselves as being enraptured at seeing an azure kingfisher feasting on amber berries, or at hearing sea-gulls 'warbling' on the main, or as being shocked at beholding a cruel vulture 'spring from the cliff upon the passing dove.' And why should the goldfinch and the butterfly be perpetually twitted about their 'gaiety,' and the latter be so often ungenerously told that it is only a maggot masquerading, and be called a harlot? What sympathy is there with the beautiful in such whimsical treatment of lovely little creatures? Burns knew nothing of natural history, but he does not abuse the goshawk which he sees 'drive on the wheeling hare,' and he speaks of the field-mouse, no friend to him, with the utmost tenderness. This feeling, which he shares with all the 'village' poets and some of the greatest, is the genuine universal sympathy, as distinguished from the spurious and occasional, of which Thomson is a notable exponent, and of which the great majority of poets stand in varying degrees convicted by their writings.

In many cases the treatment amounts to cruelty. What does the otter do that it should be so universally abused? It catches fish. What does the angler do that he should be so universally patted on the back? He catches fish. Now, can poets justify any distinction between the two, as affecting pitifulness for the fish? or, if they must make a distinction, why is it not in favour of the otter that kills from necessity, instead of the angler who kills 'for the fun of the thing'? Yet when the otter kills fish, the poets are up in arms for the poor fish; when the angler does the same, they sneer and giggle at the fish. But of course the otter eats what man wants to eat himself: so the otter is *anathema*. Or the fox. This truly charming little beast, which the rich encourage to live amongst their farmyards and to multiply for their sport, is habitually an object of detestation to poets. It is 'ruthless,' 'gaunt,' 'noxious,' 'wicked,' 'false,' 'greedy,' 'stinking,' 'obscene,' 'vagrant,' 'scoundrel fox,' 'felon,' 'knave,' 'villain,' 'nightly robber,' 'abhorred alive, more loathsome still when dead'! Why should there be all this pother? Why? Because he has taken a chicken home to feed his cubs and their suckling mother. But chickens are the property of man. So the poet exults over the destruction of the fox, revels in its horrible death, and applauds the fox-hunters—as if they hunted the fox because they wished to kill it for eating chickens!—for their exploit. Why is the tiger, again, so utterly abominable for doing that which the lion does 'by sovereignty of nature'? Their lives and objects are alike. Why should the vulture be persistently (and quite wrongfully) abused for
that

that which in the eagle is no offence? All poets say most charming things about larks and doves and rabbits; but why, then, do they congratulate trained falcons when they 'souse' them and tear them to pieces? Have fishes no claims whatever to a poet's sympathy? The student will have to search far to find any appreciable quantity. Are reptiles really such a disgrace to their Creator as poets say? Why should 'insects' be 'vermin'? The bee is magnified because it makes honey and wax—for man. The silkworm is always complimented upon its web. Wasps make no honey for man: they are altogether disreputable and vile. The spider spins silk only for itself: it is therefore a favourite simile for Satan.

Illustrations of these cruelties—for really they are nothing less—could be multiplied, but without serving any purpose. The above are sufficient. And as against them, it is of little avail to quote an appreciative passage here and another there; for, whatever the exceptions may be, the student cannot fail to be struck by the overwhelming uniformity of the rule: by the surprising similarity of one poet's natural history to that of another; by the identical *data* upon which each works; by the coincidence of the groups and species of animals against which they are prejudiced, as also of those which they agree to neglect specially; by the unanimity of their cruelty towards certain animals in particular; by the resemblance of the language which they use regarding them. He will, in fact, find that the natural history in poetry is curiously limited, and that within those limits it is stereotyped and formulated. Moreover, as he goes along, he will become aware of the truly terrific force that Shakespeare has been in the guidance and development of English thought. As he proceeds, he will recognize at every turn the master's phrases, but not the voice. He will discover, one by one, why certain animals are so inexplicably neglected, others, with as little apparent reason, misrepresented; why the poets are sometimes so tender, at other times so cruel; and why, in spite of constantly recurring passages that are beautifully sympathetic, there should seem to vibrate all through the poets' treatment of animals a jarring string of insincerity and want of observation. The reason for it all is to be found in Shakespeare.

But why, it will be asked, if he borrowed his own natural history from others, is he to bear the blame of the faults of those who followed him? Why? Simply because he is Shakespeare. His colossal individuality has absorbed into itself all that had been said before him, and it is enough for those who have come after him that 'Shakespeare said it.' How common it is to hear it said in settlement of a point, 'You will find

find it in Shakespeare,' as if there had never been anything before him, and as if the perspective of the past were closed with this one dazzling star, that sucked into itself all the light of all the firmament, and shone alone. Behind it, black darkness; before it, widening down the aisle of time, the search-light ray of Shakespeare's brilliance. 'You will find it in Shakespeare.' It does not matter that Shakespeare found it in William Browne. The centuries know nothing of William Browne; they are content to date from Shakespeare. So in tracing back the fancies of poets to him, we are justified in assuming that we have really come to their fountain-head. As a matter of fact, of course, we may have done nothing of the kind; but if we go farther back into the blackness behind his light, we come to obscure sources which it is improbable that many poets have gone to for inspiration; but if we stop at Shakespeare, we are certain that we are halting at a spring that every poet has visited, and, arriving there, has felt that he need go no farther. Like the subterranean traveller in search of Shesh, he knows he must have reached the centre of the earth when he comes to 'the great diamond. That is all by itself.'

Hitherto critics have not studied the animated Nature of Shakespeare, or a book, a much needed one, would have been forthcoming; but they have taken it from one another, on the original assurance, possibly, of a misquotation from Johnson, that it was, like his inanimate Nature, sublime. Yet nothing can be wider from the facts. The animated Nature of Shakespeare is very indifferent. It is seldom brightened by any touches of personal observation, and rarely by any suggestion of personal sympathy. As compared with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson was a naturalist; as a lover of Nature, both he and Chaucer rank before him. Yet by the incompetence of many critics to judge of his natural history—for instance, Pope and Theobald, and Dryden and Johnson—and by the complaisance of nearly all the rest, down to the editors of the 'Henry Irving' edition of the Plays, Shakespeare, without any test or examination, but simply by the courtesy of reciprocatory indolence, has been reverentially bowed along from one to the other, unchallenged, as a past master in the craft. Being human, they were able to judge of 'the attention he had given to the actions of men'; and they acknowledged it sublime. The 'phenomena of inanimate nature' fall also within the 'contemplation' and 'survey' of any man with eyes, and here again they were competent to recognize Shakespeare as incomparable. But when it came to the 'observation' of animated Nature, they felt that they were on strange ground. They could not
examine

examine the candidate on the subject, for they had never 'observed' beasts and birds themselves; but seeing that he had already been accorded two 'firsts,' they, at a venture, gave him a third. And thus, upon mere assumption, it has come to be accepted as facts beyond dispute, that Shakespeare was singularly exact in his natural history, and that his knowledge was the result of personal observation.

Those who hold this view support it sometimes by appealing to special passages, three of which from their celebrity we may here notice. Foremost among them is that description of an ideal horse in *Venus and Adonis*. But, unfortunately, it is borrowed word for word from *Du Bartas*. Here are all Shakespeare's phrases as they occur in that description, and, in brackets, those of his original:—

'Round hoofed (round hoof); short jointed (short pasterns); broad breast (broad breast); full eye (full eye); small head (head but of middle size); nostrils wide (nostril wide); high crest (crested neck, bowed); straight legs (hart-like legs); and passing strong (strong); thin mane (thin mane); thick tail (full tail); broad buttock (fair fat buttocks); tender hide (smooth hide).'

If Shakespeare did not borrow from *Du Bartas*, it is obvious that he borrowed from some other work to which *Du Bartas* had already been. And if critics will read the whole of *Du Bartas*' description, they cannot, in any honesty, deny that it is much superior to Shakespeare's summary of it. At all events, it is time that 'critics' gave over eulogizing it as 'Shakespeare's description' of an ideal horse.

Another passage of which much has been made is the description in '*Henry V.*' of a beehive and its inmates:—

'So work the honey-bees;
Creatures that, by a rule in nature, teach
The act* of order to a peopled kingdom.
They have a king, and officers of sorts:
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home;
Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad;
Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds,
Which pillage they with merry march bring home
To the tent royal of their emperor,
Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
The singing masons building roofs of gold;
The civil citizens kneading up the honey;

* As no 'critic' (to our knowledge) has ever suggested 'art' for 'act,' we assume the accepted reading calls for no alteration. Yet 'art of order' does not read amiss: especially after the word 'teach,' and in striking antithesis to 'nature.'

The poor mechanic porters crowding in
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate;
The sad-eyed justice, with his surly hum,
Deliv'ring o'er to executors pale
The lazy yawning drone.'

As poetry, it is a most beautiful passage; as a description of a hive, it is utter nonsense, with an error of fact in every other line, and instinct throughout with a total misconception of the great bee-parable. Obviously, therefore, there could have been no personal observation. How then did the poet arrive at the beautiful conception? From the 'Euphues' of Lyly. The passage will be found in a speech of Fidus by any one who will read from 'a kind of people; a commonwealth for Plato' to 'whom they that tarry at home receive readily, easing their backs of so great burthens.' Was it original in Lyly? No, for any one who will turn to the fourth book of the *Georgics* will find there Virgil's description of a beehive; and if Shakespeare had, in his own matchless language, directly paraphrased the Latin poet's beautiful version, his description would have gained greatly in accuracy and lost but little in originality.

Another passage often applauded is Shakespeare's catalogue of dogs in 'Lear,' in conjunction with his classification of dogs in 'Macbeth.' No book on 'The Dog' is complete without these two quotations; yet no one who has read the catalogue of dogs and the subsequent classification of them in the 'Return from Parnassus,' can base Shakespeare's claim to an extraordinary originality in observation upon those particular passages in 'Lear' and 'Macbeth.' Now these are three quotations by which, at various times, by very various editors, quantities of 'criticism' have been supported, magnifying the poet's observation of animated Nature. We have shown the extent of their 'originality,' and leave our readers to put their own value upon the criticism based upon them.

How then shall we judge of Shakespeare's original observation? Our space forbids the only satisfactory method; namely, an exhaustive treatment of his natural history, with parallel quotations from his predecessors and contemporaries. But we can at any rate give a few examples. For instance, taking a bird at random, the cuckoo is one that Shakespeare constantly uses. What is, honestly, the total sum of his natural history of the cuckoo? 'The cuckoo builds not for himself.' This is true, but scarcely original. 'Hateful cuckoos hatch in sparrows' nests.' True again, but only original in calling this universal favourite 'hateful.*' 'The hedge sparrow fed the cuckoo so

* 'Hateful' as often meant 'full of hate' as 'to be hated.'

long, That it had its head bit off by its young.' Now a cuckoo could not bite off a sparrow's head, and it certainly would not suicidally destroy its only food-provider. Yet a critic says of this very passage, 'Shakespeare seems to speak from his own observation, and to have been the first to notice how the hedge-sparrow was used by the young cuckoo.' Again Shakespeare—

' . . . being fed by us, you used us so
As this ungentle gull, the cuckoo's bird,
Useth the sparrow: did oppress our nest,
Grew by our feeding to so great a bulk
That even our love durst not come near your sight
For fear of swallowing; but with nimble wing
We were enforced, for safety's sake, to fly
Out of your sight.'

Upon this, the editors of the 'Henry Irving Shakespeare' quote with approval a most preposterous criticism of Knight's, not worth reproducing here. Suffice it to say that the fascination of the young cuckoo over its little foster-parents is so curious and lasting that, long after the cuckoo has left the nest and is able to forage for itself, its small guardians still continue to feed it and industriously drop down its huge gullet their tiny morsels of food. Once more Shakespeare: 'As the cuckoo is in June heard but not regarded.' This, 'the cuckoo in June,' was a very common proverbial saying of the time; yet critics comment lengthily upon it. Such then is the total sum of Shakespeare's 'natural history' of the cuckoo, and it amounts to two proverbs, two misstatements, and the completest possible misconception of the cuckoo 'idea' in Nature. Yet critics have lavished their admiration upon it.

Let us in the same way take a beast at random—the weasel. What has Shakespeare to say of it? He calls it 'quarrelous,' 'night-wandering,' and 'egg-sucking,' and says, 'The eagle England being in prey, To her unguarded nest the weasel Scot Comes sneaking, and so sucks her princely eggs.' 'Suck-egg weasel' was a proverb, and so was 'quarrelsome as a weasel.' Of the rest we need only remark that the weasel is not a night-wanderer, and that it does not plunder eagle's eyries. So that the total again amounts to two proverbs and two misstatements. Yet a critic tells us that 'the knowledge which Shakespeare displays of the habits of the weasel could only have been acquired by one accustomed to much observation by flood and field.' It is hardly credible that responsible writers will go to such lengths in order to mislead. Yet, as we have seen, they will. Nor is it really any wonder that very false impressions of Shakespeare's familiarity with Nature should generally prevail,
when

when editors, critics, and professed students of Shakespeare betray such miserable lack of judgment and so indifferent a regard for facts.

Or let us take an insect, and, as we have already alluded to it, let it be the bee. In the passage we have quoted we find that Shakespeare's description of the hive owes its design to the fancies of others, and its details to the poet's own imagination. Not only is it full of errors (those perhaps would not matter), but Shakespeare has so perverted for his purpose—the Archbishop is holding forth before the King on the necessity of co-operation for the welfare of the kingdom and his Majesty—the whole natural scheme of bee-economy as to show himself entirely out of sympathy with Nature's design. Shakespeare has a great many references to the bee, in metaphor and simile and moral, but his natural history of the insect is as limited as it is inaccurate. Thus, 'The old bees die, the young possess their hive': a line which reads like a platitude or a truism, and seems hardly worth the saying. Yet it is so instinct with misconception that it would be hard to find its equal. Of anything else in the world it might be true, but said of the bee it is a monumental error, the most compendious misstatement possible. There are no 'generations' of bees: they are all the offspring of the same mother; and they possess the hive by mutual arrangement and not by hereditary succession, for when it gets too full, the superfluous tenth goes off with a queen bee to 'the colonies,' leaving, as it were, the old folks at home. But there is no need to dissect the line. What was Shakespeare's idea of the 'drone' bee? Suffolk says, 'Drones suck not eagles' blood but rob bee-hives,' and a fisherman in 'Pericles' talks of misers as 'drones that rob the bee of her honey'—as if drones were some outside insects that plundered honey-bees. Again, Lucrece, confessing her ravishment, says:—

'My honey lost, and I, a drone-like bee,
Have no perfection of my summer left,
But robbed and ransacked by injurious theft:
In thy weak hive a wandering wasp hath crept
And sucked the honey which thy chaste bee kept.'

This, if literally translated, reads thus: 'I was a female bee, but a wasp robbed me of my honey, and I am now like a male bee.' Again we have, 'We'll follow where thou lead'st, Like stinging bees in hottest summer's day, Led by their master to the flower'd fields.' The passage is of course ridiculous, but it is taken from Du Bartas ('The Furies'), Shakespeare using 'master' in the sense of 'king' in the original. Again Shakespeare, of bees returning to the hive, 'Our thighs packed with

wax, our mouths with honey,' though bees do not carry their wax on their thighs but in their 'tails,' and their honey, not in their mouths, but in their 'stomachs.' However, the line is borrowed from Lyly's 'Euphues.' But enough of bees. We have shown by taking a bird, a beast, and an insect, the complexion of Shakespeare's natural history, and, without any thought of depreciating the matchless language in which he clothes his errors, have proved, by the most direct manner of proof, *quotation*, that the knowledge upon which certain class of critics so pride themselves in exulting, does not exist. And so we might easily go, if we had the space, item by item, through his animated Nature, and prove, in the same indisputable way, how judicious Johnson was when he declined to commit himself to an opinion upon Shakespeare's zoology.

But taking men all round, ordinarily intelligent men of a country life,* was Shakespeare, as compared with one of these average individuals, 'an observer of Nature'? The question is one liable perhaps to shock those who have followed blind guides so long. The answer to it is liable to shock them more severely. No. Shakespeare was curiously unobservant of animated Nature. He seems to have seen very little. Our authority for this is his own works, which, while they abound with beauties of fancy and imagination, are most disappointing to lovers of Nature by (their errors apart) their extraordinary omissions. Stratford-on-Avon was, in his day, enmeshed in streams, yet he has not got a single kingfisher. It is true, he refers to that mythic old sea-bird of antiquity, the 'halcyon,' hung up by its beak as a kind of indoor weathercock. But that is not the kingfisher. Nor on all his streams or pools is there an otter, a water-rat, a fish rising, a dragon-fly, a moorhen or a heron. What, then, did he observe? Only inanimate Nature, the willows 'aslant the stream,' and the

'vagabond flag upon the stream
Go to and fro, lackeying the varying tide
To rot itself with motion ;'

and the stream itself, that

'Makes sweet music with th' enamelled stones,
Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge
He overtaketh in his pilgrimage.'

But to the living objects about him he seems to have been obstinately and deliberately purblind and half-deaf.

His boyhood was passed among woods, and yet in all the woods in his Plays there is neither woodpecker nor wood-pigeon :

* A town life was in Shakespeare's day what we should now call country life.

we never hear or see a squirrel in the trees, nor a nightjar hawking over the bracken. This is surely extraordinary in a poet. Did Shakespeare ever see the sea? How is it then that there is not a single sea-gull in all his works? With his hundred descriptions of the sea, there is never a bird on the wave. If we were not talking of Shakespeare, we should say that a writer, who had passed his youth among woods and streams and never mentioned a wood-pigeon or a kingfisher, 'had no eye for Nature.' Dare we say this of Shakespeare? At any rate, let us not wilfully, in the face of his determined omissions, assert the reverse, and say, as so many 'critics' have said and 'editors' endorsed, that he was not only an observer of animated Nature but an observer of exceptional accuracy. Or who, going down to the sea and afterwards writing of it scores of times with details of description, but omitting all mention of sea-birds, could be called an observer? Who but Shakespeare, the glamour of whose wondrous descriptions of inanimate Nature has dazzled all his critics as to his animate? Yet the most that we can say of his extraordinary, inexplicable, reservations is, that if he did observe the living creatures, he did not think his observations worth recording. How is it that in all his sunshine there is not a single bee humming among the flowers?—that, with all his evenings, there is not a single moth on the wing? Which of us going out on a summer's day into garden or meadow, walking in orchard or under trees in bloom, but has 'observed' the voice of the bees at work? or, going out in the evening in lane or field, but has 'observed' the moths flashing or flickering by? Why then did not Shakespeare 'observe' them? Who can tell? But the fact remains that he did not, or at any rate that, if he did, he gives us no suggestion of it. This being so, is it justifiable to contend that he was a minute and enthusiastic observer?

Shakespeare makes use of no fewer than twenty species of British wild animals. Of these the badger, the otter, and the water-rat are once each employed by name merely as terms of abuse; the pole-cat and hedgehog are also terms of abuse, but are so far 'described' as to be called respectively 'stinking' and 'thorny'; the dormouse and ferret are each used once as adjectives for 'sleepy' and 'fierce'; the shrew gives its name to a play, but is never mentioned as an animal; the mole is mentioned twice as being 'blind'; the wild-cat once as 'sleeping by day'; the coney as 'struggling in the net' and 'dwelling where she is kindled'; the squirrel as 'the fairies' coach-maker,' and as having already hounded that year's nuts on May-day. The rat and the mouse (being only the *M. domesticus*) required no

'observation' by the poet. So that the above represents the total of Shakespeare's natural history with regard to all but six of his British quadrupeds. The weasel we have already cited, and the poet's only 'original' references to it are blunders. The bat is mentioned three times as an actual animal—once, wrongly, as a migrant, like the swallow, pursuing summer; once, fancifully, as the 'rere-mouse,' out of whose 'leathern' wings Titania's elves made their coats; and once, finely, 'ere the bat hath flown his cloistered flight,' as fixing the hour of Duncan's murder. The fox, of course, affords endless opportunities for metaphor and simile, and Shakespeare's description of it, as the fox of fable and tradition, could not be surpassed. Not being a beast of the chase, it meets with no sympathy from the poet. Though innocent, 'let him die, in that he is a fox, By nature proved an enemy to the flock,' and again, 'A fox, when one has caught her, Should sure to the slaughter': while his natural history of the animal is confined to folk-lore, saws, and proverbs, such as 'The fox barks not when he would steal,' 'When the fox hath once got in his head, He'll soon find means to make his body follow,' 'To wake a wolf is as bad as to smell a fox.' There is not even a single epithet in all his references to the fox that assures us that Shakespeare ever noticed one at large.

With the boar, the hare, and the deer, the facts are reversed. Whether Shakespeare ever saw a boar-hunt is a matter for conjecture; but he gives a superb description of the animal and its chase in 'Venus and Adonis.' Anyone who chooses to do so could resolve this description into its original elements, and refer them respectively to Spenser and Drayton, Du Bartas, Chester, and others who wrote of the mighty boar before Shakespeare, and all of whom in turn borrowed from Ovid, Pliny, and Virgil. But the complete picture is Shakespeare's own, and it is very noteworthy as an illustration of the poet's treatment of a real animal in which he felt an actual personal interest. Take again, in the same poem, the exquisite description of the hunted hare, and note the force and beauty which the lines derive from his accuracy and sympathy. He had 'observed' what he there described, and the result is such a poem as to make other poets despair. Or what can be said that is too appreciative of Shakespeare's deer? He was here perfectly at home, and thoroughly familiar, from personal observation, with the haunts and habits of the animal he was describing. The result is a detailed and most beautifully accurate natural history of the deer, whether stag, hart or hind, buck or doe. Above all, it is marked, as in the case of the hare, with a most touching sympathy for the hunted beast. Now, if critics and editors had
confined

their enthusiasm within the limits of 'sport,' no praise has been exaggerated, and all of us could, within these limits, accept their judgment as to Shakespeare's 'observations' to extend it, upon no better authority than inference, to the larger world of animated Nature outside of sport, was reasonable, and, as we have easily shown even by fragments, quite unwarranted.

Then, no observer, and but very rarely sympathetic, could Shakespeare be called a 'lover' of animated Nature? A scrutiny of his works will give but little reason for saying so. On the contrary, it might be argued, on very good evidence, that he was not. We may dismiss his references to fishes, and insects without further examination—for we are had certainly no sympathy with them—and take up his birds. There are forty-four British species mentioned. Of these the bunting, eyas-musket, finch, sea-shaw, snipe, pheasant, thrush, and wagtail may be named, as they are simply referred to by name, without any significance, while the following are each mentioned with some special reference: the house-lark as having an 'orange-tawney bill'; the heron 'peering through a wave'; the stannet 'checking'; the ot-pie as a bird of augury; the osprey in allusion to a partridge found dead in a kite's nest; the quail in the story of the blind men; the rook as a bird of augury; the starling 'as though it might speak'; and the throstle (which may or may not be the thrush*) 'with his note so true.' Only one bird out of these has an appreciative word said of it, and that is a lark.

Of the rest, the buzzard, chough, cormorant, crow, hawk, hedge-sparrow, jay, owl, raven, sparrow, wild woodcock are never spoken of as birds, except with some disparagement. There is not then, so far, any suggestion of kindness, nor any suggestion of Shakespeare's interest in their existence.

Shakespeare leaves us with the dove, eagle, falcon, lapwing, lark, nightingale, robin, swallow, swan, turtle-dove, and in his treatment of the lark, the most important of all birds, never fails to meet with special comment from the 'critics' when they are insisting upon his observations; but how is it they have never concerned themselves how much of Shakespeare's description was his own and how much borrowed? We cannot find space to exhaust

*Mavis is the song-thrush, which differs from the throstle or thrush in being smaller and darker-coloured' (Note to Chaucer: Bell's edition). The mavis is misled, and not without abundant justification, into this assertion of constant confusion in early literature of mavis, thrush, and throstle.

the subject, but may note here some of his most-quoted epithets, and distribute them among their sources. It is 'the morning lark' (so in Lyly), the 'mounting' lark (Wm. Browne), the 'merry lark' (Spenser), 'herald of the day' (Chaucer), 'shrill lark' (Spenser), 'summer's bird' (Spenser), 'the busy day waked by the lark' ('the besy lark, waker of the day,' Chester), 'Hark! hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings, and Phœbus 'gins arise' ('At Heaven's gate she claps her wings, The morn not waking till she sings,' Lyly).

These alone are enough to warn the critic that he should go very cautiously when he approaches the text of Shakespeare with the intention of proving the 'original' observation of the poet. Shakespeare's description of the lark is beautiful in the extreme, and for ordinary purposes Lyly and Wm. Browne and Chester, and, for the matter of that, Chaucer, Spenser, and Sidney, may be overlooked. We find the beautiful thoughts in Shakespeare. They are his. Let it be so—for ordinary purposes and 'the general reader'—but critics must not, for their own special purposes, first of all attribute to Shakespeare expressions that were not his own, and then, on account of those expressions, attribute to him the possession of a love of Nature for which there is no evidence. His lark is a beautiful construction, not a creation. It will live for ever, as Shakespeare's, because he takes what he chooses, as his osprey takes fish, 'by sovereignty of nature,' and makes it his own, by the force of genius that makes the lilies he gathers the whiter for his gathering, gold more golden for his handling, and that adds perfume to the violet. But the fancies were not original: they did not break from him in any enthusiasm of admiration. He saw their beauty, and adapted them. Yet it still remains to be said that though Shakespeare borrowed others' fancies, he did not borrow any of their natural history. His contemporaries call the lark 'crested,' 'speckled,' 'long-heeled,' 'low-nested.' Shakespeare does not borrow these phrases: he cares, apparently, nothing about the real bird in Nature: he never refers to its appearance, its mate, its nest, or its young, which so delight some poets before him. This is distinctly worth noting, and extraordinary.

Again, with the dove. Shakespeare's 'dove' is an exquisite collation of all previous 'doves'—of fancy—and, when he comes to facts, of the pigeon under domestication. The real dove, the bird that those whom he borrowed from meant, he leaves to them; for himself, the household pigeon, translated into 'classical' terms, is sufficient. For Shakespeare needed but little material with which to work his wonders; and the less he

was compelled to use, the better Shakespeare was pleased. It serves him, this 'dove,' as the emblem of 'patience,' 'modesty,' 'harmlessness,' 'pity,' 'mildness,' maternal devotion, 'innocence,' and is 'the very blessed spirit of peace.' It is white, snow-white, silver-white; and when it is a 'turtle' dove, it is the symbol of love, of lovers' fidelity, of supreme constancy and chastity, and when separated from its love it is inconsolable. A very beautiful bird it is, and yet, with all its virtues, it is not one that commends itself to a lover of birds. Compare it with Spenser's culvers or the 'quists' of Shakespeare's contemporaries, and the difference is to be seen at once. Yet a certain critic goes into raptures over it, and, because Shakespeare says it 'pecks up peas' and 'feeds its young ones' from its own crop, eulogizes the description as being of 'almost photographic accuracy.' Any urchin who lives within walking distance of St. Paul's or the Law Courts could have said as much, and in Shakespeare's own words; yet in Shakespeare it is 'almost photographic accuracy.' The poet again applauds the mother-dove's patience when 'her golden couplets are disclosed.' Disclosed means 'hatched,' so we are told by the editors of the 'Henry Irving Shakespeare,' and 'the young doves when hatched are covered with yellow down;' therefore the beauty of the phrase 'golden couplets.' Now we might point out, as a matter of fact, that pigeons, when first hatched, are *not* covered with yellow down, that 'golden couplets' here means eggs, that 'disclosed' means 'revealed,' and that the notes of the 'Henry Irving Shakespeare' are sheer nonsense—'Anon as *patient* as the female dove, When that her golden couplets are disclosed, His silence will *sit* drooping'—but there is no need to do so, so let it pass. But when the poet's very defective natural history has to depend for its accuracy upon such details as these 'critics and editors' suggest, it is surely worse off than it was before it had its house swept and garnished and was repossessed. Nor are the classic errors about the 'chaste' and 'mild' dove—the emblem, with 'the lecher-sparrow,' of the lascivious Paphian, and, for its constant quarrelling, 'the bird of war,' and 'dedicate to Mars'—worth referring to; for in Shakespeare's day they were less hackneyed by over two hundred years of use than they are to-day.

Shakespeare's eagle, again, is a noble poem of a poet's admiration for a noble theme. But will even a critic venture to say that it is the result of Shakespeare's observation, or undertake to prove from it Shakespeare's love of Nature?

His nightingale, again, is a beautiful poem, but its theme is 'Philomela,' not a bird; and when he does speak of the bird, he
shows

shows that he went to contemporary error or antiquated fancy for his facts, not to Nature. As with Shelley's skylark (in which, though there is no direct natural history, there is a wonderful description of the actual song), a single stanza suffices to assure us that the poet really took a personal delight in a little bird that was singing overhead; so in Keats's 'Ode to the Nightingale,' a single stanza is enough to convince us of the actual joy of the poet in listening to another little brown bird singing in its bower. Did Shakespeare ever listen to either lark or nightingale? Who may say? They live enshrined in his verses for all time. Happy birds to be so honoured; yet happier still if we could have thought that our great Shakespeare listened to them and loved them. Ben Jonson's one line, 'Dear good angel of the Spring,' is enough to satisfy any lover of Nature. Shakespeare has not a kind word for the bird. Lucrece ravished, Lavinia outraged and mutilated, the Passionate Pilgrim beguiled and left lamenting, find solace and sympathy in the lamentations of the victim of Tereus' cruelty. But the man Shakespeare never speaks to us from the poet's lines to say that the bird-nightingale delighted him.

His falcon is, of course, the bird of Falconry, a concession to the taste of the day, and not, let us hope, any expression of the poet's own liking for the sport. In the brutal days of Elizabeth, sport was attended with such revolting cruelties, that we can easily understand Sidney saying, 'Next to hunting I like hawking worst,' and as we have pointed out, Shakespeare is very seldom pitiful except towards the victims of the chase: the 'poor dappled fools,' the burghers of the deer city in Arden Woods; the 'poor dew-bedabbled wretch of Venus' hunting; the 'poor' struck fowl. But liking 'sport' or not, Shakespeare, for the fashion of his times, had to use the phrases of falconry and the chase. 'Why, you know, an a man have not skill in the hawking and hunting languages now-a-days, I'll not give a rush for him: they are more studied than the Latin or the Greek.'

Of the robin, the swallow, the martin, the lapwing, and the wren, Shakespeare has preserved for us, in his own incomparable language, some pretty fancies as well as some facts which were the common property of his contemporaries. For instance, the delightful passages about the 'ruddock with charitable bill' in 'Cymbeline,' so often quoted among the beauties of Shakespeare, occurs in, probably, every preceding poet, and the 'charitable' bill appears to have been almost a proverbial saying.

As for Shakespeare's quadrupeds we have already noticed them; but as illustrating his much-applauded 'love' of Nature, we may refer here to his curious detestation of cats and dogs—
'creatures

'creatures vile, of no esteem.' It is a most surprising fact that, with his marvellous sympathy with human nature and the horse, Shakespeare should never have had a loving word to throw at a dog, and that he should have even denied it the virtue of fidelity. As the ministers to man's pleasures in hunting and bear-baiting, dogs are constantly commended for their courage or endurance, strength, speed, or voice. But for their moral qualities, there is not a single syllable of admiration; and when we come to look for gentle words about man's faithful friend, for sympathy with the animal that has by its merits entrenched itself in human affection, we search in vain. Nor is there any reasonable explanation to be found for this inexplicable dislike of the dog, either in the manners of his own times or of any other, for Shakespeare's contemporaries are conspicuously warm-hearted towards it, and the literature of all time has consented to honour and to love it. It is quite true, as some critics emphasize very unnecessarily, that there is nothing good said of the dog in Holy Writ, and that the Jews hated it. But England is not Palestine; and if there was one creature Shakespeare hated more than the dog, it was the Jew. Yet all the passages of Shakespeare, in which the dog occurs—saving only Crab, and apart from sport or service—can be classified under the one head of 'Dog as a term of contempt or reproach,' and Shakespeare's vocabulary of dog-abuse is positively terrific. If he was ungenerous to the dog, he must be called something worse to cats,—'creatures we count not worth the hanging.' For one thing Puss is no sort of use in sport, so that her physical qualities did not attract the poet's admiration. Yet it is surely astonishing that he should so consistently revile the little animal. It was a pet long before his time, and his contemporaries all agree in admiring, valuing, and caressing it. Was Shakespeare one of those like Bertram, or of whom Shylock speaks, that 'cannot abide a cat'? There is enough in his Plays to support the fancy. But how, then, about his dogs? And failing explanation of so determined an aversion, critics cannot say of Shakespeare that he was a 'lover of animals.'

Of Shakespeare's horses there is no need to speak; he writes of them as a Centaur might write, as participating in his own nature. He loved them, and the result is the noblest description ever written of the noblest of all animals. Here we see the poet at his best, full of personal knowledge of his subject, full of kindest sympathy with it, and the contrast makes all the more barren and more deplorable his treatment of the animal world in general.

It has been said of Shakespeare that he had 'a fine contempt
for

for details,' and this contempt he carries into his treatment of animals. A bird is a bird, a beast is a beast, and it does not seriously matter what sort of bird or beast it is, so long as the touch of Nature which the passage needs, or which affords a metaphor, is there. He was supremely indifferent to that which all other writers prize so highly and call 'local colour.' This is shown as conspicuously in his Flora as in his Fauna; for where, for instance, the names of individual trees would have greatly advantaged his text and brought the scenes in which they were mentioned more substantially before the eye, he is content with the word 'tree.' And as real trees that he knows of, he actually uses in his forests only the oak, the pine, and (very doubtfully) the sycamore. There are no elms or beech-trees, no birch, ash, chestnut, walnut, poplar, alder, plane, fir, larch, lime or hornbeam. Is not this extraordinary? So with animated Nature. Shakespeare took only what suited for the occasion, and only just as much as would suffice. He does not employ animals to embellish or ornament his lines; they are there for the use they serve in illustration or as a simile. He never lingers over a beast or bird longer than the quotation he is working on. When it has served his purpose, it goes. If he is dealing with inanimate Nature, he delights to linger, to elaborate, and to polish. But with an animal he never stays longer than to say just the one thing that serves to make it apt, and, as a rule, he does not even stop to choose a specific variety. He has no butterflies in his sunshine, no moths in his twilight, no crickets in his meadows, no bees in his flowers. Living creatures do not slip naturally into his landscape. When he thought of being out in the field and garden and orchard, he did not think of the small life that goes to gladden the scene, and makes 'the country' so blithe and beautiful for most of us.

His characters live in Arden Forest, and yet they never hear or see a single bird, or insect, or flower, all the time that they are there. As for animals, deer excepted (and these the poet was compelled to introduce for food), there is only a lioness and 'a green and gilded snake.' The oak is the only forest tree in the play. There is not a flower in it. Even the words 'flower' and 'leaf' are never mentioned in the play; nor the word 'bird,' except in an interpolated song. There is not even an indication of the time of year, except that the Duke and others talk of the bitter cold. Yet what do we find? The play is always illustrated as if the time of year were midsummer, and critics say: 'We hear the wind rustling in the fragrant leaves of the fairy land of Arden' ('Henry Irving Shakespeare'), and speak of 'leafy solitudes sweet with the song of birds.' Such is the magic

magic potency of genius; it takes captive imagination, transports the mind to scenes that are never even hinted at by the poet, and makes us paint forests green and fill them with happy animal life and summer flowers, when the writer speaks only of 'the icy fang and churlish chiding of the winter's wind,' calls the forest always a 'desert,' and tenants it with lions and venomous serpents.

We have now passed in review, as fully as space will permit, the animated Nature of Shakespeare's Plays and Poems, and within those limits presented the case against those critics and editors who repeat one from the other the misconception as to the poet's exceptional knowledge of natural history, his extraordinary exercise of personal observation, and his universal tenderness towards animal life. And as we have passed from one point of our enquiry to another, it cannot have escaped the reader that the peculiarities of Shakespeare's sympathies and antipathies are exactly those of all succeeding poets. Where he praises, they praise; where he blames, they blame too. The larger groups that he neglects—for instance, the birds and beasts of prey, the sea-fowl or the foreign birds—are neglected punctually; reptiles continue to be abominable, fish not worth noticing, and insects 'vermin.' Even the treatment of individual species follows on Shakespeare's lines. The owl, the raven, the crow, and so forth are odious; the kingfisher, woodpecker, corn-crake, &c., are passed over. No birds are 'song birds' except those to which Shakespeare gave diplomas. The monkey folk 'ridiculous they find, For what? For ill-resembling human kind.' Our British quadrupeds, the badger, otter, fox, and the rest, are used exactly as Shakespeare used them. The insects he disliked the poets dislike; those that work for man are applauded as they were applauded by him. The resemblance may be traced even closer than this; for Shakespeare's imagery, epithets, and metaphors are repeated in his own words for three centuries after they were written.

Here and there, of course, in every poet occur touches of individual prejudice or partiality, of personal likes and dislikes; but Shakespeare gives the tone and general tenor to the whole. With the nineteenth century there has also come into poetry a deeper and wider appreciation of Nature, but with it a corresponding appreciation of Shakespeare; and even the greatest minds of our own times confess in their writings the potent influence of the wizard's example. Of course, we may go farther back than Shakespeare—and say, that, as he borrowed so much, he is not responsible. But for all practical purposes, even despite Chaucer and Spenser, English poetry
begins

begins with Shakespeare. Some poets study Chaucer and Spenser; but all poets study Shakespeare, and it is the befitting penalty of his absorbing greatness that we date back to him and no farther. Nor need we go farther for our models of Nature. Shakespeare is satisfying, even in his animated Nature. He presents it to us in such winning form, and with such grace of words, that we are content with it—so long as we may enjoy it with judgment and a reasonable admiration. Naturally enough, everyone wishes to read into Shakespeare's lines that which they would be glad to find there and what they perhaps expected would be there. But to go about to discover the perfume of sweetbriar in the violet, or to find that in gold which is more golden than itself, is 'wasteful and ridiculous excess.' His animated Nature, that is, his knowledge of natural history, cannot be, and could not have been, better than 'Elizabethan'; but, as a matter of fact, it falls below the standard of his contemporaries. For it is often forgotten, when admiring Shakespeare, how much his contemporaries knew, and that the same literature was open to Shakespeare as was open to Bacon and other men whom we still call 'learned.'

But no previous literature could suffice, nor all the learning that is available now, to suggest to Shakespeare his studies of human nature or of inanimate nature. These are supreme examples of human genius directed to the contemplation of surrounding objects; and in all the range of English poetry, until we come to Shelley, we shall scarcely find a metaphor or simile, or yet any touch of description, that falls outside the circumference of Shakespeare's 'all-encasing' language. Like gold, it permeates alike the clays and rocks of human thought; like the jewels of the sea, his phrases gleam and glitter in shallows and in deeps. So saturated is the intellect of our race with Shakespeare that thinkers can scarcely think finely without his echo, or poets speak without quotation. Indeed, we might sometimes wonder whether, even in our dreams, we outfly his waking wings or pitch beyond the circle of his fancy.

- ART. IV. — 1. *Revision des Nostocacées Hétérocystées.* Par MM. Ed. Bornet et Ch. Flahault. (Extr. 'Annales des Sciences Naturelles.') Paris, 1886-1888.
2. *Monographie des Oscillariées.* Par M. Maurice Gomont. (Extr. 'Annales des Sciences Naturelles.') Paris, 1893.
3. *Das Pflanzenleben der Hochsee.* Von Dr. Franz Schütt. (Ergebnisse der in dem Atlantischen Ocean ausgeführten Plankton Expedition der Humboldt Stiftung, herausgegeben von Victor Hensen.) Kiel und Leipzig, 1893.
4. *Report on Deep Sea Deposits.* By John Murray, LL.D., and Rev. A. F. Renard, LL.D. (Reports of the Scientific Results of the Exploring Voyage of H.M.S. 'Challenger.') 1891.

OUT in blue water, poised on the surface of thousands of fathoms of sea, the traveller finds it hard to realize that he is crossing a meadow of plants, evading observation as individuals, and even, under ordinary circumstances, inconspicuous in the mass, yet everywhere present, affording nutrition to minute forms of animal life, which in turn supply the food of shoals of fishes. The study of these ocean meadows and of the animal life that they support suggests a variety of questions, which are of practical and economic, as well as theoretical or scientific, interest. They are the feeding-grounds of fishes; they open out fields of enquiry to naturalists; they offer difficulties to students of geology; and the validity of evolution demands an explanation of the problems connected with their appearance.

Writers on sanitation have made us painfully familiar with the facts that a profusion of mingled organisms inhabit the air in greater or less density, and that man is constantly surrounded with evidence of the avoidable as well as the inevitable impurity of his dealings with organic substances. Though such organisms are not true aërial denizens, but, like the seeds of thistles blown by the wind, are mere passengers through the atmosphere, a consideration of their occurrence in such multitudes in the air impresses us with the fact that the frontiers of the distribution of organic life are scarcely to be delimited. The living earth and its waters teem with inconspicuous and unsuspected forms of bacterial life, performing functions of the utmost utility to man, and on the other hand potent with latent hostility. Such organisms share these attributes with the lower fungi, but the relationship formerly presumed to exist between bacteria and fungi is now known to be one of function. They agree, that is, in fol-

and saprophytic modes of life, setting up diseases in the one case and decay in the other, and are as little related as bats are to birds. The true next of kin of bacteria are the other *Protophyta* containing chlorophyll, the green colouring matter of plants, and vegetating by means of it in ordinary plant fashion. This great group is not only more varied in form, but has even wider frontiers than the bacteria as regards its distribution. Owing to less specialized modes of life—the least specialized of any organized beings—the green *Protophyta* occur universally. They are found wherever there is moisture and a little light,—with the moss in its cranny, in lakes and rivers, by seashores, and, even penetrating to those regions where bacterial life is normally scarce or absent, on the tops of mountains and in the open ocean—the ‘blue water’ of seafaring language.

The admirable work which M. Bornet and his two pupils, as they would no doubt proudly confess themselves, have done in monographing the great groups of *Protophyta* called the heterocystal *Nostocaceæ* (*Rivulariæ*, *Sirosiphoniæ*, *Scytonemæ*, *Nostocæ*) and the homocystal *Nostocaceæ* or *Oscillariæ*, so much surpasses ordinary botanical systematic work that it is difficult to refrain from the use of apparently exaggerated language in describing it. The differences of structure and development which are characteristic of species of plants are very obscure in these low forms, and their scrutiny is a work of labour in its methods. There are probably no plants, into the systematic literature of which greater confusion has been imported. The bacteria, perhaps, ought to be excepted, since species-making has here fallen into the hands of chemists, medical men, and physiologists, who are a law to themselves in their mode of discriminating specific rank by physiological and chemical tests instead of by the characters afforded by structure and development. The natural history of bacteria has come to be disregarded, and the sensational recognitions of new forms in association with disease, of which professional and daily newspapers tell us, will one day form a chapter in the *chronique scandaleuse* of Botany, when these forms find their natural historian in a new Bornet.

In the early days of the bacteria scare, if it may be so termed, the true path was pointed out by the celebrated botanist Bary in his ‘Lectures on Bacteria’; but his voice cried in a wilderness of eager bacteriologists, who adopted some of his methods and rediscovered others, while they neglected his adjuration to remember that bacteria are to be studied like other plants and not like chemical products and physiological principles. A ready means of gauging the amount and character of the work
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of MM. Bornet, Flahault, and Gomont, is supplied when we compare the disorder that existed among the green *Protophyta*, which they have monographed, with that existing among the colourless forms—the bacteria. In accomplishing their task, the greatest difficulty has no doubt been the relegation of the endless bad species to their proper place. The catalogue of ‘species excludendæ’ enormously exceeds in number the legitimate species, and the conscientious execution of the task of investigating all these claimants to specific rank must have proved a heart-breaking labour. The difficulties have been equalled by the honest hard work and brilliant interpretations of the authors.

One of the most interesting directions in which science has recently advanced is exhibited in the records of the existence of a flora and a fauna of universal occurrence in the most inhospitable wastes of the sea. The phosphorescence, or luminosity as it is better termed, of the ocean is well known to be due to the presence of organisms in it in vast numbers. This phenomenon, almost as brilliantly exhibited on our western coasts as in tropical seas, has at all times attracted notice; but the conditions of its exhibition are even now imperfectly understood. From the earliest times to the present there are direct and indirect records of the occurrence of transient phenomena of a like kind to be seen in the open light of day. Many speculations have been hazarded as to the origin of the name of the Red Sea. Herodotus helps us merely to the name, and Pliny begins, as was to be expected, the work of mixing matters, having collected idle tales about King Erythras, the reflection of the sun’s rays, the colour of the sand, and the nature of the water. Montagne,* in his memoir on the subject, assigned the true origin of the name to the periodical occurrence in its waters, and in the tropical Indian Ocean as well, of floating banks of a microscopically minute seaweed, *Trichodesmium erythræum*. Ehrenberg and others had previously witnessed and commented on the fact, and Candolle had described a similar reddening of the waters of the Lake of Morat, owing to the presence, in extraordinary abundance, of an allied organism. Captain Cook, Hinds in the voyage of the ‘Sulphur,’ Darwin in the ‘Beagle,’ and many other observers, have noted similar phenomena in widely distant seas, and have, some of them, remarked the offensive odour accompanying such manifestations. No naturalist who has witnessed one of these great exhibitions of the astonishing fecun-

* ‘Sur la Coloration des Eaux de la Mer Rouge:’ Ann. Sci. Nat., 1844.

dity of the lowest forms of life, and has observed its evil smell and the swarms of animal parasites, can fail to recall the literal truth of Coleridge's verse—

'The very deep did rot: O Christ!
That ever this should be!
Yea, slimy things did crawl with legs
Upon the slimy sea.'

Not Tennyson, nor Ruskin, ever stated a scientific truth in poetical language with less exaggeration,—though, strangely enough, these very lines have been seized upon by sensational book illustrators as material suitably weird for the exercise of their debased craft.

Such phenomena are akin to the periodical occurrences of great banks of minute *algæ* in freshwater lakes and rivers,—for example, the 'breaking of the meres,' as it is termed in Shropshire, where it has been investigated with some success. Cases of the rapid formation of such banks have been often recorded elsewhere, and Londoners may observe it annually on a small scale in the ponds of Kensington Gardens, where, in the months of September and October, the fountains spout sprays of blue-green water. The marine phenomena are on a grander scale. The organisms find the most favourable conditions of temperature, of light, of salinity, &c., for the purpose of multiplication, just as the allied bacteria find such best possible conditions with the result of an epidemic disease. How far indeed such conditions, wholly external to our bodies and not involving any preliminary weakness of our health, may constitute what is called 'predisposition' to disease, is a subject which students of plant diseases understand much better than the pathologists of man and animals.

Visible occurrences such as these are probably much more common in the ocean than is supposed, and an enquiry into their mode of origin leads us to the facts, that such organisms do ordinarily exist at all places in the sea, and that it is merely under the most favourable conditions that we observe this sudden increase in the numbers of particular species.

Those who knew that the whole bulk of animal life in the ocean must be directly and indirectly dependent on the vegetation of the ocean, were puzzled for many years by the difficulty of accounting for the apparent disparity of their volumes, since the marine vegetation of the coasts alone is manifestly insufficient to preserve the balance. The least observant eye notes that, on the great carpet of green which covers the earth, the animal life is but a faint pattern; in the ocean the proportion
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seems to be reversed. Owing to the action of sea-water in intercepting light, which is necessary for the nutrition of all plants except parasites, there is complete darkness below 700 fathoms or less; but, long before this depth is reached, the quality of light in relation to its action on plants is so profoundly modified, that marine vegetation penetrates to a trifling depth. On the other hand, the marine fauna ranges into the great depths, and the impossibility of balancing a mere fringe of vegetation along coasts, *plus* floating Sargasso banks, against the animal life of the whole ocean was apparent to all who considered the matter. The balance has been adjusted by the discovery of an ubiquitous marine vegetation, causing the tropical seas to glow with phosphorescent beams, and discolouring polar ice where the sea breaks on it. The existence of these meadows of plants is made plain to us by the direct evidence of tow-netting the upper layers of water with fine silk nets, when their capture, together with the minute forms of animal life that live upon them, is effected. The minute animal life in turn furnishes food for shoals of fishes, and the importance of an enquiry into the whole life-history and seasonal occurrences of such organisms—the basis of the nutrition of marine life, as green plants are of terrestrial life—can scarcely be overrated. No such enquiry has ever been conducted in a serious scientific spirit in our seas by other than private investigators, unequipped with adequate resources for the proper study of the subject in its economic aspect. Our Fishery Boards concern themselves as little with this vital matter as they possibly can. Nor is this apathy surprising, when it is remembered that the present Government have appointed to the Chairmanship of the Scottish Fishery Board an estimable gentleman, who possibly understands the ‘branding’ of herrings, but whose chief qualification for the post was a safe constituency. Yet, at the moment when this appointment was made, they had the opportunity, pressed upon them by a large body of scientific men, of choosing an eminent naturalist, whose claims as a student of the ocean are admitted by men of all nations to be unrivalled.

Much is heard of the study of the migrations of food fishes; but why not begin the matter by enquiring into the occurrences of the food of fishes,—the vegetation that supports all marine life? Men whose minds are open to such considerations do not sit for safe constituencies in sufficient numbers to make an official enquiry probable in the near future. But, besides the Fishery Boards, there is at least one institution from which light might be expected on such a subject. Some years ago a
marine

marine laboratory was established at Plymouth, from which economic as well as scientific blessings were expected to flow. Has such an enquiry ever been made under its auspices? Its mills grind slowly; but they do not grind small enough for microscopic organisms of this kind.

The economic value of such an enquiry can be sufficiently indicated by briefly comparing its importance for fishery with that of land vegetation for terrestrial life. We know that the nutrition of the whole animal kingdom, including mankind, depends, wholly and absolutely, upon the activity of vegetation in converting the inorganic into the organic for our food; and, accordingly, the study of economic Botany, especially agriculture, exacts the attention of States as well as of individuals. The basis of fishery is precisely the same as the basis of agriculture, and, as now conducted, fishery is in the same stage of development as agriculture was in the days when nomadic man chased and slew the beasts of the field without bestowing a thought on the nature of their pastures. The primitive hunter indeed knew, as the modern fisherman knows, that there are special feeding-grounds, because both have blundered on them. Our Fishery Boards have developed so far as to be able to tell the fishermen what they must not do. The negative result is something to be grateful for; but it seems asking too much to invite these authorities to discover some course which might be recommended in the way of positive action. No such advance is likely to be made until their investigations pass beyond purely technical matters into the regions of science. It is true that examinations of marine temperatures are conducted. One is tempted to wonder why they are made—possibly on purely meteorological grounds. Such observations are of the greatest value in connexion with observations of pelagic life—especially of the pelagic flora; they are otherwise a mere groping in the dark.

Apart from the economic aspect of the study of pelagic vegetation, the subject has a purely scientific importance and interest not only to naturalists but to students of geology as well. The extensive fossil diatomaceous deposits, containing the innumerable and exceedingly minute siliceous shells of diatoms—a group of the lowest algæ—of Tertiary and Quaternary age, now used in the manufacture of dynamite, polishing powders, &c., are the testimony of the rocks to the enormous activity of these organisms in the fresh and salt waters of past times. It is an interesting fact about these great fossil deposits, that, though many specific forms are represented in each of them, yet either a single species, or at most a few, compose the
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mass of each formation. It is exceptionally noteworthy that they all belong to genera, and in a very high proportion to species, living at the present time. In the chalk itself there are preserved species still extant, and before the chalk there is an absolute blank in the record of the rocks as to this form of vegetation, though the conditions appear to have existed abundantly for the preservation of such comparatively indestructible bodies as the siliceous shells of diatoms. Castracane has indeed recorded that he found in the ash of English coal eight species of freshwater diatoms of common occurrence at the present day. But exhaustive and fruitless research has been made by others, and the record is open to question.

Some of these deposits are of freshwater, and some of marine, origin; and it is again noteworthy that the latter contain many forms now exclusively marine. The records of the 'Challenger' and other expeditions have shown us, that the floor of the ocean, over many large tracts, is now receiving, in the form of diatomaceous ooze, vast quantities of the siliceous walls of diatoms slowly showered down from the surface layers of water, where in life they play their part as pelagic vegetation. The naturalists of Sir James Ross's Antarctic Expedition have described a great tract of ocean bottom in the South Polar Sea which is composed of this diatomaceous ooze. The tow-nets of the 'Challenger' and other expeditions have captured on the surface in many quarters, but especially here, the living diatomaceous scum which rains down its dead to form this deposit on the bottom. South of latitude 50°, the 'Challenger' Narrative tells us, the tow-nets were on some occasions so filled with diatoms, 'that large quantities could be dried by heating over a stove, when a whitish felt-like mass was obtained.'

The agency at work here is similar to the occasional swarms of other pelagic algæ in the Red Sea and the tropical oceans and in temperate freshwater lakes, and the conditions for its operation are the same. Not only now, but, as the geological deposits show us, from the remote past, are these outbreaks of the predominance of single forms known. They have continued in kind, and the very species concerned in the operation in Tertiary times continue to exist. Not only the typical form, but the species themselves, which have gained and maintained such an ascendancy, have survived as the fittest. They are of so many varied forms that the British Museum collection illustrating the different species and their distribution in space and in time consists of 50,000 slides for the microscope. This type of organism does not slowly dawn on geological history gaining with successive ages kaleidoscopic changes of form

development. At their earliest appearance in the rocks they burst upon us in great profusion of forms, and these we have with us living at this day. The conditions for their preservation in the earlier rocks were, as has been said, beyond doubt favourable. There was never such an argument for 'special creation' as this subject offers in its present condition. The study of diatoms is open to many reproaches now made by botanists, accusations of unwarrantable species-making and the like; but not only have we no sure knowledge of many biological problems concerning them, such as their mode of motion, but we have this great want of a due search for them in the earlier rocks. There is a further reason for the need of filling this blank in the interests of evolution. Judged by their structure, we are justified in the inference that they are among the least-changed descendants of the most primitive forms of life, and may therefore, on this ground alone, be presumed to have had an earlier origin. If we combine then such a consideration with the fact of first occurrence in many varied forms, and the presence of favourable conditions of life and of preservation in previous epochs, it will be seen that the validity of evolution demands an earlier record of their appearance in the rocks.

As regards the geographical distribution of the pelagic diatoms, it may be safely stated that their home is to be found in the colder waters of the Northern and Southern oceans, where they outweigh in bulk all other pelagic plants. They occur in much smaller numbers in the tropical seas. Associated with them in this respect are the *Peridiniæ*, a very remarkable group to be found on our own coasts, which would repay closer study, since our knowledge of their true nature is certainly imperfect, and lingering doubts remain whether Botany or Zoology should claim them. The pelagic *Oscillariæ* are more characteristic of the warmer than of the colder regions of the ocean; while of the other *Protophyta*, *Protococcaceæ*, &c., which occur in the open sea, there is not enough known to warrant any delimitation of their geographical distribution. Characteristic of tropical seas is the singular *Pyrocystis noctiluca* (with one other species, *P. fusiformis*). As its discoverer, Dr. John Murray,* says: 'This organism is always present and often in enormous abundance at the surface of the open ocean in tropical and subtropical regions where the temperature is over 68° or 70°, and the specific gravity of the water is not lowered by the presence of coast and river water.' It is strongly luminous, and is the chief source of the diffused phosphorescence of the sea in equatorial regions. The

* 'Challenger' Exped. Narrative, vol. i. part 2, p. 935.

most brilliant displays of phosphorescence observed during the whole cruise of the 'Challenger' were due to its presence in great numbers at the surface after calm weather.

With a parallel geological history and of a present biological interest that eclipses the *Diatomaceæ*, the Rhabdospheres and Coccospheres are among the greatest natural puzzles that await solution. Geologists are familiar with the occurrence in the chalk and later formations of bodies called Rhabdoliths and Coccoliths, the broken down parts of Rhabdospheres and Coccospheres like those of the present day. These are now regarded as pelagic algæ; and though their nature is obscure, the balance of evidence leans towards this opinion as the correct one. They are abundant in all surface and subsurface waters of tropical and temperate seas away from the influence of coast waters, and are not infrequently observed entangled in the protoplasmic matter of such pelagic animals as *Foraminifera* and Radiolarians, in the stomachs of *Salpæ* and of Crustaceans. They can, however, be collected floating free in the water. While the Rhabdospheres are confined to the warmer regions, the Coccospheres extend to colder waters, where they are met with in even finer development than within the tropics. The broken down parts, or Rhabdoliths, are found in all the globigerina oozes (deposits of *Foraminifera*) of the tropics, and the Coccospheres in the deep deposits of subtropical regions, while Coccoliths occur massively in some of the globigerina oozes. In short Rhabdoliths and Coccoliths play a most important part in all deep-sea deposits, with the exception of those laid down in polar and subpolar areas.

These organisms, though they excite such geological interest, and possess a surpassing biological importance from the rôle they play in the ocean, are so little known that hardly any fact is to be added to this brief statement. It was hoped at one time that a report would be issued on the collections made by the 'Challenger' expedition of the pelagic algæ other than the diatoms; but the material brought home was not extensive enough nor in a sufficiently good state of preservation to admit of this. In the preface to the volume on *Diatomaceæ*, the editor, whose personal knowledge of the subject entitles his opinion to the assent of all naturalists, remarks: 'An interesting account of these pelagic algæ may be looked for from the first naturalist who has the time and opportunity to examine them in the living state on board ship, immediately after having been taken from the waters of the open ocean.'

Since the time of the 'Challenger' expedition the methods of minute study of the lowest forms of life have advanced in many

respects, and good hopes were entertained that when the recent German expedition set out to study the Plankton or floating life of the Atlantic, many of the mysteries of the pelagic flora would be cleared up. Among its voluminous and excellent reports and tediously written narrative (everything was Plankton that came to its net) there is one on the plant life of the open ocean by Dr. Franz Schütt, while further details about the *Pyrocystæ* are promised by Dr. K. Brandt. The expedition surveyed the North Atlantic more or less along the 60th parallel, touching near Cape Farewell the cold East Greenland current, which a year or two hence will bear Dr. Nansen back to us amid its floes, down the Labrador current and across the Gulf Stream to Bermuda; thence obliquely to the south-east as far as Ascension, crossing the north equatorial and Guinea currents; north-westward down the south equatorial current to the mouth of the Amazons, and so straight home to Kiel *viâ* the Channel. It was an excellently planned route for the examination of representative sections of the northern and tropical Atlantic, and its zoological results are valuable. If the total contribution to the Botany of blue water is to be judged by Dr. Schütt's 'Pflanzenleben der Hochsee,' then we have to be thankful for a certain advance, for an accumulation of fresh facts, but for not a single explanation of any of the problems indicated above.

Dr. Schütt's sketch of the plant life of the open ocean is interesting, but is padded out with commonplace botanical facts already known to the majority of cultivated readers. The most valuable of his services are his estimates of the relative volumes of the component parts of the pelagic flora and their distribution in the northern and tropical Atlantic. His most interesting record is that of the superficial and vertical distribution of a minute globular alga, *Halosphaera viridis*, which was first described and studied by Dr. Schmitz in the Bay of Naples. It was found abundantly in the warm Atlantic, first on entering the Gulf Stream, with great regularity throughout the tropical sea, and right up to the English Channel. This record by itself is of great interest, but it cannot compete with what we are told as to the vertical distribution of *Halosphaera* in the ocean. Schmitz and others have always found it in the superficial layers of water, but this expedition secured it alive by means of the Hensen closing tow-net from the great depths between '1000-2200 m.' Since sunlight wholly fails to penetrate the greater of these depths (if it reach the lesser), Dr. Schütt may well ask, 'Was grüne Pflanzen dort machen sollen?' Haeckel's ingenious suggestion

suggestion that the phosphorescent light of animals wandering in the depths might suffice for the work of assimilation by green plants can hardly be seriously accepted by botanists, as Dr. Schütt owns. He takes refuge in the charmingly vague statement that the 'key of the riddle will be found in oceanographic conditions,' which is probably true if he means that the plants have been swept there by the influence of currents of submerged waters.

It is very disappointing to find that this expedition never once found either Coccospheres or Rhabdospheres—possibly their tow-nets were not fine enough. Anyhow this, the most important botanical problem which the expedition could have found to study, is contemptuously dismissed in a few lines of small type. Because this German botanist could not find them, he must needs suggest that either they belong to the *Foraminifera* rather than to the algæ because of their association in occurrence, or, as has been said by others, they are mere inorganic formations, like the celebrated *Bathybius*. It is a misfortune that this expedition failed to find these organisms and give us an account of them. It makes the misfortune blameworthy when the gap is filled with the suggestion that they were not worth finding.

The final 'Challenger' volume cannot now be much longer delayed. Its records of the distribution of pelagic life, however imperfect they may be as regards the vegetation, will throw a side-light on the shortcomings of the Hensen expedition. Dr. Schütt adopts the attractive view commonly held as to the Sargasso Sea—that its gulf-weed is a mass of drifted *Sargassum*, which, torn from the Antilles, has been borne, like the derelict ships of the Atlantic, by the currents to this still region of the ocean, where, on the bursting of the air-vesicles, the plants perish and are renewed by fresh supplies from the Antilles. This view commands many adherents: it accounts for all the facts except the important one, that *Sargassum bacciferum*, the prevalent form, does not grow attached in the Antilles—nor anywhere else in abundance—if at all. Records have indeed been published of its occurrence attached—but the marine flora of the Antilles is well known; capable and observant men have collected its *Sargassa*, but none of them have found the factory that furnishes forth the great expanse of the Sargasso Sea. It is possible to contend that *S. bacciferum* is a 'growth form' modified by its passage down the stream, but this again is possible only by admitting that the plants continue to grow and develop after being set free, which is inconsistent with the theory. There are other arguments for and against

but Dr. Schütt ignores them. A most interesting and instructive estimate was made by Dr. Hensen of the relative mass of the gulf-weeds of the Sargasso Sea, and its microscopic vegetation. This estimate, though confessedly only approximate, puts the microscopic and ordinarily invisible vegetation far in excess of the *Sargassa* in bulk. No better example could be provided of the extent of this universal pelagic flora, and it is made all the more impressive by the fact that the Sargasso Sea is by no means rich in such forms when compared with northern and southern regions.

It has been made clear that there is here a new realm for botanical exploration and study, and that for scientific and economic reasons this must be undertaken. The earlier oceanographic expeditions, the 'Challenger' expedition, and the German expeditions have all of them demonstrated this fact, and have indicated the nature of the problems to be solved, and but little more. The zoologists have already broken up this great deep, and have advanced their science with magnificent results—and they have called on botanists to do their part. It is the mere truth to state that, with the single exception of Dr. Franz Schütt, no botanists have seriously gone down to the sea in ships to study this great subject. They have been content to stay in laboratories and scoff at the imperfectly preserved material brought home by zoological colleagues. The work must be done on the spot—the organisms must be studied alive.

By the admirably simple contrivance of Dr. John Murray any ocean steamship may be converted into a Plankton expedition at the expense of a few shillings—for the study of surface forms at all events. Tow-nets are unnecessary, and the steamer may proceed on her ordinary business at undiminished speed. It is only necessary to fit a tap on an intake pipe and let the sea-water run through a silk bag, which thus acts as a tow-net or filter. Dr. Murray has put the apparatus to the test, and was able to secure specimens from the surface layers in excellent condition while crossing the North Atlantic, obtaining the Coccospheres that eluded the elaborately equipped German expedition, and observing their living contents. By such means our ocean steamships can be pressed into the service of botanists, and their owners and commanders may be confidently reckoned on for practical sympathy with any study of the sea. The engineers' surface temperatures and the route pricked on the chart would be found at the observer's service. But though the results of this method may be anticipated to be considerable, it can never tell us of the range in depth of the organisms; it can never survey currents and map out regions, unless
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in the most indirect fashion; it can never achieve what an expedition deliberately planned and properly equipped could attain.

Almost every great advance in the study of the ocean has been made by this country, and the annals of the Royal Navy are eloquent of the distinguished part it has played in this progress. Other countries are now competing with us in the study which without arrogance we may call our own. No costly equipment is needed. The use of a cruiser (of dignified speed only) would no doubt be furnished by the Admiralty for a brief period, while the Government grant administered by the Royal Society is often spent with less return than an investigation of this kind, costing a small portion of its annual amount, would yield. Let the fitting men come forward and demand it.

Another great opportunity will soon arise and must not be let slip. The proposed Antarctic expedition, for which a convincing case has been made out, can add to its usefulness by taking such an investigation in hand, not only in the Southern Seas but on its way to them. There is probably no region so fertile in the forms of pelagic life as the Southern Ocean, and an expedition which should not make the study of its vegetation one of its main objects had better stay at home. There is little fear of the subject being neglected in its widest aspects, since it is one of the professed 'aims which the promoters have in view,' to use the language of a prospectus. Botanists will have themselves to blame, and the public will have them to blame, if through their supine indifference this great and rich harvest of the ocean be not gathered in. In another respect the times are favourable. For many years this country lost its once eminent position in the study of the coast vegetation of the sea; but during the last six or seven years so much good and honest work has been done by a young and energetic band of observers that this position has been in a great measure retrieved. There are not lacking among our younger botanists men of skill in the use of the most recent methods of research, capable of meeting the Germans on their own field. It will be their fault if the naturalists of another nation forestall them in taking possession of not the least honourable part of our empire over the sea.

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A BISHOP

A BISHOP of the English Church who is entitled, by the dignity of his position and the reverence due to his years, by his accurate scholarship and his widely extended reading, by his anxious earnestness to defend his own position and his courteous fairness in stating that of his opponents, to the most respectful attention of his readers, has lately addressed his clergy on the trustworthiness of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and has told them that,

independently of the sort of general feeling that the time has come when the discussion of such a subject cannot profitably be delayed, there are probably few of us who would not agree in the more particular conviction that recent circumstances have now made this discussion positively imperative, and of the most vital and urgent necessity.*

And this opinion of the Bishop's seems to have been very generally shared. Old Testament criticism has been in the air. We have had not only the solemn episcopal charge and the learned professorial treatise, not only the discussion in theological reviews and so-called religious newspapers, but almost every pulpit has given its utterance, and the secular press has both expressed and testified to the force of these currents of thought.

We are perhaps almost alone in our silence upon the subject; and if such silence needs justification, we offer it in the fact that an investigation which is intended to be adequate would require a fulness of space which we could not afford, and technical details which are not consistent with the character of our pages; and also in the fact that the battle has been so fierce and the din and confusion of the war so great, that it has been hitherto difficult for an impartial looker-on to preserve entire freedom from heat and prejudice, or to track accurately the fortunes of the contending forces. We are not sure indeed that even now it is possible for us to do so, but the time has, we think, come when the attempt may fairly be made; and our readers have the right to expect at least some notice of a question which is occupying so much of general attention.

The principle which will guide us—indeed the only principle which is tenable in any such investigation—is expressed in the words of the learned prelate from whom we have already quoted: 'Few will deny that it is desirable that both sides should fairly be heard.'† The plan of the campaign and the results of the struggle are moreover to be judged of as they are expressed in the despatches of the generals on either side, and not from the

* 'Christus Comprobator,' pp. 7, 8.

† Ibid., Prefatory Notice.

hasty deed of some raw volunteer, or from the party feeling of some untrained special correspondent. It would be very easy to quote alike from writers on the attacking or defensive sides, hasty expressions, ill-considered arguments, confident assertions of their own powers, and equally confident assertions of the impotence of their foes; it would not be difficult to quote instances of imputations of ignorance, prejudice, dishonesty, wilful blindness to clear light, inconsistency with the office or profession of the writer. We have indeed made out, but we will spare our readers the pain of looking at, a not inconsiderable list of such expressions; but as we read them and think of the names which are attached to them, the pulpits from which they were spoken, the pages on which they were written, we are confident that their authors will in days of fuller knowledge and hours of calmer reflection wish that they had never been uttered:—

‘Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.’

In our application of the principle which we have adopted, we propose to confine our thoughts to a smaller area than that which engaged the Bishop's attention, for he had many pages at command, while we have but few; and we feel bound to look at the question from many points of view, while his special purpose was to show that the whole matter was for the Christian at least foreclosed by the definite statements of our Lord,—an argument with which we shall feel compelled to express our respectful disagreement. While his work and some others, the titles of which are placed at the head of this article, deal with the Old Testament as a whole, we shall confine ourselves therefore for the present to the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, or, as it is now becoming general, though not in our opinion strictly correct, to call these books, the Hexateuch.* But we gladly accept from the Bishop the terms ‘traditional theory’ and ‘analytical theory’ as convenient and roughly accurate short expressions for the older and commonly accepted view of the Old Testament Scriptures on the one hand, and the newer results of the so-called ‘higher criticism’ on the other.

Our task then will be to enquire: (1) What is the ‘traditional theory,’ and how far is it firmly established? (2) What is the ‘analytical theory,’ and how far is it consistent with all the facts? (3) How far, if at all, is it necessary that our commonly received opinions should be modified by the proved results of fuller knowledge?

* Cf. *infra*, p. 407.

1. In seeking an answer to our first question, it will be convenient to find our point of departure in the Bishop's definition, which is the most careful as well as the most recent, and in general opinion—at least in this country—probably the most authoritative, statement of it:—

‘We begin, then, by defining what we mean by the term that we are using,—the Traditional view of the Old Testament. We mean that view of the contents, their authorship, and their trustworthiness, that prevailed in the Jewish Church after the final formation of the Canon of the Old Testament,—that is clearly to be recognised in the New Testament,—and has continued in the Christian Church, with but little substantial modification, to this nineteenth century of salvation.’*

In the immediate context of this formal definition the Bishop speaks of

‘that Traditional view of the characteristics and composition of the Old Testament, which, with some modifications, has existed for two-and-twenty centuries; and which we may very confidently say, will substantially remain to the end. Modifications there may be. Each age as it passes suggests, it may be, some rectifications. Each period of controversy like the present necessitates a closer study, both of matter and of language, and consequently a clearer perception of those details in which surer knowledge enables us to introduce rectifications and corrections. These modifications we may expect, but subversive changes in the estimate of the true nature of Holy Scripture, such as those which we are now invited to accept, will never enter into the *credenda* of the Catholic Church.’†

Now we cannot suppose that it escaped the attention of those who heard these words from the venerable prelate, or that it has been unobserved by some of the many readers of the various editions in which they have since been printed, that these statements are not free from some confusion of thought, and that in particular they fail to keep prominent the important distinction between the active and passive senses of the term *tradition*,—between the process, that is, by which the accepted doctrine of the Jewish and Christian Churches has been handed down to us, and that doctrine itself. If ‘each age as it passes’ is to suggest ‘some rectifications,’ then the fact that the ‘traditional view’ comes to us through the history of two-and-twenty centuries weakens rather than strengthens its original force, for

‘mobilitate viget viresque acquirit eundo;’

and our present ‘rectified’ view has no sufficient claim to be

* ‘Christus Comprobator,’ p. 39.

† Ibid., pp. 28-9.

part of the '*credenda* of the Catholic Church,' for the well-known Vincentian rule is

'*quod ubique quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum.*'

To claim that a truth was accepted at a time when there was full knowledge of the subject and every opportunity of forming an opinion, and has been handed down to us without modification, and therefore that it should be accepted by us, is one thing; to assert that from the first it was subject to correction, that there was no day of clear knowledge from which we have received it, but that it comes to us from the twilight and has constantly had fresh light thrown upon it up to the present, and will with increase of knowledge have still more light which will necessitate still further modifications, is quite another thing. And these two views are contradictory and cannot be properly combined, as they are combined, if we rightly understand the passages before us. Reason may indeed examine the claims which tradition has upon our acceptance, may track it to its sources and test its origin, but to tamper with tradition is to destroy it. Counsel will naturally examine evidence, get to the root of it, see that it really is evidence, contend, it may be, that a portion of it is not, base arguments upon the portion which is; but the counsel who would be bold enough to 'rectify' his witnesses would not be likely to gain his verdict from an intelligent jury.

It is true that in the view which we are examining, care is taken to distinguish between the details of the tradition which are constantly fluctuating, and the substance which is to remain to the end. But questions at once arise as to what are details and what is substance. Who is to determine? When the Bishop comes to a more formal statement of his 'rectified traditional view,' it is as follows:—

'The rectified Traditional view may be conveniently expressed under the following formulated statements.

'We have full reason for believing,—

'1. That the Book of Genesis was *compiled* by Moses,—in its earlier chapters from primeval documents,* which may have been brought by Abraham from Chaldæa, and in its later chapters (except parts of xxxvi.), from family records of a distinctly contemporaneous origin, which we may reasonably believe to have been preserved in the families of the successive patriarchs as the archives of their race. That these should have been accessible to the divinely appointed leader of the race, himself a man of known learning,† that he should

* Here follows a note to show that there may have been documents extant at the early date referred to.

† Acts vii. 22.

have arranged them and illustrated them by contemporary notes, is a supposition so reasonable, that, though no more than a supposition, it may be accepted at least as more plausible than any other which has yet been advanced.

‘2. That, of the four remaining Books of the Pentateuch, the first, the Book of Exodus, as the autobiographical character of large portions of it seems clearly to indicate, was *written* by Moses, or, at least, under his immediate direction and authority. That the Book of Leviticus, as containing the statutes and ordinances for the most part expressly stated to have been revealed to Moses, must, if not actually written by him, have been compiled by authorised scribes under his immediate supervision. That the Book of Numbers, as containing more mixed material, may be considered to have been compiled,—in part from the legislative revelation made directly to Moses, in part from contemporary records made by Moses in obedience to God’s command,* in part from documentary annals including references to books† that may have been compiled during the lengthened abode in the wilderness,—but all, as the tenor of the whole Book, and its concluding verse seem distinctly to imply, under the authority and general oversight of Moses. . . . Finally, that the Book of Deuteronomy, containing as it does, not without notes of time and place, the addresses of the closing days of the inspired legislator (which we may regard as having been specially recorded and preserved by official writers‡), assumed its present form, as one passage seems in some degree to suggest,§ under the hand of Joshua.’||

And so on with Joshua and the remaining Books of the Old Testament. We must, however, refrain from further quotation, and these extracts will suffice to show what the ‘rectified’ view is, and cover the part of the subject which is both the most debated and also that to which our present notice is confined.

Now it occurs at once to our thought that this view is indeed highly ‘rectified,’ but that it is not quite clear what claim it has to be considered ‘traditional.’ It speaks now of ‘full reason,’ now of ‘supposition’; here we read ‘seems clearly to indicate,’ here ‘must . . . have been compiled,’ ‘may have been compiled’; here ‘as the tenor of the whole Book, and its concluding verse seem distinctly to imply,’ here ‘as one passage seems in some degree to suggest.’ But all this and much more of the same kind belongs not to tradition but to reason, not to objective evidence but to subjective argument. We are at once placed upon the plane of the so-called ‘higher criticism’ itself: the evidence is drawn from the contents of the books, not from any authoritative statement about them—it comes from within.

* Numb. xxxiii. 2; see also Exod. xvii. 14.

† Numb. xxi. 14, 27.

‡ See Girdlestone, ‘Foundations of the Bible,’ pp. 21, 24. London, 1890.

§ Deut. xxxii. 44.

|| ‘Christus Comprobator,’ pp. 46–8.

not from without, and we think it may justly be called 'analytical' rather than 'traditional.' Its basis is in the appeal to reason, a position which we are very far from deprecating; but we must point out that he who appeals to Cæsar must be content to go to Cæsar. He cannot claim to plead in the courts of Reason, and then fall back upon the hereditary privilege of Tradition. To the courts of Reason we shall return hereafter when we shall have before us the pleas on either side. Meanwhile we must seek to make out on surer lines than those of 'rectified tradition' what Tradition has to teach us. We shall find the answer to a large extent made out for us in several of the works which we are considering, and in a specially convenient form in the pages of Westphal and Holzinger.

What then is the tradition as to the authorship of the Books of the Law which 'has existed for two-and-twenty centuries'? It is to be noted, before this question can be answered, that we are placed by this period at a date more than a thousand years later than that of Moses. During this interval were composed nearly all the post-Mosaic Books of the Old Testament, and it is natural to ask what they tell us of the authorship of the Books of the Law. Too much stress must not be laid upon the *argumentum ex silentio*, and, when the indications are so slight, too much importance must not be attached to them; but at the same time it cannot be regarded as insignificant that the general resultant from the only passages which refer to the authorship of the Law is, that they not only make no reference to Moses, when such a reference would have been natural if the writer had held Moses to be the author, but that they imply more than one author. What impression is naturally formed by one who has no preconceived theory on the subject when he reads these words in the Second Book of Kings?

'Turn ye from your evil ways, and keep my commandments and my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets.' *

Or these from the prophecy of Zechariah?

'lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets.' †

Or these from the Book of Ezra?

'for we have forsaken thy commandments, which thou hast commanded by thy servants the prophets . . . ' ‡

followed as they are by a quotation from Deuteronomy. §

* 2 Kings xvii. 13. † Zech. vii. 12. ‡ Ezra ix. 10, 11. § Deut. vii. 3.

We find, on the other hand, express mention of Moses in the prophecy of Isaiah:—

‘Then remembered he the days of old, [? Moses and] his people. . . . That led them by the right hand of Moses, with his glorious arm.’*

But he is named not as an author, but as a leader of the people. By Jeremiah Moses is coupled with Samuel, not as a writer, but as an intercessor for Israel.† By Micah he is similarly grouped with Aaron and Miriam.‡ By Hosea he is referred to without being named as ‘a prophet’ by whom ‘the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt.’§ It is not until the post-Exilic Malachi that we find any mention in the Prophets of the ‘law of Moses my servant,’|| and only in the prayer of Daniel do we read, ‘as it is written in the law of Moses,’¶ though even this falls far short of asserting that the Law was written by Moses.

If we turn to the Historical Books, we find in the Kings clear knowledge of a written law of Moses,** but the references are confined to Deuteronomy, and there is no statement of authorship. The composite Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, which in our English Bibles appear as four Books, but in Hebrew as two only, and form probably one continuous work, imply knowledge of our Pentateuch and of a written codex, and perhaps also of Mosaic authorship of some portions of them;†† but the present form of this composite work cannot with certainty be dated earlier than B.C. 332, and is possibly to be dated at least half a century later. A comparison of the statements by the Chronicler with the original in the History on which it is based, is suggestive. Both quote, *e.g.* in the account of Amaziah, a passage in Deuteronomy;‡‡ but the History prefaces it with the formula, ‘according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses,’§§ which in the Chronicle becomes, ‘as it is written in the law, in the book of Moses.’||| A comparison of the accounts of Josiah’s reform is still more instructive. In the History the statement is simply, ‘I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord,’¶¶ *i.e.* the substance but not the present form of Deuteronomy; in the Chronicle this statement is repeated, but with an added preface, ‘Hilkiah the priest found a book of the law of the Lord given by Moses.’***

The outcome of all this is that down to about the year B.C.

* Is. lxiii. 11, 12.

† Jer. xv. 1.

‡ Mic. vi. 4.

§ Hos. xii. 13.

|| Mal. iv. 4; cf. iii. 7.

¶ Dan. ix. 12, 13.

** 1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxi. 8, xxiii. 25. Cf. 2 Kings x. 31; xvii. 13, 34, 37.

†† 1 Chron. i. 1-9; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxv. 4, xxx. 16, xxxiii. 8.

‡‡ Deut. xxiv. 16.

§§ 2 Kings xiv. 6.

||| 2 Chron. xxv. 4.

¶¶ 2 Kings xxii. 8.

*** 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

300 there is no external proof whatever of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, nor indeed of its existence as a writing.

Nor does the Pentateuch, when it comes into existence in its present form, make any claim to be considered the writing or the work of Moses. It makes no such claim for the whole; it makes no such claim for any separate Book. There has never existed a Hebrew or Greek title for the Pentateuch, or any one of its five parts, which attributes it in any sense to Moses. So far from this being the case, when we come to portions which Moses was specially directed to write down or did write down, attention is directed to this fact as an exception to the general rule; * so that if we press the statements of the Pentateuch itself as to its own authorship, the result is to obtain a declaration that the bulk of it is not Mosaic.

The learned prelate, whose work has led us to make the foregoing remarks, does not indeed assert that anywhere in the Pentateuch itself, or in any other writing of the Old Testament, is there even the germ of the tradition which he rightly says 'may in substance be recognised as dating from the time of the Apocrypha.'† But he does not seem to us to realize the force of the admission which he necessarily makes. 'To begin with . . . the time of the Apocrypha' is to hang the chain too low. It is fixed, not in the solid beam, but in the plaster with which later centuries have covered the beam; and it is therefore supported only as long as no weight is made to depend from it. And how significant is this absence of any beam to which the chain can be attached! Is it *à priori* possible that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch should be, in these last years of the nineteenth Christian century, a cardinal doctrine of our faith, which it is all important that we should accept; and yet that one of the most learned prelates of our day should be able to discover no trace of the doctrine in the whole range of the Old Testament Scriptures, extending over a thousand years, though passage after passage occurs where, had it been held and had it been thought important, it must have been stated?

And if we examine the plaster which covers the beam, we find at once that it cannot hold. We are referred to the scriptures of the Apocrypha, though an authority, which our author would at once acknowledge to be binding upon himself as well as upon the clergy to whom his remarks were first addressed, directs us that these are Books which 'the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners;

* Exod. xvii. 14, xxiv. 3, xxxiv. 27; Numb. xxxiii. 2; Deut. xxvii. 8. xxxi. 9, 24.

† 'Christus Comprobator,' p. 40.

but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.* But not to lay any stress upon this, let us ask what does the Apocrypha really teach us as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch or of any portion of it? Our author quotes or refers to six passages.† We confess that we turned to them with almost impatient expectation of learning something which we did not know before. We cannot, however, find in five of them any reference direct or indirect to Moses, or to any author of any Book. They are adduced to prove that which is not questioned. In the sixth the Bishop finds a special ascription of sacredness 'to the Mosaic law and to its author, into whose soul Wisdom herself vouchsafed to enter.‡ We shrink from discussing the meaning of words with so high an authority, but we ask our readers to study the verse which is quoted—and we here reprint it with that which precedes and follows it:—

'She delivered the righteous people and blameless seed from the nation that oppressed them. She entered into the soul of the servant of the Lord, and withstood dreadful kings in wonders and signs; rendered to the righteous a reward of their labours, guided them in a marvellous way, and was unto them for a cover by day, and a light of stars in the night season.'

We ask them to study the whole of this grand description of Wisdom in action,§ and determine whether there is any ground for interpreting it of writing or authorship in any sense.

We must confess also that we are as much surprised at the absence of verses of the Apocrypha which are not quoted as at the presence of those which are. Our author might have quoted a passage in which 'the law which Moses commanded us' is clearly identified with Wisdom,|| though even this falls far short of any assertion of direct Mosaic authorship. Moreover, if the Apocrypha is to be adduced in evidence, it seems natural that we should be directed not to verses in 1 Esdras which make no reference to authorship, but to the familiar passage in 2 Esdras,¶ which gives a detailed account of how the law, having been destroyed by fire, was with many other books reproduced under the Divine guidance, not by Moses, but by Ezra. There is much in this vision which is mere fulness of Oriental phantasy. It takes its place with the parallel story of the pseudo-Aristean origin of the LXX., as part of the efflores-

* Articles of Religion, vi.

† Ecclus. i., Prologue; 1 Macc. xii. 9; Wisd. x. 16; Eccles. (*sic*, but Ecclus. must be meant) xlviii. 25; 1 Esdras i. 47; Wisd. vii. 27.

‡ 'Christus Comprobator,' p. 40.

§ Capp. x. and xi.

|| Ecclus. xxiv. 23, interpreted by the preceding verses of the same chapter.

¶ Capp. xiv. and xv.

cence with which a too luxurious soil has covered the truth which it has produced; but it does not follow that the vision is to be wholly rejected. In any case it represents an actual tradition coming to us from the date of the Apocryphal writings, and the only tradition which those writings assert or support.

If we follow the custom of our best Anglican divines, we shall in a matter of this kind lay great stress on a *catena patrum*. 'Esdras,' it is stated in a passage which is wrongly attributed to St. Augustine, but is not the less valuable as evidence of opinions commonly held, 'Dei sacerdos, combustam a Chaldæis in archivis templi restituit legem. Nempe qui eodem spiritu quo ante scripta fuerat plenus fuerit';* and this view is more or less distinctly asserted by Irenæus and Tertullian, by Chrysostom and Basil.† We have sought without success for any patristic support for the application of the texts quoted by our author to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

Nor is this the only plaster covering into which the chain of tradition has been fixed instead of in the beam itself. The Bishop whose arguments we are following does not refer to the 'Men of the Great Synagogue.' It is to be presumed that he attaches little importance to the tradition which is said to have been handed down by them; it may be that he is not convinced that the men themselves ever really existed, and that he therefore passes over them in silence. If this be so, we are to a large extent in agreement with him; but if what may be called the Greek or Alexandrian stream of tradition, lost though it is in the deserts, is accepted as evidence of the authorship of the Hebrew Scriptures, it seems right to place by the side of it the Jewish or Rabbinic stream, which can scarcely be thought less clear or less authoritative. It is true that we have no proof of the existence of this tradition earlier than the Talmud, but the opening sentences of the *Pirke Aboth*‡ declare in express words, that 'Moses received the law on Sinai and handed it on to Joshua; Joshua to the elders; the elders to the prophets; the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue; . . . Simon the Just, one of the last of the Great

* 'De mirabilibus Script.,' ii. 33; Ed. Benedict. iii., App. p. 26.

† Cf. *catena* in Ryle's 'Canon of the Old Testament,' Excursus A, which, however, does not include St. Augustine. The passage is quoted in Westphal, 'Les Sources du Pentateuque,' i. 17, without any hint that it is not genuine. This is one of several instances which we have noted of the need, in reading M. Westphal's interesting book, of careful verification of references. If the tract can be traced to British ground, for which there is strong internal evidence, it shows how widely the tradition was accepted.

‡ i. 1, 2.

Synagogue,

Synagogue, to Antigonus of Socho'; while another Rabbinic maxim informs us that 'the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel, and Esther; and Ezra wrote his own Book and the genealogies in the Chronicles down to his own name.'* Argument is not needed to show that these statements are entirely untrustworthy; and the outcome of a critical examination of the pre-Christian sources—whether Hebrew or Greek—is that they give us no authoritative tradition as to the origin of the Old Testament Scriptures, and still less do they supply any such tradition as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

When we come to the next link in the Bishop's chain—the evidence of Philo and Josephus—the witness to the Mosaic authorship becomes clear and undoubted. His statements indeed, and the references which support them, fail to do justice to his position, and it is much more forcibly stated by many other writers.† But Philo and Josephus do not in any case carry us back further than the Judaism of the first Christian century. Neither of them is a writer of critical weight, and neither of them gives any authority for his statements. They accept and re-state the views which were commonly held in the Græco-Jewish circles in which they moved, not shrinking from, though wondering at, the statement that Moses wrote the account of his own death and burial at the close of Deuteronomy.‡ That in the period which is roughly indicated by the three centuries before Christ, there grew up a widespread belief—widespread but by no means universal, as we have seen and shall see—that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, is admitted on all hands. What those who formed and taught this belief first meant by it, is by no means certain. It is difficult, perhaps impossible with our Western nineteenth-century ideas of authorship and books, to place ourselves in the position of the Jewish scribes two thousand years ago; but it cannot in any case be proved that by the term 'Book of Moses,' or 'written by Moses,' was meant anything more than that Moses was the central figure of the book, as in the parallel case of 'Book of Joshua,' which no one holds to have been written by Joshua. Nor can we trace the steps by which this belief was generated and established. That portions of the Law were, in the strictest sense, written by Moses, *i.e.* by his own hand or under his immediate direction, is admitted; that

* 'Baba Bathra,' 15 a.

† Cf., *e.g.*, Holzinger, 'Hexateuch,' pp. 9, 10.

‡ Philo, 'De Vita Mosis,' iii, *ad fin.*; ed. Mangey, ii, 179. Josephus, 'Antiq.,' i. 18, 26, and iv. 326.

portions were transmitted orally, and other portions committed to writing for the use of the priests only, is in a high degree probable; that other portions were written later, and that, without any intention whatever to deceive, these were added to the collection of MSS. which had now become known as the Law, and named from Moses, the central Lawgiver; and that the whole had passed through more than one series of editorial emendations, is at least in accord with the circumstances. To speak as some have spoken of such an extension of the term 'Law,' or of the attribution of the name 'Moses' to portions which are in the spirit of the 'Law' and of 'Moses,' and for this reason became identified with him and with his work, as 'pious fraud' or 'forgery,' is entirely to misunderstand the period and the people. And those who by the use of such terms seek to defend the Holy Scriptures, are drawing from its sheath a double-edged sword which may inflict most serious wounds on the arms that seek to wield it.

In the teaching of our Lord we reach a crisis in the course of tradition which is indicated by the title of the work which we are considering—'Christus Comprobator.' If the Christus has really given a decisive utterance on this question, then for the Christian it is finally closed. There can be no appeal. Doubts as to the correctness of the utterance are not consistent with whole-hearted allegiance to the Master's claims. The Bishop devotes to this subject the chief part of his work, and prefaces it by an enquiry as to the rightfulness and the validity of the appeal:—

'Have we a right to make such an appeal? Is the subject of the composition and of the historical credibility of the Books of the Old Testament a subject on which we can, with propriety, appeal to the teaching of our blessed Lord?'

Is the appeal valid?

'Does the doctrine of the Two Natures permit us to ascribe to our Lord in His human nature an intuitive and unerring knowledge in matters relating to the Old Testament, which belong to the general domain of research and criticism? Or, to put this really momentous question in another form,—Was the limitation of our Lord's humanity, and the degree of what is technically called his *kenosis*, of such a nature that His knowledge in regard of the authorship and composition of the Books of the Old Testament was no greater than that of the masters of Israel of His own time?'

The second question, which is rightly described as 'momentous,' leads to a 'reiteration and reinforcement of the holy doctrine

* 'Christus Comprobator,' p. 90.

of the Two Natures.' This is to enter upon one of the most subtle difficulties of theological science, if it be not rather a mystery which transcends human thought. Circumstances have made it prominent in these last days, but we are not sure that fresh light has been cast upon it. Our present author arrives at conclusions which are to him beyond doubt—they are summed up in the term 'Christus Comprobator'; but writers not less thoughtful, not less learned, not less reverent, have arrived at very different conclusions. To discuss these conclusions would be beyond our present purpose, but it may be instructive to compare the simple scriptural statements:—

'And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.'*

'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.'†

'Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren ‡ . . . in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.'§

with an early attempt to express in words what some among us are still expressing in other words:—

'The writer tells us that to the doctors and elders the child Jesus "explained the books, and the law, and the precepts, and the statutes, and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the prophets—things which the understanding of no creature attains to. . . . And a philosopher who was then present, a skilful astronomer, asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied astronomy. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and explained the number of the spheres, and of the heavenly bodies, their natures and operations; their aspect, triangular, square, and sextile; their course, direct and retrograde; the twenty-fourths, and sixtieths of twenty-fourths, and other things beyond the reach of reason. There was also among those philosophers one very skilled in treating of natural science, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied medicine. And He in reply explained to him physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hypophysics, the powers likewise and humours of the body, and the effects of the same, . . . and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect." '||

Who will doubt which of these pictures is the more naturally human, which of them is the more essentially Divine?

We very much regret to find ourselves on this fundamental question at issue with one to whom the Church has so often been indebted as the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol,

* Luke ii. 52. † Mark xiii. 32. ‡ Heb. ii. 17. § Heb. iv. 15.

|| 'Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,' capp. l.-lii., quoted by Dr. Plummer in 'Expositor,' July 1891, p. 6.

and it is a real relief to us to be able to express our dissent from his views in words of the late Bishop of Carlisle, to which we are referred with an adverse comment, though they also form part of a Bishop's Charge to the clergy of his diocese. Dr. Harvey Goodwin is reported to have said :—

‘It is in a certain sense easy to hold the two truths in the manner in which they are enunciated in the Creeds of the Church; it is possible to illustrate the harmony of them by saying, that “as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ”; it is possible to expand the doctrine devotionally, to draw from it many comfortable thoughts, to find in it ever clearer and more blessed answers to the questions which press themselves upon the thoughtful mind; but when we go beyond this, when we treat the mystery of the human and the Divine in Christ as a truth out of which we can draw logical conclusions, saying that such or such propositions *must* be true, because Jesus Christ was God as well as Man, then it seems to me that we go beyond the bounds of safe reasoning, and are liable to fall into error. St. Luke tells us that the child Jesus grew in wisdom as well as in stature; and we are safe, therefore, in believing that the Lord developed from babyhood into manhood in the manner indicated. But should we have dared to assert this growth if we had not had direct authority for the assertion? Should we not rather have been tempted to say that to grow in wisdom as a child grows was incompatible with the truth that Jesus Christ was essentially Divine?’

‘Looking upon the question thus, I confess that I feel great fear when I see the authority of our Lord dragged into human controversy upon matters of literature or history. If our Lord speaks of a certain document as the work of Moses, or of another as the work of David, according to the current language of His time, I think that His words ought not to be quoted as deciding a modern controversy as to authorship. We have no right to argue that in virtue of His Divine nature He *must* have known the truth, and that He *could* not have said anything which was opposed to the truth. Reasoning of this kind appears to some persons incontrovertible; to me it appears delusive and dangerous—delusive, because it implies that we know the nature of the limitations imposed upon Himself by the Son of God when He condescended to become man; dangerous, because we imperil a doctrine of supreme importance by submitting it to a test to which there is no proof that it ought ever to have been subjected.’*

Nor is Dr. Harvey Goodwin the only Bishop who is somewhat severely criticized by Dr. Ellicott. The present Bishop of Manchester is placed among those whose ‘confusion of thought on this subject is simply portentous,’† though his remarks were addressed to the University of Cambridge, and may be taken

* ‘Guardian,’ July 23, 1890, p. 1163.

† ‘Christus Comprobator,’ p. 97.

therefore

therefore to represent his deliberate and carefully worded convictions; and as to a note which he added when the sermon was published, and in which he asserted, 'perhaps a little recklessly, that just as the Lord said to the man who came to Him about the division of the inheritance, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" so the Lord would have said in reply to a question about the age or author of a passage in the Old Testament,—"Who commissioned me to resolve difficulties in historical criticism?"'—we are told that 'the assertion is scarcely even superficially plausible.' The form of this assertion is not one which we should ourselves have chosen; but, that the assertion itself represents a true position, and that on this momentous subject the opinions of the two Northern prelates will prevail in face of the condemnation of them pronounced by their brother of the South, we are fully convinced.

If we are ourselves to choose words in which we think that the true position is most happily expressed, we will bring them across two centuries. As long ago as 1685 Jean Le Clerc (Clericus) published at Amsterdam a reply to Père Simon, in which he says, '... On dira peut-être, que Jésus Christ et les Apôtres citent souvent le Pentateuque sous le nom de Moïse, et que leur autorité doit être d'un plus grand poids, que toutes nos conjectures. Mais Jésus Christ et ses Apôtres n'étaient pas venus au monde, pour enseigner la Critique aux Juifs, il ne faut pas s'étonner, s'ils parlent selon l'opinion commune. Il leur importait peu que ce fut Moïse ou un autre, pourvu que l'Histoire fut véritable. . . .'* Quite so; and if so, then the quotations from our Lord's words are irrelevant to any argument as to the *authorship* of the Books of the Pentateuch. If the Palestinian use of the period was to speak of them as 'the law of Moses,' or to quote them with the prefix, 'Moses said,' and if the Divine Teacher uses them in the course of His own teaching, He naturally assumes the foundation which was common to Himself and His hearers. He uses the only name for these writings which was known to them; but upon the correctness of that name makes neither assertion nor negation. Just as He conformed to the ritual and customs of the period, just as He wore the usual dress of the period, just as He spoke the language which the people understood, so did He, when referring to the Old Testament writings, refer to them in the only way which would have conveyed His meaning to His hearers. Nor is this compliance with the langu

* 'Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur le Vieux Testament,' composé par P. Richard Simon d'Amsterdam, 1685.

time confined to the method of general reference; it extends to such a minute detail as the technical name for a 'section' of the Hebrew Bible as 'The Bush.'* This principle of compliance with custom is expressed indeed more than once, as in the payment of the *didrachma*: 'Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, . . . give unto them for me and thee.'† But we wish to insist upon the point that the use of the commonly accepted terms to indicate the Books of the Old Testament was not simply compliance with custom, but was the employment as the medium of thought of the only recognized symbols which could possibly convey that thought. If this be so, then all discussions of the deep doctrinal questions which are bound up with the 'Two Natures,' all questions of limited omniscience, all questions of accommodation of language, may be dismissed from our consideration of Christ's witness to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; for if this be so, our Lord made no statement whatever upon the subject, and to His witness no appeal can properly be made.

And that this is so seems to us to be certain, not only from the very nature of the case, but also from the fact that, as far as we know, there is no evidence that the early Church regarded our Lord's teaching as having any bearing on the question. If there had been such evidence, we feel sure that a scholar of Dr. Ellicott's erudition must have known it; and if he had known it, its production was of the first importance to his statement of the case. On the other hand, there seems to be much to show that the Fathers did not accept any strict view of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Witness, for example, the persistence of the legend of the Fourth Book of Esdras, to which we have already referred, and which may be traced down to the Reformation.‡ Or is it conceivable, to take another example, that the question should have been regarded as decided by our Lord's statements when Jerome wrote, 'Sive Mosem dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso'?§ Or, to go back to the second century, is it conceivable, if the general feeling of the Church was decisively in favour of the Mosaic authorship, and if the words of the Divine Founder were considered to be a final verdict on the question, that the 'Clementine Homilies' should represent Peter as saying:—

'The law of God was given by Moses, without writing, to seventy wise men, to be handed down, that the government might be carried

* Mark xii. 26; Luke xx. 37.

† Matt. xvii. 26, 27.

‡ Cf. *supra*, p. 385, and see a valuable Excursus in Ryle, 'The Canon of the Old Testament,' pp. 239-250.

§ 'Adv. Helvid.,' iv. 2 and 134.

on by succession. But after that Moses was taken up, it was written by some one, but not by Moses. For in the law itself it is written, 'And Moses died; and they buried him near the house of Phogor, and no one knows his sepulchre till this day.' But how could Moses write that Moses died? And whereas in the time after Moses, about 500 years or thereabouts, it is found lying in the temple which was built, and after about 500 years more it is carried away, and being burnt in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, it is destroyed; and thus being written after Moses, and often lost; even this shows the foreknowledge of Moses, because he, foreseeing its disappearance, did not write it; but those who wrote it, being convicted of ignorance through their not foreseeing its disappearance, were not prophets.*

The result then of our enquiry for a definite and authoritative 'tradition' asserting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is, that we do not find such a tradition either in the pre-Christian period, or in the teaching of our Lord. What we do find is, that, side by side with other traditions asserting different origins, there sprang up in the course of the three centuries preceding the Christian era, a habit of speaking first of one part and gradually of the whole of the five Books of the Law as the work of the great lawgiver Moses; but there is no evidence that it was intended by this to assert that the Books were in our modern sense written by Moses. There is on the other hand considerable evidence to the contrary, from analogy and from the literary habits of the period and the people. The Palestinian use in the first century was naturally adopted by our Lord and passed into the early Church as one of the legacies from the synagogue; but the early Church was concerned with preaching the living Word and establishing the kingdom of God, and questions of criticism or of authorship of the Books of the Old Testament had no place in its thoughts. Its own Divine Founder had left no written record of law or teaching; and when from many oral and written accounts of His life and work, four stood out pre-eminently as bearing the power of inspiration, they received also the stamp of authority. A churchman of the second or third century would have been little troubled if he had been told that what Tatian, one of his own bishops, had done in producing a Harmony—a *Diatessaron*—of the four Gospels, this an Ezra or other scribe had done in producing the 'Law of Moses' by harmonizing four or more records which had been received in his time.

* We quote from Dr. Schaff's convenient reprint of the E⁴¹ 'The Ante-Nicene Fathers,' vol. viii. p. 247. For the *c* Lagarde, 'Clementina,' 1865, p. 49.

We have so far been guided in our course of thought by the Charges of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, though, to our unfeigned regret, we have found ourselves obliged in almost every essential point to dissent from the conclusions at which he has arrived, and which he has most solemnly asserted. He will pardon us if after earnest thought we have come to the conclusion, for the reasons which we have given, that to assert in a matter of criticism that 'Christus' is the 'Comprobator' is to claim for the 'Christus' a function which He never claimed for Himself, and which His Church has never claimed for Him; and a function which, so far as we dare judge, He would have declined for Himself, and which His Church by her silence, when the assertion would have been obviously fit if it had been justifiable, has declined for Him.

For the post-Christian period the Bishop gives no guidance, as from his point of view there is no place for further enquiry; but with the conviction that our Lord left the question, as He found it, perfectly open, we must ask whether the Church, or any consensus of competent persons, has pronounced a decisive verdict.

We have already seen that two other streams of tradition—one flowing through the Fourth Book of Esdras, the other representing the so-called 'Great Synagogue'—meet us in the early Christian centuries; and that, in so far as the early Christian Fathers refer to the Pentateuch at all, it is for the most part without any statement of its exclusively Mosaic authorship. It would indeed be difficult to quote any passage which definitely asserts it, and this silence, though it should not be unduly pressed, is at least deserving of our careful consideration; while in sects of the second century, as far removed from each other as the Judaic Nazarites* on the one hand, and the Gnostic Ptolemæans† on the other, it is distinctly asserted that the Pentateuch is not Mosaic.

But what the Christian Fathers were slow to assert, Rabbinic tradition soon learned to affirm, with a definiteness and a positiveness which were in direct ratio to the distance from all possible sources of information, and in inverse ratio to any possible knowledge or accuracy. To the question, 'Who

* τὰς δὲ τῆς Πεντατεύχου γραφὰς οὐκ εἶναι Μωϋσέως δογματίζουσιν. (Damasce-nus, 'De Hær.' 19; Le Quien, ii. 80.) . . . αὐτὴν δὲ οὐ παρεδέχετο τὴν Πεντάτευχον, ἀλλὰ ὡμολόγει μὲν τὸν Μωϋσέα, καὶ ὅτι ἐδέξατο νομοθεσίαν ἐπίστευεν, οὐ ταύτην δὲ φησιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν. (Epiphanius, 'Adv. Hær.' i. 18; Oehler, ii. 1. 92.)

† Εἰς τε γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦτου νομοθεσίαν διαίρεται· διαίρεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν Μωσέα . . . καὶ εἰς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ διαίρεται, οἱ πρῶτοι εὐρίσκονται ἐντολὰς τινὰς ἐνθέντες ἰδίαις. (Epiph. 'Adv. Hær.' xxxiii. : Oehler, ii. 1. 402-4.)

wrote it?' the Talmud gave a definite answer: 'Moses wrote his book, the "section" about Balaam (Numb. xxii.-xxiv.) and Job. Joshua wrote his book and eight verses of the Law (Deut. xxxiv. 3-12),'* to which was added the anathema that he who thought otherwise should be excluded from Paradise;† though not a few passages of the Talmud itself admit that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in the strict sense is not undisputed.‡ There seems indeed good reason to believe that Rabbinic Judaism, when driven by the forces of Christianity into the straits of a defensive position, forged as one of her last weapons the authority of Moses as the writer of all the Books of the Law, and that the Church, which had at first accepted from the Synagogue Moses as the great Lawgiver, accepted from the Talmud Moses as the infallible scribe.

And as Judaism furnished this defence for the Law, so it is from the heart of Judaism that there came the first suspicions that it is not impregnable. We are told indeed by no less an authority than the Hebrew bibliophile and Christian pastor, Wolf, that after the sect of the Nazarites,

'non inventus est inter Judæos, quod sciam, ullus, ante Aben Esram, qui in suspicionem negatæ Mosaicæ scriptiōnis fuerit vocatus. Ille autem Aben Esra, Spinosa interprete, pro ingenii sui libertate in commentariis suis super Deuteronomii l. l. primus, quamvis subobscurè, negare id ausus est.' §

But this is not quite accurate, inasmuch as Aben Esra himself quotes, though only to criticize severely and reject the opinion of a certain Rabbi *Yizchak*, that Genesis xxxvi. 31 was written in the time of Jehoshaphat.¶ But it was without doubt the use made by another child of Judaism, Baruch (Benedictus) de Spinoza, of enigmatical expressions in Aben Esra himself, which first led the way for the later critical attack. Wolf thinks that Spinoza has read his own thoughts into the riddles of Aben Esra; but it is difficult to understand what is meant by such comments as 'If you only understand the mystery of the twelve; also "and Moses wrote," and "the Canaanite was then in the land," "in the mount of the Lord it shall be revealed," "and his bedstead was an iron bedstead," you

* 'Baba Bathra,' 14 b and 15 a.

† 'Sanhedrin,' Westphal, i. 25. Cf. '... de scriptore Pentateuchi: quem fere omnes Mosen esse crediderunt, imo adeo pertinaciter defenderunt Pharisei, ut eum hæreticum habuerint, qui aliud visus est sentire.' (Spinoza, 'Tract. Theol. Polit.' viii., ed. Bruder, vol. iii. p. 125.)

‡ Diestel, 'Geschichte des Alten Testaments,' p. 38.

§ 'Bibliotheca Hebræa,' ii. 64.

¶ Aben Esra, Comm. on Genesis xxxvi. 31; Buxtorf's Rabbinic Bib.

will discover the truth,' without coming to the conclusion that Spinoza is justified in the opinion that Aben Esra adopted this method of expressing convictions which he dared not express openly from fear of exclusion from the Synagogue; * and this view is supported by Aben Esra's sententious comment on Gen. xii. 6, 'He who understands will keep silence.' Such criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures as there was at all, was in the dark ages necessarily confined to the sons of Judaism, Hebrew or Christian, for the Hebrew language was almost unknown beyond its confines. For this reason the Renaissance brought little fresh life to this branch of knowledge; and the Reformation, both for this reason and more still because its interests were theological and not critical, passed over it lightly; but Carlstadt contributed to the study of the Canon a short but striking essay, in which, after an examination of the difficulties that stand in the way of accepting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch or that of Ezra, he concludes, 'Ex his autem nunc adductis autorem historiæ Mosaicæ scriptorem incertum esse et latentem probavi, neque inter Judæos convenire.' † The hesitating Reformer, Carlstadt, was followed by the bolder Roman, André Maes, a Belgian by birth and nation, and a Jesuit by profession, but of wide renown as an Oriental as well as a classical scholar, and counting among his honours that of having been the first to see the true value of the Codex Vaticanus. He published a commentary on the Book of Joshua, ‡ in which he speaks of the Jewish opinion of its authorship as 'futilis commentitiaque,' and takes occasion to assert of the Pentateuch:—

'Quin ipsum Mosis opus, quod vocant Πεντάτευχον, longo post Moesem tempore, interjectis saltem hic illic verborum et sententiarum clausulis veluti sarcitum atque omnino explicatius redditum esse, conjecturæ bonæ afferri facile possunt.'

In the path thus opened, there followed, now with more, now with less firm step, the Jesuits Pereira, Maldonatus, and Pineda in Spain, Bonfrère in the Netherlands, Petavius and Serrarius in France, the Dutch Jew Spinoza, the French

* See especially Spinoza, 'Tract. Theol. Polit.,' cap. viii. *ut supra*: 'In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon et libros Josuæ, Judicum, Rut, Samuëlis et Regum, non esse autographa.'

† 'De Canonicis Scripturis libellus,' D. Andreæ Bodenstein Carolstadii Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris et Archidiaconi Wittenbergensis, 1520, § 89, p. 371 of Credner's 'Zur Geschichte des Kanon's,' where the whole essay is reprinted. Cf. Credner's Preface to it which invites attention to the hitherto unnoticed doubts in the school of Nisibis in the sixth century (p. 308), and the questions raised in the 'Αντικείμενων of Julian of Toledo (†690), and by Singulf, a pupil of Alenin (†804), pp. 310-315.

‡ 'Josuæ imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata,' ab Andrea Masio, 1574.

vinist Peyrère, the English philosopher Hobbes. They are important chiefly as showing how wide-spread was the attack on the Rabbinic defence, as soon as the growth of knowledge and the art of printing made it possible that an attack should be made, and how misleading it is to speak of an unbroken and everywhere accepted tradition of Mosaic worship.

But in 1685 there appeared at Rotterdam a 'Critical History of the Old Testament,' by the renowned Oratorian, Simon,*—a work which far more than any other of the seventeenth century shows what the streams of tradition and enquiry had been in the past, and shaped their courses for the future. The work is known indeed some seven years earlier, and an English translation by 'a person of quality' (probably Richard, the son of John Hampden) had appeared in 1682. The explanation is that the work was completed and approved in 1678, but was not put back on account of its dedication to the King. A few copies passed into circulation, and the attention of Bossuet and others was drawn to the work. In conjunction with the Jesuits he was able to have the whole edition, with the exception of the few copies already in private hands, suppressed and destroyed. From one of these Elzevier published an edition in 1679; but the work was revised and the complete edition issued in 1685. The English translation contains three sets of dedicatory verses common at this period, which indicate the impression which the book made and the state of public opinion on its subjects. One or two extracts will prove instructive:—

'The sacred Oracles may well endure
Th' exactest search, of their own truth secure;
Though at this Piece some noisy Zelots bawl,
And to their aid a numerous Faction call
With stretch'd out arms, as if the Ark could fall :
Yet wiser heads will think so firm it stands,
That, were it shook, 'twould need no mortal hands.

R. D.

* * * * *

'To Vindicate the Sacred Books, a New,
But onely Certain Method, you pursue,
And shewing Th' are Corrupted, prove 'em True.

N. T.'

Father Simon had, as he tells us in his Preface, very unusual opportunities of preparing this work in uninterrupted leisure, in

* 'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament,' par le R. P. Richard Simon, de la Congrégation de l'Oratoire. Rotterdam, 1685.

command of the Oriental treasures of the library of the Oratory, and in access to learned persons who placed their stores at his disposal. He had already given evidence of his own wide scholarship and special knowledge of Jewish subjects. And he is conscious of the importance of freedom from prejudice as well as of its rarity:—

‘But after all I found that no one has hitherto thoroughly search’d into the Criticism of the Scripture; every one has commonly spoke according to his prejudices. The Jews, for example, who consulted onely their Authours, have had but very slender Knowledge herein, and they have contented themselves with admiring what they understood not. As for the Christians, most of the Fathers have been so much prejudic’d in favour of the ancient Translations of the Church, that they have wholly neglected the Hebrew Text, besides that they have not had all the necessary helps for the through examining of what belongs to the Criticism of the Bible.

‘As for the Writers of our times, whether Catholicks or Protestants, I have found none who were wholly free from prejudice. The two Buxtorfs, who have got much reputation, especially amongst the Protestants, have in most of their Works onely shewn that they were biass’d in favour of the Rabbins opinions, without having consulted any other Authours. Father Morin on the contrary was prejudic’d against the Rabbins before he had read them, and under pretence of defending the ancient Translations of the Church, he has collected all the proofs he could find to destroy the originals of the Bible.’*

It would be unkind to the memory of a man who has the great merit of having placed the whole question on the plane of a problem of literary history, and has himself, if we include in our range of view the whole series of his works, the first claim to be called the father of Biblical criticism, to suggest that, conscious as he is of the prejudices of others, his own work is not wholly free from ‘tendency’; but in any case, we may note that the chief results of his criticism on the Pentateuch are to answer Spinoza, and to show that the growing Protestant doctrine of a Book religion cannot bear the weight which is placed upon it. He agrees with Spinoza in holding that a number of passages in the Pentateuch cannot be by Moses, and he is prepared even to abandon the unity of the composition; but he saves the historic truth by falling back, as many had done before him, notably the great Spanish Rabbi Abrabanel, and perhaps even Josephus,† on the theory of archivists and public annalists who were inspired to add to and correct the sacred writings which they preserved. We must not, however,

* Authour’s Preface. English Translation.

† Cf. ‘*Contra Apionem*,’ i. 6. 2.

be tempted from our special purpose of finding and ascertaining whether there is a fixed and trustworthy tradition asserting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. It is clear that the weighty instance of Father Simon is as much opposed to it as that of Spinoza himself.

In the extended controversy which arose upon the publication of Father Simon's views, one work demands a passing notice. The famous Jean Le Clerc, to whose treatise we have already made reference,* presents to us professedly the free conversation of three or four friends. These *Sentimens*, while for the most part they are a severe criticism on Father Simon from the point of view of Dutch Protestants, agree with him in thinking the Mosaic authorship to be impossible, and add that all the conditions of the problem are fulfilled by supposing that the arrangement of the Pentateuch was the work of the priests referred to in 2 Kings xvii. 29:—

‘Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land.’

In a later work,† Le Clerc took a position which was to a large extent a withdrawal of his earlier views. The chief portions of the five Books, and in any case the laws of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, are Mosaic, but he still admits that there are additions and passages which cannot be explained.

The next important writer on our subject is by common consent regarded as the founder of modern criticism of the Pentateuch. We have reached then a dividing line, and, before we cross it, may take account of the results at which we have arrived, and ask how far they answer our first question, ‘What is the “traditional theory,” and how far is it firmly established?’ We are of course fully conscious that we have reached these results—or rather must appear to our readers to have reached them—by leaps and bounds, and not by the technical investigation and minute enquiries which the problem demands. But what can we do? We are writing an article, not a treatise; our pages will not bear the burden of the Schools, and we are dealing in some twenty pages with a history which comes through more than thirty centuries. How far our results are justified time will show; but it is due to the reader to whom they may seem to be hasty generalizations, to assure him that

* *Supra*, p. 391.

† ‘Genesis, sive Mosis prophetæ liber primus,’ ex translatione J. C^l

they are based upon many years of study of the subject. We suggest, then, that the following results are either established or are in the highest degree probable:—

I. That neither the Pentateuch, nor any separate book contained in it, claims for itself that it was as a whole written by Moses.

II. That no such claim is made in any one of the later canonical books of the Old Testament.

III. That no such claim is made in any one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament.

IV. That no such claim is made, nor is any assertion of any kind made as to the authorship of these books, or any of them, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

V. That no such claim has been made by any Apostolic or sub-Apostolic writer.

VI. That no such claim has been made by any Council, Œcumenical, National, or Provincial.

VII. That no such claim has been made by a *consensus Patrum*, nor yet by any Father of the Church, speaking with authority.

VIII. That it is claimed in the Pentateuch that certain portions were written immediately or mediately by Moses.

IX. That this claim is recognized in the later books of the Old Testament.

X. That in the period between the Old and the New Testaments, side by side with other traditions, it became customary to speak of the whole by the name of Moses, who was the recognized author of the nucleus, and the great figure which gave the Law which dominated the life of the nation.

XI. That this implied neither *suppressio veri* nor *suggestio falsi*, but was in accord with the genius of the race and the custom of the period.

XII. That Philo and Josephus speak of the Mosaic authorship in this sense, not implying a critical opinion, but expressing the current belief of Judaism in the first Christian century.

XIII. That our Lord and the Apostles accept and use the current terms in the current sense, and that they passed into the language of the Church in the same sense.

XIV. That there is patristic evidence that these terms were not used to imply Mosaic authorship in the strict sense.

XV. That the first clear ascription to Moses of direct authorship is in the Talmud, in a passage which makes other assertions that throw doubt upon this one, and in a work which contains statements that are incompatible with it.

XVI. That

XVI. That when discussion became possible, Jews and Christians, Catholics and Protestants, regarded the question as one to be determined by the evidence of the books themselves, and if to some extent shielded, yet not precluded by authority or tradition from the tests of criticism.

XVII. That after the Reformation, when the position of Protestantism logically demanded an infallible book, as the position of Romanism demanded an infallible pope, and a rigid doctrine of verbal inspiration hitherto unknown to the Church gained a hold among Protestant divines, there arose also a claim that Moses was not only the authority, but also the author of the books known by his name: but that this opinion never became part of the creed of Christendom, or even of the public confession of any Church.

2. Our next duty is to enquire how far the alleged results of modern criticism, or to use the term which we have adopted from the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, the 'analytical theory,' have been established.

Passing by, with a mere mention of their names, the great pioneers in this analysis—Astruc, Eichhorn, Geddes, Vater, De Wette, Ewald, Vatke, George, Hupfeld, Reuss,—and referring any reader who would clothe these names with the life and work of those who bore them, to the 'Introductions,' or to Canon Cheyne's charmingly, but not always judicially, written sketches,* we must pause for a moment to read this extract from a letter written on November 12th, 1866, by Graf, the pupil of Reuss, to Kuenen, of Leiden:—

'La priorité de l'Élohiste sur le Jéhoviste a été jusqu'à présent tellement hors de doute ou plutôt admise comme une sorte d'axiome, que la preuve du contraire produirait une véritable révolution dans la critique du Pentateuque, principalement de la Genèse; mais je ne manquerai pas dorénavant de considérer le Pentateuque sous ce point de vue, pour parvenir à me former une conviction raisonnée par rapport à cette priorité.'†

'At last, in the course of a casual visit to Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the Prophets, and, almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it.'‡ Such are the words in which Julius Wellhausen tells of a suggestion which, like a spark igniting a train, touched the force that more than any other was to bring about

* 'Founders of Old Testament Criticism,' 1893.

† 'Hexateuch,' ed. Wicksteed, p. xxiv.

‡ 'History of Israel,' Eng. trans., 1885, p. 3.

the revolution of which Graf had spoken; for since 1876, when Wellhausen first published his work on the 'Composition of the Hexateuch,'* the Grafian theory has taken altogether a new position among critics, strengthened as it has been by Wellhausen's later editions of this essay, and especially by his 'History of Israel,'† and by the work of Kuenen which began earlier and has continued on independent lines, now anticipating, now confirming, but throughout in general harmony with Wellhausen's results.

Another spark kindled at Göttingen fired a train which had still more important results in spreading this revolution among English-speaking peoples. Mr. Robertson Smith, who had been called in 1870, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, from being assistant to the Edinburgh chair of Physics, to fill the chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, was also among the friends of Ritschl and Lagarde, and wisely studied at Göttingen after he began to teach at Aberdeen. His article 'Bible' in the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (1875) was practically the first presentation in English of Graf's theory. In 1880 he was deprived of his chair in Aberdeen. His reply, due to 'the invitation of some six hundred prominent Free Churchmen in Edinburgh and Glasgow, who deemed it better that the Scottish public should have an opportunity of understanding the position of the newer criticism than that they should condemn it unheard,'‡ was 'The Old Testament in the Jewish Church,'§ followed by 'The Prophets of Israel' (1882). These works are Lectures, and were delivered to large audiences. They are therefore popular presentations and give in a large degree the results attained by Kuenen and Wellhausen, but they are based throughout on full knowledge and independent investigation. They are moreover free from the cold naturalism of Kuenen and the irreverence of Wellhausen; and while these men shocked the religious consciousness by such bold assertions as 'Of religions the Israelitish is to us one, no less, but also not more;' 'Judaism and Christianity belong indeed to the foremost religions, but between them both and all other religions there is no specific difference,'|| Robertson Smith satisfied it by the assurance that the new criticism did but make the Old Testament more living and real, and that it was in the fullest sense consistent with the principles of Evan-

* 'Die Composition des Hexateuchs: Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie,' xxi. und xxii.

† 'Geschichte Israels,' 1878; 'Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels,' 1883 and 1886.

‡ Preface, ed. 2, p. ix.

§ Ed. 1, 1881; ed. 2, 1892.

|| Kuenen, 'Godsdienst,' §§ 5-13: 'Ons Standpunt.'

gelical religion. Later works are now in the hands of English readers, especially the valuable collection and investigation of facts in Dr. Driver's 'Introduction'; but as the student who wishes to master the present Pentateuchal question must start from Wellhausen's 'Composition' on the one hand and Dillmann's 'Appendix' on the other, so the ordinary reader will find the strongest but least technical statement of the case on either side in these 'Lectures' of Dr. Robertson Smith, and in the 'Baird Lecture' for 1889 by Dr. James Robertson.

It is no part of our present purpose to examine at any length the arguments which are now put forward in the name of the 'higher criticism,' or those upon which stress is laid in reply; and if we were to make the attempt, it would be obviously impossible for us to accomplish it; but we may perhaps claim space in which to state summarily the chief tendencies of thought. The following outline is necessarily imperfect, but it is, we believe, substantially correct:—

1. It is regarded as scarcely doubtful that

(a) there are four documents in our present Pentateuch: the First Elohist or Priestly Codex, the Second Elohist, the Jehovist, the Deuteronomist;

(b) each of these documents existed as an independent writing before incorporation into the Pentateuch;

(c) in their main features these documents can be distinctly traced, and, while there is much diversity in details, there is practical unanimity as to the main outlines of their contents; *

(d) there are in Pentateuchal legislation at least three distinct codes of laws: the covenant (judicial) code, Ex. xx.–xxiv., xxxiv.; the prophetic, parenetic, popular code of Deuteronomy; the esoteric priestly code, of which the centre is Leviticus. These codes show characteristics of their history, their date, their purpose, and exhibit clear stages of development from the simple to the complex.

2. It is further held, but with less general agreement, that—

(a) the literature and history alike make it impossible to regard the Pentateuchal legislation as one whole, and they can only be understood on the assumption that the Deuteronomic and Priests' Codes did not exist or were not known, the one before the reign of Josiah, the other before the Exile. The literature is silent about them, and the history presents frequent violations of them, or unconsciousness of them, by persons who were the representatives of God to the people;

* See especially the Tables added as an appendix to Holzinger's 'Einleitung.' The amalgamation of J E is, however, so complete that it is often impossible to determine the elements.

(b) the Books of Judges and Samuel are written by one who knows the Book of the Covenant, but not the Deuteronomic or Priestly Code. The Books of Kings are written by one who knows and is imbued with the spirit of the Deuteronomic Code, but is ignorant of the Priestly; the Books of Chronicles by one who interprets the history by the Priestly Code;

(c) the prophet Ezekiel—the great priest of the Exile—occupies common ground between the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes, and furnishes the basis for the later legislation;

(d) as with the legislation and the institutions, so with the theological ideas. There is throughout the literature and the history a clearly traceable development corresponding with and confirming the general evolution.

3. The dates of the four great documents are, for those who accept the foregoing propositions, roughly as follows:—

(1.) The Jehovist, at the end of the ninth or beginning of the eighth century B.C.

(2.) The Elohist, that is, the second Elohist of Hupfeld, which has now in the school of Graf become the first, probably some fifty years later.

These documents are conveniently known by the symbols J and E respectively; and were later—after perhaps a hundred years—amalgamated with editorial modifications into one document known as J E, *i.e.* the great prophetic *History Book*.

(3.) The Deuteronomist followed soon after the amalgamation of J and E, not later than B.C. 621. The obvious symbol for it is D.

(4.) The Priestly Codex, *i.e.* the first Elohist, now become last, in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. It is referred to as P or P C, and by Wellhausen as Q (*quatuor*), from the not very happy idea that it contains four covenants.

There are of course many modifications of these documents, which come to us, it may be, from schools rather than from individual writers, and the later works, such as those of Cornill and Holzinger, abound with symbols which represent them. There are also many questions about each of them which are not solved, perhaps are insoluble to the satisfaction of the critics themselves. They are dealt with in almost every modern treatise on the subject, but for our purpose this mere outline must suffice. We ought however to add (to prevent confusion in a field in which it is not always easily avoided) that Dillmann and those who follow him use for our four great documents the

the symbols A = P = Priests' Codex or First Elohist; B = E = Second Elohist, it being in his opinion doubtful whether A or B is really the older, but certain that B or E is older than J; C = J, the Jehovist; D = the Deuteronomist.

Now, if we enter with statements such as these and the mass of minute technical evidence on which they are based into the courts of Reason and ask for a verdict upon them, we shall at once meet with the obvious objection that we are dealing with matters that to a large extent are unknown and probably unknowable. When similar questions are raised about the Gospels, we meet with complexities which make it doubtful whether any really profitable results can be expected; but here they are multiplied a hundredfold. It is difficult enough to walk with anything like certain tread in the historic twilight of the first Christian centuries. Who shall walk firmly in the historic darkness of the Mosaic period, illumined as it is only by stars which make the darkness visible? The child of the nineteenth century finds it almost impossible to transplant himself to the first. How shall he cross the barriers of language, custom, habits, modes of thought, varieties of feeling, which rise like mountains between the nineteenth century after and the fourteenth century before Christ?

It is further obvious to remark that many experts in analysis are brought into court when they should be still in the laboratory. They speak about results; they should speak of tendencies. The analyses are not complete. We are asked to give a verdict on matters of fact when the evidence consists of provisional hypotheses; or, to change the metaphor, we are asked to believe that a new skeleton key which opens a lock because it is made for the purpose, is therefore the original key which came from the maker's hands.

And when all this mass of hypotheses is placed in evidence, it is found to contain elements so contradictory that our confidence in the methods and the instruments employed must be considerably shaken. Our own summary of the result of criticism may give some faint idea of how vast this mass is, and how contradictory are its elements. The waves come and the waves recede, and the impression made upon the rock of our ignorance, though we would fain believe that it is real, is one that is not to be measured by days or even by years. That the criticism of this generation has marked a true progress in our conceptions of the Old Testament, and has clothed with life many bones which were very dry, we most thankfully acknowledge; but we find ourselves involuntarily smiling as wave after wave comes beating in, often with crest and splash, as though

though everything must yield before it. We have no desire to lay undue stress upon the manifest and abounding contradictions which have been the outcome of these critical enquiries. Changes of opinion are often improvements of opinion. Third thoughts which are fuller inductions, are better than either the hasty generalizations of first thoughts or the exceptions of second thoughts. But amid the jubilant cries of victory all along the line, which meet us in a chorus of many voices which are youthful, and of some that experience might have warned, we must plead that men who seek to be wise should sometimes look backward, and should sometimes look forward.

This century has seen four dominant theories of Pentateuchal criticism—the documentary, the fragmentary, the supplementary, the evolutionary or renewed documentary—each supported by the authority of great men, and showing how almost resistless a theory can become, when the facts are sufficiently remote and uncertain, and when a mind sufficiently able devotes itself to inventing a theory which shall explain as many of the facts as it can and mould those which it cannot. At different periods in this century each of these theories has appeared to its supporters to be the final solution. It seems but as yesterday when the brilliant genius of Stanley charmed so many, and alarmed perhaps more, by presenting to us in his own fascinating style the results of the investigations of Ewald; or the critical enquiries of Colenso suggested to Kuenen the untrustworthiness of the First Elohist. But meanwhile we have been told that this ‘Book of Origins’ is now the earliest and now the latest of all the documents of the Pentateuch, and that it is even both earliest and latest; and told this, moreover, by masters in modern research who have used all the instruments of internal evidence to prove their assertions true. Or to take another from the many examples which surround us. The real father of Wellhausen’s teaching is the Hegelian Vatke; for does he not tell us, ‘My enquiry proceeds on a broader basis than that of Graf, and comes nearer to that of Vatke, from whom indeed I gratefully acknowledge myself to have learnt best and most’? * and now the shade of Vatke himself tells us that he had long abandoned the views with which he inspired Wellhausen, and that the First Elohist which he had taught men to place not earlier than the Captivity is really to be placed before Deuteronomy, which is *not* Josiah’s newly-found Law Book! Taking Dillmann’s symbols and order of documents A B C D, Wellhausen learns from Vatke that the

* ‘History of Israel,’ p. 13.

true order is C B D A, and now one of Vatke's pupils gives us his 'Lectures,'* which declare that the true order is C A B D. We smile at the past from the vantage-ground of present knowledge. What will the future say to our knowledge? We will not prophesy, but we may record. One of old said: ὁδᾶμεν ὅτι πάντες γινώσκον ἔχομεν. ἡ γινώσκis φυσιοῖ.

Nor are there wanting indications that our present views will undergo important modifications. It required a century from the time of Astruc to develop the Second Elohist. Before another half-century is added, a Second Jehovist will perhaps stand out quite as clearly.† Young men now sometimes astonish their elders by speaking familiarly of the Hexateuch, but there already seems good reason for believing that the documents of the earlier books can be traced much beyond the Book of Joshua.‡ And, not to mention the wilder flights of Maurice Vernes and others, which the more serious critics disavow, a scholar who has claims to be heard is already urging upon us that the whole fabric of modern criticism is tottering, because it is based upon a corrupt text; and that the true key to the problem is in the fact that, besides the ancient law-book (Deut. iv. 45—xxviii. 69) discovered by Hilkieh, there was another law-book which had never been lost.§

An independent investigation cannot moreover fail to observe that there is very important expert evidence against the theory which we are sometimes told is adopted by every scholar of note—the adoption of which, indeed, has in some quarters come to be regarded as the test of admission into the higher ranks of Old Testament criticism. If we were asked to name the first commentator on the Pentateuch, we should without hesitation say—and most men would say with us—Dillmann; if the most acute and widely-read of Semitic scholars, Nöldeke; if the author of the ablest recent *History of the Hebrews*, Kittel; if the writer of the most thoughtful monograph on the *Old Testament Priesthood*, Baudissin; if the strongest advocate of the principles of *wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Hilgenfeld; and these men, writing from very different points of view, and being wholly independent witnesses, unite in telling us that it is impossible to admit the central postulate of the Wellhausen theory—that the Priests' Codex is later than the Exile. Prominent among the experts for the English student there will

* 'Enleitung nach Vorlesungen von G. G. S. Preiss,' 1886.

† Cf. Bruston, 'Les deux Jéhovistes,' 1885; Westphal, 'Les Sources du Pentateuque,' i. 225.

‡ Budde, 'Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel,' 1890.

§ Klostermann, 'Der Pentateuch,' 1893.

naturally come the Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow, to whose Baird Lecture * we have already referred, and who writes with a full and personal knowledge of the East which is so rare among Westerns. The reader who begins this book is not likely to omit any portion of it, but we specially commend a study of the sixth chapter, commencing with the apposite quotation from Emerson, 'I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere for such a start,' and ending with the statement, 'I confess that it is extremely difficult for me, not only to believe the position that is taken up, but even to apprehend it as a possibility. . . .'

Meanwhile, the archæologists are claiming a hearing, and tell us that, in addition to their previous strong array of facts, inscriptions, about the genuineness and antiquity of which there can be no question, are being discovered, and that some of them are decisive against the 'higher criticism' on very important points. Foremost among them in this country is Professor Sayce, who, after many contributions to periodical literature, has recently published an important work on the subject.† It is almost piteous to read the appeal of Professor Cheyne to his old friend Sayce to return from evil ways, which, he thinks, are tending to make 'our popular literature on the Old Testament . . . an obstacle to progress'—an opinion in which we quite agree, but should not have laid the blame at Dr. Sayce's door—and to 'seek the assistance of the critics.'‡ And yet we sincerely hope that Dr. Sayce will do nothing of the kind. Indeed, we venture to think that for an Oriental archæologist of Professor Sayce's reputation there has lately been somewhat too much of the theorizing of the critic. It is dangerous for an expert to prophesy what will be found; dangerous for him to interpret, with the assistance of the critics or in the interests of the apologists, what has been found. We want from a witness facts, pure facts; and the less of coloured light upon them the better.

And while the archæologists are offering us technical evidence, men who claim no special knowledge, but watch the currents of thought, are asking us to note how in parallel branches of study the confident assertions of subjective criticism have been discredited. They draw pictures of the Tübingen school and its

* It will be unnecessary to point out to the student of this book that the author sometimes unhappily merges the character of critic and expert in that of advocate.

† 'The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments,' 1894. See pp. 5, 6.

‡ 'Founders of Old Testament Criticism,' pp. 231-241.

discomfiture,

discomfiture, of the rehabilitation of Homer in spite of the Wolfians. They are confident that, as it has been with the New Testament, so will it be with the Old; that as it has been with Homer, so will it be with Moses.

Now if with all this evidence we recur to our second main question, and ask how far the 'analytical theory' is consistent with the facts, it seems clear that only one answer can be given. We may admit that there is much to be said for it, that this has been said with conspicuous ability, and, except in rare instances, with conspicuous fairness; that this ability and fairness have won the adhesion of many who have competent knowledge of one side of the question, and of some who have competent knowledge of both; but we must add that there is much, very much to be said *per contra*, and that in its main contention the case is NOT PROVEN, is not indeed in the present state of our knowledge provable.

3. We have been led to write more fully than we had intended on each of the earlier divisions of our subject, and have reserved little space for that which is of most practical importance—the question how far we are compelled by the established results of modern criticism to reconsider any of our commonly received opinions; but if the conclusions at which we have arrived are warranted, this question has been already answered. If, on the one hand, there is no authorized tradition as to the authorship or immediate origin of the Pentateuch; and if, on the other hand, the theories which assert of it that its origin is late are not proved; and if some of them, such as the post-Exilic date of the levitical legislation, have not been made even likely,—it follows that criticism has no right to demand of the Church any restatement of her doctrine, and that Christians may rest without apprehension upon that which is of a truth 'the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture.'

But if we conclude that no modifications of doctrine have been made necessary, our discussion suggests some considerations which are important:—

1. The most reverential care should be taken how we use the authority of the Divine Revealer of Truth, in deciding a matter of fact which is within the limits of human knowledge. Let us take an example of this. We have lately seen quoted with much approval in many quarters these words from the Second Charge of the present Bishop of Oxford:—

'With this belief (*viz.* in the omniscience of our Lord), I feel that I am bound to accept the language of our Lord in reference to the Old Testament Scriptures as beyond appeal. Where He says that Moses or the Prophets wrote or spoke of Him, and the report of His

saying this depends on the authority of His Evangelist, I accept His warrant for understanding that Moses and the Prophets did write and speak about Him, *in the sense in which I believe that He means it.*'

But we submit, with all respect for the great Bishop and historian who is quoted, that everything depends upon the words at the end of this sentence which we have ventured to put in italics. In the absence of proof to the contrary we believe that our Lord could only have meant that which, as we have tried to show, every person who heard Him would understand Him to mean. The reader who will analyze the passages of the Gospels in which reference is made to Moses or the Law, and observe to whom they are addressed, will, we believe, find confirmation for our view. We have been glad to find confirmation of it also, since the earlier part of this paragraph was in print, in the following words from the Pope's last Encyclical Letter:—

'Vulgari autem sermone quum ea primo proprieque effèrentur quæ cadant sub sensus, non dissimiliter scriptor sacer (monuitque et Doctor Angelicus) "*ea secutus est, quæ sensibilibus apparent,*" seu quæ Deus ipse, homines alloquens, ad eorum captum significavit humano more.'*

2. The distinction between the substance of the Books of the Pentateuch and the form in which they now exist is admitted on all sides, but it is also frequently forgotten. If it could be proved that part of the Pentateuch is in its present form post-Exilic, this would not affect the substance, which must have existed in earlier written and oral forms. Let this fact be stated once more in the words of one who, unlike ourselves, is convinced of the late date of the Priests' Code:—

'This double aspect of the Priests' Code is reconciled by the supposition that the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are *in their origin* of great antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code* that they belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period. In its main stock, the legislation of P was thus not (as the critical view of it is sometimes represented by its opponents as teaching) "*manufactured*" by the priests during the exile; it is based upon *pre-existing Temple usage*, and exhibits the form which that finally assumed.'†

This distinction lies indeed within the circle of a great theological question which it is beyond our present purpose to discuss, but it surely may be held that the truer view of revelation in the Old and New Testament alike is that God

* Leo XIII., 'De Studiis Scripturæ Sacræ,' 1893, p. 34.

† Driver, 'Introduction,' p. 135. Cf. a very important passage in the Preface, pp. xiv. and xv., which some of Dr. Driver's critics have not considered.

inspired not books but men; that religion is not a code but a life; that the true Israel, the true Church of God, is a Divine Society; that the members of it are not bibliolaters but Christians; that the true Word of God is the Person of Jesus Christ; that the *ῥῆμα* of the Old Testament is identified with the *λόγος* of the New; that while grass withereth and flower fadeth 'the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And *this is the word which by the Gospel is preached*'; that 'God . . . hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son,' but that the same God 'at sundry times (in many parts) and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets.'

3. The cognate distinction between authorship and authority is also admitted on all sides, and yet how many modern arguments against the present critical position are based upon what cannot be ignorance, and therefore must be forgetfulness of it? In the course of this article we have, with deep regret, differed from more than one whom we willingly acknowledge as our spiritual fathers, and we therefore the more thankfully adopt the words recently uttered from the chair of St. Augustine upon the 'higher criticism.' This is the Archbishop of Canterbury's estimate of the points we are now considering:—

'The authorship of the Books is sometimes spoken of as of supreme importance. But is it essential that I should know the author? Is it on that or is it on the contents of the treatise that my faith hangs? I do not know the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Every attempt to fix him is beset with difficulties. Yet that book is the bridge between the Old and New Testament, and no position or name of writer could strengthen it. I have no doubt that St. John the Apostle wrote the fourth Gospel, but if I thought some other had composed it, I should have one more surprising spiritual genius to admire with veneration, but it would not diminish the value of his Christ, of the Life and Light of the world.*'

Let us place beside it the words of the great English interpreter of Greek thought, quoted by a pupil who is becoming one of the chief English interpreters of Hebrew thought:—

'And so in all religions: the consideration of their morality comes first, afterwards the truth of the documents in which they are recorded, or of the events natural or supernatural which are told of them. But in modern times, and in Protestant countries perhaps more than in Catholic, we have been too much inclined to identify the historical with the moral; and some have refused to believe in religion at all, unless a superhuman accuracy was discernible in every part of the record. The facts of an ancient or religious history are amongst the most important of all facts; but they are frequently

* "Guardian," November 1, 1893, p. 1749.

uncertain, and we only learn the true lesson which is to be gathered from them when we place ourselves above them.*

Let us also place beside it words of St. Gregory the Great, generalized and again uttered from the chair of St. Peter:—

‘Quis hæc scripserit, valde supervacaneæ quæritur, quum tamen auctor libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur. Ipse igitur hæc scripsit, qui scribenda dictavit: ipse scripsit qui et in illius opere inspirator exstitit.’†

4. If the considerations which we have advanced in the course of this article be accepted, there must be a recasting, not indeed of any doctrine, but of some individual opinions, and of many forms of expression on either side. The scientific student of criticism, in proportion as he is scientific, will humbly devote himself to the investigation of facts. He will not expect the work to be completed by his own book, or in his own lifetime. He will recognize his position as a workman, not the architect of the great Temple of Science, and will be thankful if he can add one abiding stone to the vast building. For him all boastings of his own work, all unworthy attacks on the work of others, all self-seeking or self-assertion, will be impossible. These belong to the self-conscious sciolist, not to the self-sacrificing man of science. On the other hand, the man whose first care is to defend the Faith will, just in proportion as he loves his Bible and loves his God, say no word by which Faith may be opposed to the progress of true knowledge; nay, he may find that not a few words should be unsaid, and in that case he will in the interests of Faith and Science alike hasten to unsay them. To use an illustration for which we think the authority of another Archbishop may be quoted, for part of it at least comes back to the memory with the echo of the voice of Dr. Magee from a Church Congress platform:—Here and there, round the central citadel of the Christian faith, there have grown up in peaceful centuries pleasant villas of pious opinions, just as round the fortress of some great city there have grown up suburbs of human habitation. But in time of danger the defenders of the fortress will ruthlessly tear down these suburbs at whatever inconvenience to the inhabitants, so that the fortress may stand out solid and stern and strong in the face of the foe. And so it must be with our views of the Bible. There may be the tearing down here and there of some pious opinion which has grown up round the fortress but is no part of it. The removal of these may cost us a pang, but it may be necessary in the

* Jowett, ‘Dialogues of Plato,’ ed. 3, vol. iii. p. xxxvii., quoted by Montefiore, ‘Hibbert Lectures,’ 1892.

† *Præf. in Iob*, n. 2. ‘De Studiis Scripturæ Sacræ,’ *ut supra*, p. 38.

presence of the enemy, and the Bible's truest friends may be those who see the danger and are thus saving the fortress. But these men, if they are wise, will not forget that the flimsiest shelter is dear to those who have grown up in it, and they will remove no man's house until they can place him in a safer.

And what is the strength of the fortress? Not surely in claiming, as the very bulwark of our faith, traditional or authoritative statements which the Church has never made her own; not at least if we may accept the utterance of one of her most trusted leaders, speaking of the last Lambeth Conference:—

'Of all the manifold blessings which God has showered on our English Church, none surely is greater than the providence which has shielded her from premature and authoritative statements, which soon or late must be repudiated or explained away, however great may have been the temptation from time to time. The Church of England is nowhere directly or indirectly committed to the position that the sun goes round the earth; or that this world has only existed for six or seven thousand years; or that the days of Creation are days of twenty-four hours each; or that the scriptural genealogies must always be accepted as strict and continuous records of the descent from father to son; or that the sacred books were written in every case by those whose names they bear; or that there is nowhere allegory, which men have commonly mistaken for history. On these and similar points our Church has been silent; though individuals, even men of high authority, have written hastily and incautiously.*

What is the strength of the fortress? Not surely in deprecating the attack, but in openly meeting it. A Church founded in the Truth can have no object but the Truth, and will gladly welcome all criticism which will help her in the sacred task of vanishing error. Such will be the policy of the Church of England if she follows the wisely bold guidance of the Primate of all England. It is painful to have to admit that there is and for the assertion made by a thoughtful English writer:—

'The influence of every Church . . . allows the intellect of its members to be apologetic, explanatory, and it may be even complementary, but forbids it at all hazards to be critical.'†

English Churchmen will thank the Archbishop of Canterbury for the hopeful truth and truthful hope of his reply:—

That is not true of the English Church at least. The Church of the present and of the coming day is bringing her sheaves home with her from the once faithlessly dreaded harvests of criticism.'

* See Lightfoot, Durham Diocesan Conference, 'Guardian,' October 23, 1862.

† See, 'National Life and Character,' p. 264.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Chorographical Description; or, Survey of the County of Devon.* By Tristram Risdon. Printed from a genuine Copy of the original Manuscript; with considerable Additions. London, 1811.
2. *The Worthies of Devon.* By John Prince, Vicar of Berry Pomeroy. London, 1810.
3. *The Noble and Gentle Men of England. (Devonshire.)* By Evelyn Philip Shirley. London, 1859.
4. *An Exploration of Dartmoor, and its Antiquities.* By John Lloyd Warden Page. London, 1889.
5. *The Rivers of Devon; from Source to Sea.* By John Lloyd Warden Page. London, 1893.

‘A LIVELY desire,’ says Gibbon, ‘of knowing and recording our ancestors so generally prevails, that it must depend on the influence of some common principle in the minds of men. Our calmer judgment will rather tend to moderate than to suppress the pride of an ancient and worthy race. The satirist may laugh, the philosopher may preach, but Reason herself will respect the prejudice and habits which have been consecrated by the experience of mankind.’ It was in this spirit that the biographer of the ‘Worthies of Devon,’ in his Rectory of Berry Pomeroy, undertook the classic work which has so long preserved their memory from decay:—

‘Long while devouring time and death laid wait
To make their ruins like their actions great,
But fruitless the attempt while thus you save
No less their tombs than actions from the grave.’

It is not unnatural perhaps that their clerical biographer should give a prominent place to the men of his own cloth—Thirty bishops and archbishops adorn the page of his *libro d’oro*, which would be amply filled did it contain no other names than Baldwin and Stephen Langton, John Jewel, and Gilbert Foliot of London. Bishop Jewel, says Prince, was born at Bowden, in the parish of Berry-nerber—the ‘second son of John Jewel, a gentleman of good sort and place, by Alice daughter of Richard Bellamie (*quasi bella et amabilis*), a name composed of beauty and love, which our pious Bishop Jewel always had in such reverence that he caused it to be engraven on his signet and had it imprinted on his heart.’ Three Courtenays—*atavis editi regibus*—whose noble birth tempted even the sedate Gibbon into digression, were raised to the Episcopal Bench. So, too, was John Prideaux, who had previously failed to obtain the post of parish clerk. ‘If I could have

have been clerk of Ugborow,' he was wont to say, 'I had never been Bishop of Worcester.' Of Bishop Bronescombe an enduring monument remains in the cathedral of his native county.

We need not here enumerate many of the families which find a place among Prince's 'Worthies,' since they will be noticed among their appropriate surroundings. Many, too, have become citizens of the greater fatherland, and their birth-place has been forgotten. Oxford has adopted Sir Thomas Bodley, and men like Richard Hooker have become the common property of Englishmen. But there is one hero, Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom West-countrymen will never consent to part—the hero who conquered even death itself, and passed, unmoved by glory or by shame,

'to Heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No conscience molten into gold,
No forged accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferred, no vain spent journey,
For there Christ is the King's attourney.'

We must turn now for a while to see how it has fared with these brave old houses in later days, and how they have weathered the storms which have beset them. Richard Carew of Antonie, writing in the year 1602, says:—

'The most Cornish gentlemen can better vaunt of their pedigree than their livelyhood, for that they derive from great antiquitie, and I make question whether any shire in England of but equal quantitie can muster a like number of faire coat armours.'

Yet if we search the record of Evelyn Shirley, who takes note only of families now existing, who were of established position some four hundred years ago, and whose estates have descended in the male line, we find only twelve names enumerated in Cornwall, while its sister shire boasts twenty-one,—a fair showing, when we remember that the county of York, great both in area and wealth, claims only twenty-six. The West-country squirearchy have indeed less reason to boast of their 'livelyhood' than their North-country kinsmen; but, if their estates have not been enriched by mines and factories, they have been freed from the temptations of excessive wealth and have retained some remnant of the thrift and simplicity which characterized our forefathers. If it be true that the continuance of an ancient family in its place is a 'certain token of God's providential favour,' they have (with many notable exceptions) also been mindful of the fact that it is likewise due to 'the prudent conduct of such ancestors.'

In the list of families whose credentials satisfied Mr. Shirley's test, we still find names identified with the history of their county; but their shrunken numbers attest the havoc which time has wrought among Prince's 'Worthies.' Courtenays, it may be assumed, are amply represented; and so widely diffused were their female alliances that many a powerful family in the West owes its origin to estates obtained from them in marriage. As typical of the high hand with which they once ruled, we have the story of the Earl who met the complaint of the Rector of Tiverton, that his stipend was insufficient, by dividing it into four parts and giving him the choice of one—'whereby,' as Westcott has it, 'the grumbler was taught to live on a crown that could not live on a pound.' We note, in passing, an incident which helped to earn for this family the epithet of 'unfortunate.' Of the three sons of Thomas Courtenay, Thomas was captured at Towton and beheaded at York, Henry was killed at Salisbury, and John at Tewkesbury.

It was an heiress of the Courtenays who, in the reign of Elizabeth, brought to the Cliffords their picturesque estate of Ugbrook on the slopes of Haldon. The Carews gained admittance to Prince's 'Worthies' by marriage about the year 1300 with the family of Mohun; but their present seat of Haccombe was brought into the family in the fifteenth century by an heiress of the Courtenays. Risdon relates that this estate was 'exempted from all duties and taxes in consequence of some noble services done by an ancestor of the Carews.' Not the least distinguished member, however, of the family was Bamfylde Moore Carew, of Bickleigh Court, who succeeded Clause Patch and for forty years reigned over the gipsies. So satisfied was he with his position that he said, 'I would rather be King of the Beggars than King of England.' The Fortescues, who were settled at Wymodeston so early as the year 1209, still justify the remarks of Westcott* on the number and strength of the shoots thrown out by the parent stock, both in England and Ireland. 'To rank them,' he naïvely says, 'in their seniority, and by delineating their descent to give every man his dew place, surpasseth, I freely confesse, my ability at the present.' 'The clarious family of the Acklands had,' according to the same authority, 'for many ages flourished in a worshipful degree' at the date of his writing. Cary of Tor Abbey, Chichester, Edgcumbe, and others find a place in this select company. Nor, though they are excluded here, should we forget that the distich asserts that

* Westcott's 'View of Devonshire.'

'Crocker,

‘Crocker, Cruwys, and Copplestone,
When the Conqueror came, were all at home.’

We have culled some of the above names, not alone because they satisfied the conditions of the punctilious herald, but because, had they been plebeian as Marius, they could have claimed their nobility with the same honest pride by exhibiting the scars earned in the service of their country. Because the bright light of glory is focussed on Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, and Oxenham, we should not forget that Courtenays, Carys, and Carews, Chichesters and Fortescues, and many another stout man of Devon, lent his arms to quell the wild Irish tribes or ravage the ‘idolatrous Spaniard.’

In any survey of the County of Devon, the first object which attracts the attention is the great central waste, known as the Forest of Dartmoor. The claim to the title of ‘forest’ can, indeed, only be substantiated by searching beneath the surface of the bog for the trees which once sheltered its bleak uplands. Rising to a great elevation, and covering an area of some 130,000 acres, its influence on the surrounding country is readily discernible. It is thus described by Risdon, writing about the year 1630, and two centuries and a half have effected little change in its external aspect:—

‘Between the North and the South Hams (for that is the ancient name) there lieth a chain of hills consisting of a blackish earth, both rocky and heathy, called by a borrowed name of its barrenness *Dartmoor*; richer in its bowels than in the face thereof, yielding tin and turf, which to save for fuel, you would wonder to see how busy the bye-dwellers be at some seasons of the year, whose tops and tors are in the winter often covered with a white cap, but in the summer the bordering neighbours bring great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep to pasture there. From these hills, or rather mountains, the mother of many rivers, the land declineth either way; witness their divers courses: some of which disburthen themselves into the British ocean; others, by long wandering, seek the Severn sea.’

From this upland solitude of heather, turf, and bog rise many rocky summits or ‘tors,’ varying from 1000 feet to an altitude of 2039 feet, which is attained by High Willhays. Yes Tor, only ten feet lower, was long considered the highest point south of Ingleborough, but has recently been deposed by the Ordnance Surveyors in favour of its rival. If we add Newlake, Fur Tor, and Causand or Cosdon Beacon, rising to 1799 feet, it will be seen that, in the miniature presentment of the world which England affords, these hills may fairly be raised to the dignity of mountains.

Without reference to Meteorological Reports, we may conclude
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clude that so lofty a table-land, placed between the English Channel and the Severn Sea, must necessarily be the spot on which the humid winds of the ocean deposit their moisture. The West-country doggerel says:—

‘The West wind always brings wet weather,
The East wind wet and cold together;
The South wind surely brings us rain,
The North wind blows it back again.
If the sun in red should set,
The next day surely will be wet;
If the sun should set in gray,
The next will be a rainy day.’

This sweeping assertion needs modification, though it is in some sense applicable to the higher regions. It is curious that Princetown—the wettest spot on the Moor, with a rainfall of over 74 inches—should have been chosen as the prison for the French soldiers captured in the Great War, the *vraie Sibérie* of which they so bitterly complained. The outlying spurs of the mountains and the valleys which lie on the ‘lew’ side of the prevailing winds, enjoy a climate not greatly inferior—in the matter of rainfall—to the more favoured portions of the county.

It is the struggle with a niggard soil and a rigorous climate that has given the Highlanders of Devon those qualities of thrift and industry which have formed so fine a blend with their more somnolent, but yet not less enterprising, brethren of the plains. Something, too, of the feudal spirit still lingers among the tenants of the Duchy. Their service, indeed, consists in little else than assisting at the ‘drifts’ in which the horned cattle and ponies are collected, branded, and the ‘strays’ returned to their owners. Sheep-stealing had been in vogue until recent times since the days of the Gubbings, who levied blackmail on the southern fringe of the moor, and whose ‘wealth,’ as Fuller says, ‘consisted in other men’s goods.’ But it is a point of honour with the moormen at the periodical ‘drifts’ to see that every man comes by his own, and that each animal is duly branded and returned to the ‘quarter’ to which it belongs. The ‘pounds’ of Dunnabridge and Grimspound, erected by their ancestors for other purposes, have been utilized to confine the unclaimed animals.

The tenants of the Duchy have had lenient landlords; but if scant ‘service’ has been required of them, they have none the less clung tenaciously to their own privileges of mining, turbary, and quarrying. They have, too, like others in similar circumstances, experienced the necessity of supplementing their resources at the expense of others. They have been known to

‘straighten’

‘straighten’ a boundary wall at the cost of their distant landlord, and have helped themselves freely to whatever their stony wilderness afforded. Their creed is that whatever God placed in the country was meant for their use. There is a pessimistic ring about their saying, ‘Scratch my back and pay vor’t.’ Yet, in spite of churlish thanks, the soil has not failed to yield them a subsistence; nor in strength and stature need they fear to pit themselves against the natives of fatter lands.

The royal forest of Dartmoor, which till a recent date was tenanted by red deer, was included in the Duchy by the grant of Henry III. to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans. It was subsequently made over to Piers Gaveston, to whom, in his disgrace, the witch of Sheepstor Pool delivered the Delphic oracle:—

‘Fear not, thou favourite of a king,
That humbled head shall soon be high;’

her words being verified when his head was cut off by the barons and exposed on the wall of Warwick Castle. In 1337 Edward III. annexed the Manor of Lydford to the Duchy of Cornwall, and it became henceforth the property of the heir to the throne.

Let us take our stand, then, on one of the ‘specular mounts’ which rise from its stony bed. The prospect may well kindle the enthusiasm of any one who recognizes in the fair scene beneath him the stage on which so much of our national drama has been played. Northwards the land trends to the Severn Sea, towards which Taw and Torridge shape their devious course to form the once famous ports of Barnstaple and Bideford; and to the westward we catch at times the gleam of the Atlantic. But the eye will linger with a fonder gaze over the southern landscape—fairer, but not more famous. From the rugged foreground of the picture the eye travels to the middle distance over the cornland and pastures of the garden of England—softening into the hazy blue which meets the line of the English Channel.

From this water-shed spring nearly all the rivers of Devon—the Teign, the Dart, the Avon, and the Erme; the Yealm, the Plym, the Tavy, and the Tamar. All these from their couch among the snows and bogs of Dartmoor come hurrying down, often with a descent of 200 feet in a single mile, to find a resting-place in the Channel. The Taw and the Torridge, with its tributaries the Ockments, alone take a northerly course. The yearning for the pleasant meadows of the south is recorded by the legend which tells how the nymphs of Tamar and Torridge, after an angry dispute, fell asleep. Torridge, awaking

first, crept silently away ; but Tamar, presently perceiving how she had been outwitted, rushed so impetuously down the mountain side that she quickly overtook her sister, who then turned her face sadly towards the north.

Camden irreverently speaks of Exmoor as 'that filthy barren ground near the Severn Sea ;' and to such regions as those which lie about Cranmere Pool, on one of the highest points of Dartmoor, the description is not inapplicable. Yet it is

' A nursery of cloud and fog where rills
Are cradled into torrents.'

And, but for the dripping skies and the vast reservoir of peat to store the water, where would have been the fertile valleys, among whose fields and orchards the children played who were destined to singe the beard of the King of Spain ?

This country, as even Risdon confesses, is 'very laborious, rough, and unpleasant to strangers travelling those ways which are cumbersome and uneven, amongst rocks and stones—painful for man and horse, as they can best witness who have made trial thereof.' Nothing, however, lightens the tedium of a journey so well as a cheery companion ; and few pleasanter fellow way-farers could be found than the author of the two works which stand last on our list. Any one could linger delightedly amid the combs and gardens of the lowlands ; but it needs an enthusiast to extract enjoyment from what is euphemistically called a Dartmoor shower and forget the discomforts of cold and hunger in watching how the hurlyburly of the storm enhances the grandeur of the scene.

It is to the deep estuaries which seam her coast-line that the naval renown of Devon is due, rather than to her rivers. They, indeed, with few exceptions, never played the part of the 'liquid roads,' by which more favoured counties bore down their products to the sea. Some even of the advantages she once enjoyed have been removed by the action of the sea, which has closed the channel with a barrier of shingle—as at Otterton and Axmouth, where the ruins of the quay and custom-house still stand as a silent witness to the past. Yet they proved no mean factors in her prosperity. Nature began the wrongs of Ireland by denuding the coal-measures, and in like manner the West-country serge makers had to seek in her mountain streams the motive power for their mills. But the tide of industry has ebbed away. Nor can we discern with any clearness the advent of that day to which Mr. Spencer looks forward, when—coal being exhausted and iron superseded—Devonshire will regain her supremacy :—

' The

'The same water-power,' he argues, 'that can turn the mill can easily be converted into light and heat, and that which is elsewhere wanting from the failure of coal and dearth of wood, Devon will still have in lasting abundance, for her streams are everywhere—not sluggish, impure, useless streams, but sparkling, active, full of life and power, and ready to be applied to the thousand uses to which man's ingenuity may train them. All that will soon be wanting elsewhere, Devonshire will have, and continue to have in abundance; and while the population of other parts of England is compelled to emigrate, she will be able to feed and clothe all her children and perhaps become the home of many thousands of others.'

It is difficult to classify the West-country rivers, which, though they have much in common, often possess a strong individuality of their own. It may suffice to divide them into the streams which water the Eastern division of the county, and those which, from the great watershed of Dartmoor, shape their course northwards to the Severn Sea, or southwards to the English Channel.

The Eastern rivers—the Exe, the Otter, and the 'silver Axe'—have a more pastoral character. After their first descent from the rugged hills of Exmoor and Blackdown, they flow through scenes that would have pleased the fancy of Spenser and filled the flowing measure of 'Polyolbion'; but Wordsworth would have found a more congenial theme in the deep solitudes through which the Western streams make their way to the ocean:—

'Now thanks to Heaven! that of its grace
Hath led me to this lonely place;
Joy have I had, and, going hence,
I bear away my recompense.'

But the great poets have neglected the West-country. It is strange that scenes so worthy to inspire a poet's fancy should have found none to sing their praises but minor bards. There is no lack of them from Browne and Carrington, and Jonas Coaker, the rate collector, to the Lord Chief Justice.

Herrick, indeed, named his 'Hesperides' after the adopted home which he had so grievously maligned. It was not to be supposed that the son of the Cheapside grocer should take very kindly to the wilds of Dean Prior, and, like Ovid, he bewails his exile with plaintive petulance. Few writers ever depicted the pleasures of country life more gracefully than the Cockney poet; yet at heart he loved it as little as the beauties, attired as shepherdesses, who look down upon us from the canvas of Court painters. The ministry of the poet Herrick affords an interesting glimpse of the period. It was his poetry—no
alw

always clerical in its tone—which commended him to Charles I., and obtained for him his cure. Dispossessed in favour of the godly John Syms in 1647, he again returned to it after the Act of Uniformity, with a light forgetfulness of his vow to revisit his ‘savages’ only ‘when rocks turned to rivers.’

Among the Eastern rivers, the Exe may fairly claim pre-eminence, because it washes the walls of the ‘faithful City,’ which thus records its prowess:—

‘Seven times besieged mightily,
Mine enemies to flight put I.’

Before its course is run, it passes two places typical of West-country history. Topsham was once a flourishing seaport, but now:—

‘Gone is the trade with Newfoundland, which, long after the canal was opened, formed an important factor in the prosperity of the little town. Gone, or nearly so, is the shipbuilding trade too. The town sleeps on—a restful air brooding over its ancient houses, where years ago Dutch smugglers stowed away many a cask of schnapps and contraband tobacco in the innumerable cupboards lining the walls.’

At its mouth stands Exmouth, in the reign of King John one of the chief ports of Devonshire. Camden, however, says that in his time it was ‘known for nothing but the bare name and the fisher hutts there.’ It has once more become a favourite resort on account of its natural attractions; though to appreciate these Bishop Temple says that you should place your back towards the town.

Hays Barton, near the lower waters of the Otter, substantiates its claim to be the birthplace of Raleigh; and Ottery, famed for its ‘miniature cathedral,’ was for a time his dwelling-place. The vale of the Axe is rich in historic memories. The Moridunum of the Antonines lay near its mouth, as tradition relates, though Hembury Fort, and the tall cliff of red sandstone, known as the High Peak of Sidmouth, are rival claimants. Warlake and Kilmington are said to owe their names to the battle of Brunanburh, where in 937 King Athelstan, ‘Christ helping, had the victory, and there slew five kings and seven earls.’ As we descend to less remote but more authentic history, we find abundant traces of national and family vicissitudes. The old home of the Yorkist Bonvilles, from which they waged war on the Courtenays of Colcombe Castle, has now descended into a farmhouse; and Stedcombe stands upon the site of the house burnt by the Royalists, after its defence in 1644 by Sir Walter Vile. In the church of Colyton is the *Choke-a-bone* monument, erected to a daughter of William Courtenay and Catherine,

Catherine, daughter of Edward IV., who was choked by a fish-bone. The church of Musbury is celebrated for its elaborate monument to the Drake family; and hard by, at their mansion of Ashe, which is now a farm, and the chapel a pound-house, the Duke of Marlborough was born. His father, Winston Churchill of Minterne, had married into the Drake family, and had taken refuge from the officers of the Commonwealth in the house of his mother-in-law.

The beautiful Abbey of Newenham, which Prince so affectionately commemorates, once stood in the meadows of Axminster; and just across the present boundary of Dorset is Forde—one of the five Cistercian Abbeys which were once the pride of Devon. When we contrast the ruins of Newenham with this well-preserved monastery, of which Baldwin was Abbot, we may well regret that the value of lead should have tempted the Commissioners of King Henry to unroof and expose to the elements some of the most beautiful architectural works which England possessed.

‘The abbeys,’ as Risdon remarks, ‘were accustomed to keep the propagation of their orders in pedigree-wise as a deduction of colonies out of them’; and from an early date the Church took a firm root in this corner of the kingdom, and began to spread over it the network of churches which still exist. In the most inhospitable tracts of the Moor, and among the hamlets of the lowlands, the church dominates the scene—the square tower with crocketed pinnacles being so nearly universal that a spire is regarded as an exotic. Some of these towers are of extreme beauty; perhaps the most noteworthy being that of Widecombe. Its comparison with the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford, will not be resented by those who visit this old-world village. Its splendid church, far in excess of present requirements, testifies to its days of prosperity.

The Abbey of Buckfast, which was one of the first Benedictine establishments in this country, has reverted to its former uses, having been re-occupied by a French colony of that order. In one of the loneliest tracts of the Moor, near the source of the Avon, remains may be discovered among the heather of the Abbot’s Way—the road by which the monks, who were the great wool-staplers of their day, carried their packs to Tavistock. There, too, Ordulph the Giant, in obedience to a vision, had founded the magnificent Abbey of SS. Mary and Rumon, which was subsequently burnt by the Danes. The twenty manors which were once owned by this monastery have been dispersed; and those who now make pilgrimage to Tavistock go to visit the Duke of Bedford’s ‘Cottage’ of Endsleigh, where

art has been content to enhance the native beauties of the scene.

In pursuance of our task we must recall our steps to a spot where churches are none, nor flocks to fill them. From the morass which surrounds Cranmere Pool—gloomy enough to have given birth to the streams which water Hades—the Teign, the Tavy, and the Dart emerge. That there is but one river in Devon—the Dart—is a belief which finds few adherents in the county. It is from the lower reaches of the river, the part best known to the traveller, that this estimate has been formed. Yet here the Tamar may claim comparison, as she parts the twin counties, steadying her flow when she approaches her goal into those broad expanses which, seen from a distance, wear the appearance of a chain of wooded lakes. And if Dartmouth has stirring memories, so, too, has Plymouth. The Teign has little to recommend it after it reaches the plain on its way to its silted harbour. But such spots as Fingle Gorge, the rock-strewn valley called Tavy Cleave, and the cascades of the Yealm, are enough to establish the reputation of their respective streams.

No birthplace could have been more appropriate for Charles Kingsley than the moorland village of Holne, amidst the most romantic scenery of the Dart. The wild ravine through which the river foams between Bel Tor, sacred to the Druids, and the precipices of Bench Tor, and the oak woods of Buckland, will ever be associated with his name. Nor need the Dart rely upon the fame it has won in these latter days, when a taste for the picturesque has been exalted into a fashion. From their quiet homes by its bank Davis and Sir Humphrey Gilbert followed its flashing stream, and learned that beyond the 'Jaw Bones' of Dartmouth lay the ocean of their destiny. Here, too, by the Anchor Stone, Raleigh smoked his quiet pipe, *solatium mei laboris*. It was here that Lord Seymour of Sudeley, to whom the Protector Somerset granted the estates of Sir Thomas Pomeroy, confiscated after the Western Rebellion of 1549, reared the sumptuous palace which alone could gratify his pride. It was Sir Edward Seymour, the last of this—the elder—branch of the Somerset family, who corrected William of Orange when, after his landing at Brixham, he greeted him with the remark, 'I believe you are of the family of the Duke of Somerset.' 'Pardon me,' replied the new-found vassal, 'the Duke of Somerset is of *my* family.'

Of Dartmouth, with its quaintly carved houses and its old streets—Butter Row, Fosse Street, and the Shambles—the description given by Prince is true to-day:—

'The

'The town is situated on the side of a very steep hill, which runneth from east to west, a considerable length of near a mile, whereby the houses as you pass on the water seem pensil, and to hang along in rows like galley-pots in an apothecary's shop, for so high and steep is it that you go from the lower to the upper part thereof by stairs, and from the top requires no less—in some places many more—than a hundred.'

Dartmouth, in league with Plymouth, in the fifteenth century fought a war with France; and John Hawley took thirty-four ships laden with wine. And after another war with France, 'Boney's claret' was brought into the same port. The memories, however, of Dartmouth are not all in the past, and its secure harbour has saved it from the oblivion which has overtaken so many of its rivals.

As Prince draws the tale of his 'Worthies' to a close with the apology, *inopem me copia fecit*, so we must curtail our mention of the remaining streams and of the men who won for them a place in history.

All these streams begin their life in the barrenness of Dartmoor, and—like the Avon, the Erme, and the Yealm—traverse the smiling fields which fringe the southern coast; or, like the Plym, the Tavy, and the Tamar, bring their tribute to swell the fame of Plymouth. It is along the sheltered combes between Salcombe and Plymouth that we find the flower land of Devon. Here *everything* grows—that will grow in England. Yet the soft Western breeze has not enervated the intellect. It was among these sleepy hollows that the Nonconformist Hicks led the stormy life which brought him and his protectress, Lady Alice Lisle, to a bloody death. At Kingsbridge John Wolcot meditated the good-humoured satires with which he assailed Squire Rolle and Farmer George. And, coming to our own day, it was from this retreat that the works of James Anthony Froude came to enrich our literature. 'It takes three towns to make a maritime capital for the West,' say up-country folk. Yet Plymouth survives their jibes. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia is said to have fixed on Mount Edgcumbe as his reward for routing the heretic Queen. But Mount Edgcumbe is still in English hands, thanks to the men of Devon. The West-country song puts the matter plainly and with no superfluous modesty:—

'It was among the ways of good Queen Bess,
Who ruled as well as ever mortal can, Sir,
When she was stogg'd, and the country in a mess,
She was wont to send for a Devon man, Sir.'

If anything were needed to enhance the solemnity with
whic'

which Nature has invested the weird waste of Dartmoor, it would be found in the footprints left by the races which once inhabited it. Of the existence of these relics, there can be no doubt: of the purpose of most of them, it would scarcely be too much to say that there is but little certainty. Happily we are spared by the exigencies of space from bringing together the conflicting theories with which archæologists have encumbered the dead. We have seen enough, even in our own brief span, of the gradual advance of the wave of change to discredit the theory that the discovery of some particular tool or weapon is sufficient to fix a date. We have seen the old co-existing with the new—the West-country farmer turning up his furrow with a Virgilian plough, long after his ‘up-country’ neighbours had adopted the latest improvements. Nor, when we observe how successive occupants have dealt with the ancient monuments which proved capable of adaptation, can we expect in every case to separate the old from the new, and find an answer to every riddle. It may be that the hole in the wall of Grimspound was constructed for the admission of the ancient Briton’s sheep-dog; but the question is scarcely one of grave importance. Scattered all over the Moor—*irritæ vestigia spei*—are works for making patent fuel and chemicals out of peat, abandoned mines, quarries, and tramways. Could all record of their origin and their object be lost, what would future archæologists make of these ruinous heaps? In like manner it may be that there are mysteries which a generation, capable of discovering even the grave of Attila, must confess to be insoluble.

This at least we know, that it was a race of giants who reared the great menhirs, and hoisted the vast blocks of granite into their places in the cromlechs—a people who built for eternity. Of their numbers, too, we have abundant evidence. The hill-country of Devon was not one that we should have expected to find thickly peopled; but, in addition to its abundant summer pasturage, its mines attracted a large population, while at times it received reluctant immigrants driven out from the plains by successive invasions. The pastoral and mining population had each their share in the works we find, while the refugees were compelled to strengthen their position by erecting defences.

One common characteristic marks all these monuments of antiquity. They were massive erections of the granite with which the earth was strewn. The most striking of these is the cromlech, a gigantic cover stone of granite raised on three or more supporters—a fine example of which is the Spinster’s Rock near Drewsteignton. These, with the menhirs, popularly
known

known as *long stones*, the *kistvaens* and the sacred circles which often enclose them, may be reasonably supposed to have had a sepulchral origin. Many parts of the Moor are traversed by trackways, or roads rudely paved with stones, visible to the eye, or at times buried beneath the peat. The most perfect of these is near Longaford Tor, and is supposed to have crossed the forest, with the directness of a Roman road, from Hameldon to Great Mis Tor. Among the records of a past age which have excited the greatest curiosity and given rise to the most diverse speculations are the avenues—a double or triple line of granite pillars and the single rows of similar stones. Some say they marked the lines of armies, and others that they were once the covered ways along which the devotees crawled into the tumuli! Whatever may have been their significance, they appeal strikingly to the imagination as they stalk across the lonely waste, burying their secret beneath their stony surface.

To the miners who wrought the tin, and to the herdsmen who watched their flocks, we must assign the huts and hut-circles, of which so many instances occur. Open though their dwellings now are to the sky, they were presumably once closed by materials which have proved less durable than their sides, and when chinked with turf would afford an efficient protection from the weather. The walled enclosures known as ‘pounds’ served a like purpose for the cattle, and as a refuge for the tribesmen in the event of a sudden foray. We gladly emerge from the region of conjecture as we reach the Cyclopean bridges for which the moor is famed. In the wider reaches rough granite blocks are employed as piers to support the roadway, but the smaller streams are spanned by a single gigantic slab of granite. As we cross the bridge we may well pay a toll of admiration to the prehistoric men, whose work fulfils its purpose as well as on the day when it left their hand.

It is, however, when we finally bid adieu to man’s work and take refuge with Nature, that we regain our faith. The men who reared the Cyclopean monuments which we see around us, have bequeathed to us no history of their works; but they have left an indelible proof of their presence here. We may be sure that the natural features we see are the same on which they looked, for they still bear the names they gave them.

Celtic, Phœnician, and Teutonic names bear witness to the occupation of the West-country Highlands by these various people. And though the advocates of Druidism have damaged their cause by associating with that mystic worship the avenue and the menhir, the stone enclosures, and even the rock basins, their opponents have carried their negations too far. Celtic

titles naturally predominate in a region so tenaciously clung to by this people. The word 'tor' has been traced to the Cornu-Celtic *twr*, a tower; and it is worthy of remark that the primitive spelling almost exactly reproduces the word 'tor' as it drops from the tongue of a West-countryman. Roo Tor, 'the red, heather-clad hill,' and Mil Tor, 'the yellow hill,' recall the Celtic epithets *rooz* and *milin*. Hel Tor is from *luhel*, 'high,' and Crockern from *carrac hir*, 'the long stone,' which is more closely preserved in the vernacular *Cracker*. The Celtic words *vawr maen*, 'the great stone,' have undergone an unfortunate transformation into Bowerman's Nose. The nose, indeed, is difficult of recognition; but the grim figure, rising to a height of nearly forty feet from its rock-strewn base, has sufficient resemblance to a human figure to have earned for it the title of the 'rock idol.'

Of the rivers which our forefathers named, the Dart and Avon recall the two Celtic names of water—*dwr* and *afon*. Erme is *armor*, 'a wave'; while Taw, Tavy, Torridge, and Teign are derivatives of the root *tau*, 'a river,' Tavy being *tau fechan*, 'the little river,' and Tamar, *tau mawr*, or 'great river.' The ghostly spot known as Wistman's Wood, a grove of gnarled and stunted oaks which have put forth their scanty leaves century after century, as though blasted by some curse, yet compelled to live, have long been associated with the mysteries of Druidic sacrifice. The name is said to be a corruption of the 'Wise men.' Some, however, trace it no further than the well-known 'whist' or 'whisht'—the term by which the West-countryman expresses alike his vague fears or sorrows. Be this as it may, we may well refer to the Phœnician Belus, or Baal, the names of Bel Tor, Belstone, and Bellever. The assumption that sun-worship was practised here is strengthened by the tradition which ascribes good luck to any one who should see the rising sun reflected in the rock basin of this lonely tor.

On the fringe of the Moor, we find ample trace of the Saxon occupation in Braddon, Brattor, Brent Hill, High Willhays or Wills Tor. Danescombe on the Tamar is said to have witnessed the landing of the Danes, whence they marched to the bloody battle of Hingston Down. Hamill, Buthar, Sweyn, and many another Scandinavian Viking have given their name to hill and stream in the land they harried. The memory of the chieftain, Grim, finds, it is said, a record in Grimspound, one of the most interesting ruins which the Moor possesses.

We have previously spoken of the uses to which these 'pounds' have undoubtedly been applied during certain periods of their existence, viz. as a protection for the herdsmen and their flocks against the attack of wolves and marauders. But the

the suggestion that the enclosure of Grimspound was employed as a storehouse for tin, reminds us again of the light that is being thrown on our own history by outside discovery—this time, strangely enough, in the dark places of Africa.

The story of the Punic captain, who ran his galley aground to preserve his secret from a Roman ship which was about to capture him, is characteristic of the policy by which the monopoly was guarded. The tales of Herodotus and the early geographers, which have caused so much amusement, were likewise due to the deceptive accounts of the Arab traders, whose descendants employed the same tactics to mislead the Portuguese. The Phœnician merchants kept the secret of their lucrative enterprises from their contemporaries; but, were there not abundant evidence from other sources, the ingot of tin, stamped with their trade-mark and dropped into Falmouth harbour, would prove incontestably that the men who extracted the gold from the granite rocks of Mashonaland were present among us. Others followed in their footsteps and obliterated many of their traces, as the uncivilized tribes of Africa have done who ultimately expelled the Eastern immigrants. But, without pushing the theory too far, we may profitably reconsider our own relics in the light of recent discovery.

It has been doubted by some whether the Phœnicians ever penetrated into Devon. We know, however, that they applied the name *Cassiterides* loosely to the Scilly Islands and the adjacent continent. The prize, moreover, was a great one; for the 'white metal' was eagerly sought by the ancients for hardening copper in the preparation of bronze. We may therefore fairly assume that the spirit of enterprise, which could lead them through the Straits of Calpe to our unknown and dreaded shores, would not suffer itself to be bounded by the Tamar. The passage quoted by Professor Rawlinson gives an interesting picture of the West-country natives as they appeared to the foreigners with whom they bartered their tin for salt, pottery, and bronze vessels:—

'They were clad in black cloaks, and in tunics' reaching to the feet, with girdles round their waists; they walked with staves, and were bearded like goats; they subsisted by means of their cattle, and for the most part led a wandering life.'

An authentic history of mining in Devon is indeed wanting, until we reach the Conquest. Previously to their banishment by Edward I., the mines were farmed by Jews—the name of Ephraim's Pinch being referred to this epoch. It was at this ill-advised expulsion that the Stannary Court ca

existence under a charter granted by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, to a company of adventurers. The Stannary Parliament which controlled the mines of the two Western counties held its sittings on Hingston Down, and was subsequently transferred to Crockern Tor. Here, from the year 1305 to 1749, the twenty-four jurors supplied by the Stannary towns of Tavistock, Plympton, Ashburton, and Chagford met in solemn conclave. The tanners of Devon showed the same affection for their open-air council as the Basques for the oak of Guernica. They met there, as Westcott says, 'neither yielding to nor shrinking from any blasts, storms, and tempests, as not fearing their fury, nor hellish malice of undermining gunpowder.' The steady course of vandalism is apparent in its present state, for in the time of Carrington the judge's stone chair and part of the jurors' bench were still *in situ*.

Whoever were the 'tanners' who streamed the sand and gravel containing the white metal, over the rocky ledges of the Devon rivers, their operations were on no small scale. Dartmouth was typical of many another port, of which Leland complains:—

'The river of Dart by tynne works carrieth much sand to Totenes Bridge and chokith the depth of the river downwards, and doth much hurt to Dartmouth Haven.'

It was by seeking to abate this nuisance that Mr. Strode, M.P. for Plympton, incurred the displeasure of the Stannary Court and was confined in Lydford jail.

Lydford, whose name is probably unknown beyond the confines of the county, had once a mint of its own and was taxed equally with London. Its reputation, however, was not a good one, and was enshrined in the saying, 'Lydford law, or hang first and try afterwards.' Its castle was a fit place for Judge Jefferys to hold his assize; and his soul still dwells there in the guise of a black pig. In these days when white-wash is laid on so thickly as to hide the darkest hues, we may recall an anecdote, which implies that there was a gleam of generosity even in Judge Jefferys' heart. The Judge had been sent down by the Government to Arundel to secure the election of the Court candidate by browbeating the Returning Officer. But this official, pretending not to know Jefferys, ordered him out of Court. In the evening the Judge sent for the Mayor, and, to his surprise, complimented him on his conduct.

That antique beliefs should hold their ground among a people of Celtic origin, placed among congenial surroundings, may readily be imagined. No one can wander far through the West without coming on traces of the supernatural life with
which

which it once was peopled. But though the spirits linger still, much of their glory has departed from them. If it be true, as Heine asserts, that the gods of Greece did never die, but were taken over by Christianity to act as the devils of the new *régime*, we must seek among the gnomes and pixies for the descendants of the dryads and nymphs who once presided over the woods and fountains. But in truth the little gentry who still haunt the West have a more honourable pedigree. They flourished contemporaneously with their more august brethren, and—happy perhaps in their comparative obscurity—longer escaped the broom of civilization.

The West-country peasant troubles himself neither as to their origin, nor the etymology of their name. To him they are pixies, or piskies; and since a friend is better than an enemy, he obeys the unwritten code laid down for his dealings with the little sprites who go in and out unseen about him:—

‘Pixyland is a shadowy realm, somewhere beneath the bogs, down which the pixies vanish at the approach of dawn, or when weary of dancing on the smoother pieces of turf. Hence the pixy king, who there holds court, despatches his messengers to visit the people of upper earth, who, by reason of their uncanny tricks, entertain for the little folk considerable awe.’

The pixies, however, when kindly treated are, like their Northern brethren, assiduous in their kindly offices.

A more terrific apparition is the pack of ‘wish’ hounds who hunt the Moor by night, breathing out blue flames as they run. Whether the spectral crew be an echo of Odin and his Scandinavian huntsmen, or the Moon-cat, Hecate, chasing the star-mice, matters little to the affrighted traveller who catches the sound of the horses’ hoofs and the terrible ‘Yip! yip! yip!’ of the phantom hounds. All he knows about it is that it is a ‘wish’ thing to have heard.

When we come to the witches and the wizards who still carry on their discredited trade, it is a different matter. They are not so plentiful as in the days when Doctor Nicholas Remigius could gratefully record that he had burned eight hundred ‘in honour of God.’ Their numbers, too, are restricted by useful limitations, such as the qualification of being the seventh daughter of a seventh daughter. Still the supply is ample for the dwindling trade; and their services will be in request so long as the gift of the evil eye continues. Charms are potent against some forms of ‘overlooking’; but the safest plan is to have recourse to the witch doctor, who, by counter-spells, can break through the magic circle which has been drawn
around

around the victim. The internal remedies prescribed are simple and inexpensive—the rank spirit distilled from the lees of cider being one in common use—but the fees are remunerative. We once heard the father of a girl who had died lament that he had not taken advice: ‘It would have been but the matter of 2*l.* and the maid would now be living.’ At one time no visitor who valued his well-being would enter the Pixie’s House on Sheepstor without some trifling gift—a pin sufficed as a token of good will. But year by year the horns of elf-land blow more faintly. The blunted faculties of a material generation can but seldom catch a glimpse of the green-coated sprites dancing on the moonlit turf, or hear the soft chime of the church bells on a Sabbath morning.

We must not quit this subject without a word about the strange apparition which some forty years ago disturbed the quiet life of South Devon. The scene is laid at the little fishing village of Topsham, but in reality it covered a much wider area on either side of the Exe. There had been a wild and snowy night in March; and when morning broke the snow was found to be marked with the footprints of a large animal—so unfamiliar that the popular mind at once assumed them to be supernatural. The panic grew apace, people feared to leave their house by night, and the clergy from their pulpits found it necessary to allay the alarm. Meantime the tale travelled, and the clumsy guesses of the savants did little but heighten the mystery. Some great bird, various animals, especially cats, were said to be the authors by the ingenious and unbelieving. None, however, of the solutions proved satisfactory to eye-witnesses. The footprints were of the size of a calf’s, and travelled in a straight line like a biped’s, and behind them the snow at times was ruffled as by a tail. They approached close to high walls and reappeared again at the same distance on the other side, without disturbing the snow—a feat impossible to such an animal as a cat. Again they traversed culverts too low to admit a large bird or beast. In spite of all efforts to disabuse it, the popular mind settled down to the conviction that the Evil One had been abroad that night; and even their more enlightened grandchildren will observe that there is a limitation in Milton’s assertion that

‘from this happy day,
The old Dragon underground,
In straiter limits bound,
Not half so far casts his usurpèd sway;
And, wroth to see his kingdom fail,
Swindges the scaly horror of his folded tail.’

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It was the Devil, says popular belief, who withstood Sir Francis Drake when he was building his house with the stones of Buckland Abbey. It was the same personage, in the guise of a peasant, who invited the wicked priest and his clerk to supper and then drowned them in the sea, where the Parson and Clerk rock still stands to attest their fate. Hall, the Bishop of Exeter, and Prince, the historian, scarcely venture to disbelieve that the church of Widecombe in the Moor was wrecked by Satanic agency during the great storm of 1638. No wonder that when the boy was asked, 'What do you know of your ghostly enemy?' he replied, 'If you please, ma'am, he lives to Widecombe.'

Superstition can scarcely be called the besetting sin of the last decade of the nineteenth century, and from an antiquarian point of view its extinction is greatly to be regretted. How many an Irish monument would have been levelled but for the spirits who still rule them from the grave! The same feeling has saved many of the Dartmoor barrows from desecration. These 'graves of the giants' are haunted by dragons and flying serpents, and it was for removing treasure from one of them that the Vicar of Widecombe met with swift retribution—his house and himself being swept away by a tempest. As a matter of fact, the tumuli have never been scientifically examined on a large scale, and few of those which have been opened have rewarded the labour of the explorers.

The superstitious dread, however, which has preserved the barrows, has not been equally efficacious in protecting the ancient relics. '*Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecere Barberini*,' is not applicable to Rome alone. The Dartmoor farmer has laid sacrilegious hands on many a reverend stone, which centuries had spared. With scant veneration or care for archaeology, he pillages the nearest 'avenue' or 'pound' to build the wall of his 'new-take'—Pagan or Christian, it is all one to him; and he selects the shaft of a cross or the door-post of a hut-circle, with equal indifference, to hang his gate.

Across the stream of the Dart at Postbridge was a splendid specimen of the 'clapper' bridges, some of the slabs being fifteen feet in length, with a thickness of four feet. Without troubling himself with the problem as to how these masses of granite could have been got into position by the primitive architects, an ingenious native found means to dislodge one of the central slabs and deposit it in the stream to make a duck pond, by damming the water. Descending to a work of a later date, yet of some antiquity—the beautiful Cathedral of Exeter—Elias Tozer relates that a doctor was attending a woman
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suffering from a sore. Finding that the wound became inflamed and showed signs of the application of some gritty substance, he questioned the husband, who, after some hesitation, produced a stone from under the bed, remarking—‘It’s nothing but Peter’s stone, and here he is.’ The man had walked from Teignmouth to Exeter, and, having knocked off an arm from one of the figures on the west front of the Cathedral, dedicated to St. Peter, had formed an ointment of the pounded stone mixed with lard, and had applied it to the wound.

And now—*sub fine laborum*—we feel that there must be some fascination in a task which has inspired an unbroken line of panegyrists. It is, indeed, a pleasant land, as none, who know its varied charms, deny. Nowhere, in our isle, does Nature smile more graciously; yet nowhere does she draw so sharp a contrast between the weird and the beautiful. As Vesuvius broods over the laughing scene at its foot, so the grim figure of Dartmoor casts its shadow across the picture, so gay that enthusiastic Devonians compare it to the shores of Campania,—fain to believe that in their own country is to be found the ‘pezzo di cielo caduto in terra.’ Nor is man in discord with Nature. Over both the soft west wind has breathed its influence. An air of good breeding marks both gentle and simple; and, spite of the clannish instincts of the native, the ‘foreigner’ need fear no rebuff. Here a man is weighed without his purse, and the stranger is sure of a genial and unpretentious welcome.

Dante defines the Italian fatherland as the country ‘dove l si suona’; and the West-countryman may fairly claim as kinsmen all men who say ‘ees’ for ‘yes.’ There was a time when Devonshire stood in the forefront, not only in area, but in numbers; but, like Scotchmen, its children are now to be found anywhere but at home. Commerce and manufacture have sought other fields. Many a dockyard is silent now, which once resounded with the hum of eager enterprise or the angry murmur which boded ill to an enemy. But the hive still sends forth its swarms. The comrades of Drake and Raleigh unlocked the New World, and what they won with the sword their descendants are peacefully occupying. The West-countryman believes that ‘the world is the brave man’s country’; yet in his voluntary expatriation he does not forget the land which gave him birth. He clings to it with all the fervour of his Celtic temperament; and whoever hails from ‘down along’ is welcome, provided his West-country burr satisfies the well-known Shibboleth.

ART. VII.—*An Historical Geography of the British Colonies.*
By C. P. Lucas. Vols. I., II., and III. London, 1894.

IT is not very easy to offer any philosophical explanation of the fact that our Colonial Empire has never, as an institution, been much in favour with our English Liberals. On abstract reasoning, one might have anticipated that the popular party would have been the one to feel most sympathy with the Colonists of England. With few exceptions, Greater Britain owed its origin not so much to any deliberate policy of aggrandizement, but to popular dissatisfaction with the political, religious, or material conditions of the time,—a dissatisfaction which drove numbers of English citizens, chiefly of the lower classes, to seek new homes for themselves beyond the seas. The aristocracy, the landed gentry, the clergy of the mother country had little or nothing to do with the colonization of America, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Putting India aside, which is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a colony at all, the great British dependencies all over the globe are, and have long been, democratic in their institutions, their ideas, and their traditions. For good or for evil, they are the product of the masses, as opposed to the classes—that is, of the peasants, artisans, and mechanics who form, and always have formed, the backbone of British democracy. It would, therefore, only be natural to assume, *à priori*, that the duty of supporting and encouraging the development of Greater Britain would have been a sort of hereditary dogma of British Liberalism. As a matter of fact, the contrary has been the case. During the last century and a half—that is, during the period coinciding, roughly, with the epoch in which England has become the centre of a great Colonial Empire,—the Liberals, as a party, have always looked coldly on the process by which Great Britain has been converted from an insular into an Imperial power.

It is impossible to read the speeches in which the Whigs during the American war opposed the policy adopted by George III. and Lord North, without being struck by the fact that the speakers hardly seemed to realize that the loss of our American Colonies was in itself an evil to be deplored. The Whigs opposed, and rightly opposed, the forced imposition of taxes on the New England States, because they deemed the policy of the Government to be inconsistent with Liberal principles; but they seldom, if ever, based their opposition on the ground that the surrender of the connexion between this country and her North American Colonies was, in itself, a national

national calamity. Indeed their dominant sentiment seems to have been that our Colonies might gratify national pride, but brought no solid advantage to the community in general, or to the Whig party in particular. With all their narrowness of view and their unreasoning partisanship, the Tories, during the American war, showed more of the Imperial instinct than their Whig rivals.

Again, in later times, the philosophic Liberals who so greatly influenced public opinion during the earlier half of the present century, avowedly looked upon our Colonies as inconvenient liabilities to be got rid of as soon as they could be discharged without breach of faith. The right of self-government was conceded to one Colony after the other, not because the Colonial Office had any special desire to propagate the spread of democracy, but because the concession of democratic institutions was considered the best way to loosen the ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and to prepare them for independence. We admit that the Liberals of sixty years ago are not to be blamed because they did not foresee the stimulus to emigration and the change in the relations between England and her Colonies that were to be brought about by railways, steam navigation, and electricity. What we do blame them for is, that, as these changes became manifest, they failed to modify their attitude towards our fellow-countrymen beyond the seas.

Of late years, a very great change has come over public opinion in England with reference to our Colonies. Whether the idea of Imperial Federation comes as yet within the domain of practical politics, is a question which it lies beyond the scope of this article to discuss. But the wide-spread existence of this idea, not only abroad but at home, testifies to the growth of a variety of influences which tend to convert the patriotism that hitherto was bounded by the four seas into a patriotism embracing the whole of Greater Britain. The English Liberals, however, have never taken kindly to the Imperial idea. The truth is, that a belief in England's mission as a great civilizing Power jars against many of the tenets, political, commercial, and sentimental, which are held as matters of faith by ordinary Liberals. That England ought to pursue a policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs, was a fundamental doctrine of the Manchester School; yet abstinence from intervention in foreign affairs is manifestly inconsistent with the possession of Colonies spread over every quarter of the globe, and coming daily into closer contact with the settlements of other European Powers across the seas. That England was to be the champion of
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Free Trade throughout the world was assumed as an axiom of modern middle-class Liberalism; and yet this championship is almost impossible, if our Colonies remain wedded to a protective policy. That England is bound to take under her special protection the native races in all countries over which the Union Jack floats, is an idea which, whether right or wrong, has sunk deep into the hearts of the Nonconformist community, who have been for so many years the chief stay of the Liberal party; and yet this idea is one very difficult of execution, so long as the Colonies are left to manage their own affairs for themselves after their own fashion, that fashion not being the one which is quite in harmony with our own popular notions. Apart from these sectarian views, which, whether wisely or unwisely, have created a certain lack of sympathy between the Liberal party, as a body, and the Colonists, there prevails a general and not altogether ill-founded impression amidst the more intelligent Liberals, that a policy of Colonial development tends to increase the strength of the sentiment which they call 'Jingoism,' and which, they are conscious, constitutes a source of permanent danger to the supremacy of the Liberal party at home.

We have thought it fair to offer some explanation of the courses which have led the Liberals to assume an attitude towards the Colonies which our fellow-countrymen abroad resent most bitterly. Though the Conservatives are less open to reproach on this score than their opponents, they are not free from a like failing. The truth is, that ordinary stay-at-home Englishmen, who, after all, form the great mass of the commonwealth, find it extremely difficult to realize the present position of our Colonies and their relation to the Mother Country. They are always being assured that the Queen reigns as much over the Colonies as she does over England, and that all acts of the Colonial authorities are done in her name, and subject to the sanction of her Ministers; and therefore they jump to the logical but unsound conclusion that the Imperial Parliament, upon whose support Her Majesty's Ministers depend for existence, is practically responsible in the last resort for the administration of our Colonies. The theory is sound, but, unfortunately, it does not correspond with facts. Considering how readily a large portion of the British public have adopted as gospel Mr. Gladstone's contention that, even after Ireland has been conceded a Parliament and an Executive of her own, the supreme authority of the Imperial Legislature will remain unimpaired, it is not strange that a similar and more plausible delusion should be popularly entertained with respect

existing relations between the Mother Country and her self-governing Colonies.

Democracies have many merits, but a reluctance to interfere with other people's affairs is not included amidst the category. Of late years our institutions have been democratized, and no impartial observer can have failed to observe with regret a growing tendency on the part of our electorate, and of their representatives in Parliament, to interfere in the internal affairs of our Colonies, about which the British public knows nothing, and can know nothing. This tendency, as we have said before, is much more marked on the part of the Liberals, but it is to be found elsewhere than in the ranks of Mr. Gladstone's followers, and even amongst them, as we gladly admit, it is frequently due to conceptions of national duty, which, however mistaken, are far from being discreditable. At the same time, this tendency to interfere constitutes a real danger for the maintenance of our Empire,—a danger all the graver because intervention may easily be recommended on grounds certain to command a popular hearing at home.

During the last few months the Liberal party, or at any rate the Radical section of the party, have, consciously or unconsciously, done their best to weaken, if not to sever, the bonds that unite Great Britain to her South African Colonies. In fact they are repeating the tactics by which, during the last century, the North American Colonies were driven, first into disaffection, and subsequently into separation. We have no idea that anything we or anybody can say will affect Radicals of Mr. Labouchere's type; but we hope that a fair statement of the position of affairs in South Africa, and of the relations between the Imperial Government and the Colonial authorities at the Cape, may induce those Liberals who can reflect as well as rant to reconsider the policy that their party has recently adopted with reference to South African affairs.

In the first place, then, the Cape differs fundamentally from most of our Colonies in its composition. When it passed into our possession, it was a Dutch colony, which had belonged to Holland for some two centuries, and in which the Dutch element was supreme. Up to the present day the country has been mainly colonized by the Boers—to use their local appellation—and the great bulk of the land away from the sea-coast is still in Boer hands. For a very long time, even after the annexation to England, the Boers remained the dominant class in the Colony. There was little emigration to the Cape from Great Britain, and what there was consisted mainly of British *officials* and their families, and of traders who settled on the
sea-board,

sea-board, possessed themselves of the external trade of the Colony, and gradually elbowed the Dutch farmers away from the sea-coast into the interior. Naturally enough, the Dutch did not take kindly to British rule, and we think it more than probable that the British officials took very little trouble to make themselves liked. The abolition of slavery in 1838 told very hardly upon the Boers, whose farms were worked by imported slave-labour; and the hardship was augmented by a decision of the Home Government of the day, that the compensation money allotted to the Cape planters must be paid in London. Sixty years ago, a journey to England from the Cape was a very serious matter, and even nowadays the Boers can hardly be induced to leave their farms. The result was, that the sums allotted for compensation were bought for next to nothing by the English traders in the Colony, and the Boers, as they thought, and for that matter think still, were defrauded of their just rights by English agency.

For reasons of which we shall have something to say later on, the tide of English emigration never flowed either fully or steadily towards the Cape. For one Englishman who went out to Africa with the view of making his home there, a hundred wandered forth to America, Canada, and Australia. Up to the middle of this century, the Cape was a sort of Cinderella of British Colonies. Natal became the seat of a genuine though small English settlement; but, till quite within recent years, the British element in the Cape—leaving Cape Town and Port Elizabeth out of consideration—increased very slowly. The English colonists looked down on the Boers for their ignorance, their want of breeding, their lack of refinement; the Boers disliked the English for their ill-concealed consciousness of superiority, their disregard of Dutch ideas and Dutch prejudice, and, above all, their constant interference with Dutch ways and customs. To make confusion worse, the Home Government made the Cape a present of a brand-new Constitution, for which the country was certainly not ripe at the time of its concession. We doubt if the annals of parliamentary history contain any record more dreary and monotonous than that of the early history of the Cape Legislature. Politics, in our sense of the word, there were none. Every question turned, in fact if not in name, on the jealousy between the English and the Dutch. The former, owing to their preponderance in the towns, commanded a majority in the Chambers, and, owing to their political training, held an easy superiority in debate. But the latter, if they said little, voted solid; while the English C politicians, after the fashion of their race, were divided

personal and local interests, and tried to roll their own logs by bidding against each other for the Boer vote. The authority of England was, and is, represented by the Governor; and either by accident or foresight, this post has been filled by a very long succession of men of exceptional ability. Nothing, however, out of Laputa, could be more anomalous than the position of our Governors. They are nominated and appointed by the British Ministry of the day; but their salaries are paid by the Cape. They are also at the same time High Commissioners of all our possessions in South Africa, not included in the Cape Colony. In their latter capacity, they are directly responsible to and paid by the Home Government; in their former, they are directly responsible as constitutional rulers to any Ministry which commands for the time being the confidence of the Cape Parliament. Now, as a matter of fact, almost every burning question of Cape politics turns upon the relations between the Colony, the neighbouring Dutch Republic, and the more or less independent States, whether British or Native, over which we exercise various kinds of Protectorates. That so elaborate a mechanism has not broken down already is due to the tact and ability of our Governors, and still more to the good sense that has hitherto led the Home Government to defer upon all important issues to the wishes of the Colony. But if, as we see some reason to fear, a different policy should be adopted at home, the position of our Governors at the Cape would soon become untenable.

Moreover, up to a few years ago, there was one strong, permanent influence, which disposed the Cape Colonists, whether Boers or English, to attach extreme importance to the protection of Great Britain. Within the memory of men still almost in the prime of life, the white settlements in South Africa were surrounded by powerful native tribes, who had got arms, who knew how to shoot, and who had some sort of military organization. In numbers, in knowledge of the country, the Kaffirs (to use their generic name) were superior to the whites, and it was always on the cards that the Colonists might be overpowered, at any rate for a time, by the raids of their savage neighbours. This fear may have been exaggerated, but it was genuine. Even so late as the battle of Isandula, there was a general panic throughout South Africa at the news of the British defeat; and settlers fled in numbers from the interior to the sea-coast, under the impression that Cetewayo's troops would forthwith march southwards and exterminate the whites. It was to the Imperial troops the Colonists looked for protection against the Kaffirs. *The endless Kafir wars*, of which the public at home grew

so weary, were fought in the main by British troops; and it was by these wars, however unsatisfactory in their military aspect, that the safety of the Colony was secured. To admit this, is no reproach to the Colonists. A quarter of a century ago, communications by land between the various parts of South Africa were almost non-existent; the Colonies were divided by all kinds of influences; the Dutch had different objects in view from the English; border warfare was still a matter of daily occurrence. In regions in which savage raids are now as unknown as attacks by brigands are in England, the Colonists slept in their clothes, with their loaded muskets by their bed-sides, ready at any moment to repel a native attack. In the village of Barkly West, which was the original capital of Griqualand West, and was called after the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, there still stands an old stone fort erected only some twenty years ago, to protect the capital against a Kaffir raid. Yet, nowadays, you would as soon expect to meet a bushranger in Pall Mall as to be raided by Kaffirs in Barkly West.

As long as the armed support of the British Empire was essential to the safety of the Colonists, they were prepared to make almost any sacrifice in order to be assured that British troops would be forthcoming for their protection in case of need. But, as each successive war broke down the military power of one warlike tribe after another, and pushed the boundary-line between civilization and savagery further and further back, the need for military protection, so far as the settlers were concerned, became less and less urgent. We may as well state here, once for all, that we are not endeavouring to give any summary of the modern history of the Cape Colony; our only desire is to point out certain general causes and influences which have greatly modified the previous relations between the Mother Country and the Colony. Roughly speaking, then, the establishment of the so-called Afrikaner Bund coincided with the disappearance of the alarm caused by the threatening attitude of the savage military tribes. The league in question, which was mainly if not exclusively composed of the Dutch element, was certainly anti-English at the outset; but its hostility was not of a kind to call for, or to justify, any active suppression. The idea of the Bund, which was virtually created by Mr. Hofmeyer, was Africa for the Afrikaner. By Africa was meant that part of the dark Continent which the Dutch had once held, or which, to employ a phrase of later growth, came within the Dutch sphere of influence; an Afrikaner was understood to be a white Colonist of Dutch descent.

The authors of the Bund had never any notion of reuniting the Cape to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Hollanders, as the Dutch born in Europe are called, are very unpopular with their Boer fellow-kinsmen. But they did undoubtedly contemplate the creation of an independent South African Republic, in which the Boer element was to have the predominance. The *modus operandi* by which the detachment of the Colony was to be brought about was by the formation of an united Boer parliamentary party, who were to get the upper hand in the Assembly, and were consequently to direct the State policy of the Colony in such a way as to render the position of the Imperial Government untenable, and to induce this country to acquiesce, as the founders of the Bund believed England was prepared to acquiesce, in the severance of the ties which united her to the most troublesome and least productive of her important Colonies. In fact, the Bund scheme closely resembled Mr. Parnell's project for the emancipation of Ireland from British rule; though it is only justice to Mr. Hofmeyer and his colleagues to recognize, that they never contemplated the accomplishment of the object they had in view by any other than legal and constitutional means. It is also fair to add, that the founders of the Afrikaner Bund deserve considerable credit for the ability with which they formed an united party out of the scattered Dutch population. The Dutch residents in and around Cape Town were, owing to their comparative proximity to Europe, and still more to their long intercourse with the English, men of far higher education and intelligence than the ordinary run of the country Boer-farmers; they had learnt how parliamentary institutions could be worked, so as to enable a solid minority to get the better of a disunited majority, and they taught the Boers to understand that, if they wished to hold their own against the English, they must take part actively in the elections and return candidates prepared to vote in a body with the leaders of the Dutch party.

It seems almost incredible to anyone who knows South Africa to-day and appreciates the overwhelming superiority of the British elements in South Africa over the Dutch, not only in numbers but in influence, to believe that, at a comparatively recent period, the Afrikaner Bund, which, as we have said, aimed at converting South Africa into an independent Republic under Dutch ascendancy, should have had any conceivable prospect of success. We doubt ourselves whether it could have succeeded, in any circumstances; at any rate, its chances of ultimate success, whether great or small, were completely destroyed by a combination of unforeseen events, which have

have altered the whole conditions of the South African problem.

Trade in South Africa, as in all countries which have no stable, permanent agricultural or manufacturing industry, had always gone by fits and starts. Years of inflation were succeeded by years of depression, and, prior to 1870, the Cape had suffered from a long period of commercial stagnation, which had strengthened the popular discontent alike amidst the Dutch and English colonists. The discovery of the diamond fields in Griqualand West altered the whole complexion of affairs in South Africa. For the first time, there was a steady flow of English immigration into the Colony. The Cape woke up from the Rip van Winkle slumber in which it had so long indulged. Fresh capital, fresh energy, fresh life poured into the Colony, just as fresh funds poured into the exhausted Colonial exchequer. The Great Northern Railroad, which had loitered for years in the precincts of Cape Town, was pushed forward, first to Beaufort West, and then to Kimberley itself. A new city, equal in size, in wealth, and population to Cape Town or Durban, sprang up some 600 miles north of the Cape, in a region which had hitherto been occupied by a few scattered Boers, dwelling in the midst of Kaffirs. This city was at the outset, and still remains, an entirely English city, and it soon became, to a far greater degree than Cape Town, the stronghold of the English element in the Cape Colony. The romance of Kimberley—the story of the finding of the diamonds—of the purchase, for a mere song, of the ground on which the mines were situated from a Boer half-breed, who owned the whole estate—of the transfer of the property to a London Company—of the fortunes which were made and lost there—are matters which lie beyond the scope and limits of this article. It is enough to say that, within the space of a few years, Kimberley became the mart of the diamond trade, the depôt from which the world was supplied with the most valued and marketable of precious stones.

But the rise of Kimberley, though rapid, was not one of unbroken success. The London Company we have spoken of did not work the mines itself, but allowed them to be worked by independent companies, who paid a royalty for the privilege. All sorts of difficulties had to be encountered. There were disputes between the Company and the Colonial Government, which had to be referred for settlement to the Privy Council. There were heavy losses by the illicit sale of diamonds stolen by the natives employed in the mines, and these losses necessitated the enactment of special legislation, about which we shall
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have to say something later; there were questions of title raised by the adjacent Orange Free State; there was an attempt to convert Griqualand West into an independent Republic; there were stoppages caused by inexperience in working; there were strikes on the part of the white miners; and, above all, there was a heavy fall in the market price of diamonds, owing to the supply exceeding the demand. The other difficulties were overcome as things settled down; but the problem—how to hinder unrestricted competition—seemed for a long time to be practically insoluble. Yet upon its solution there depended the prosperity of South African diamond-mining as a permanent industry.

There were any number of attempts at amalgamation, but they all broke down, owing to the fact that the interests of the individual mines conflicted almost irreconcilably with each other. It was then that Mr. Cecil Rhodes first became prominent on the stage of South Africa. He had been for some years in the Colony, trying different pursuits with no very signal success, and finally had drifted to Kimberley, where he became connected with the De Beers Mine, even then one of the most successful, or rather least unsuccessful, of the half-hundred mines which were flooding the market and underselling each other.

The story of how Mr. Rhodes effected the amalgamation of the Kimberley Mines has never been told; and probably never could be told fully by anybody except the man by whom the achievement was brought to pass. All we are concerned with here is the fact that the success of the project was attributed throughout South Africa entirely to Mr. Rhodes, and caused him to be regarded as the coming man. What strengthened the belief in his future was his conduct subsequent to his first success. While still a very young man (he was then well under thirty), he had realized, or what comes to much the same, was believed to have realized, a very large private fortune as the reward of his financial operations. If he had followed the usual example of almost all his English fellow-colonists, he would have gone home as soon as, in colonial phrase, 'he had made his pile.' Born of a good English family, bred in England, and educated at Oxford, he might at his age, with his connexions and with his fortune, have looked forward confidently to playing an important part in English public and social life. But he soon let it be understood that it was in South Africa, not in the old country, he intended to make his career. He entered the Cape Legislature as Member for Barkly West; he made himself a sort of dictator of the Diamond Fields;

Fields; he took the lead of the English party in the Cape; and he made it manifest that he belonged to an entirely different class of politicians from those with whom the Colony had hitherto been familiar.

The truth is, that the hour had come for a new departure in Cape politics, and with the hour the man was forthcoming in the person of Cecil Rhodes. The period during which he came to the front was contemporaneous, roughly speaking, with the annexation, occupation, and evacuation of the Transvaal. We have no wish to go back upon a very unsatisfactory chapter in our annals as a nation, but it is impossible to understand the state of feeling which prevails in South Africa with regard to intervention of the British Government, unless we realize the effect produced on popular opinion in our African possessions by the discreditable campaign which ended in the ignominious surrender of Majuba Hill. If we look back to the utterances of the Liberal party at the time of the surrender, we shall find it taken for granted that, whether the cession was wise or unwise in itself, it was universally regarded both at home and abroad as an act of heroic magnanimity on the part of England. At any rate, it was not so regarded in South Africa. The plain facts of the case, only too plainly clear to those on the spot, were utterly inconsistent with the magnanimity theory. The Transvaal had been annexed in the first instance without any adequate or pressing necessity. When annexed, it had been administered with singularly incapacity by British officials, who, alike in civil and military matters, resolutely refused to avail themselves of the advice of the Colonists as to the conditions of the country and the character of the Boers. Only a short time after the representative of the Queen had solemnly informed the Boers, who laid their complaints before him, that, whatever might be done to remove their real or alleged grievances, it was as certain that the Transvaal would remain a British possession as that the sun would continue to rise in the east and sink in the west, the Boers rose in insurrection. The war which ensued was carried on languidly and feebly on our part. The Boers, on the other hand, with inferior numbers, inferior arms, and inferior military organization, inflicted defeat after defeat on the British troops, till at last our long series of reverses was crowned by the utter rout, on the part of a handful of Dutch farmers, of a British army occupying an impregnable position.

Then, when we had been disgraced, defeated, and defied, Mr. Gladstone suddenly discovered that our national magnanimity precluded us from prolonging a too unequal contest, restored the Transvaal to the Boers, and concluded a treaty

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in which no adequate protection was made for the interests of the British settlers in the Transvaal, and by which the Dutch and the natives who had stood by us were left at the mercy of the Boers. Is it reasonable to wonder if, after the ignominious fiasco of the Transvaal, the English in South Africa found their faith in the value of British protection most rudely shaken, or if, in the face of the taunts and jeers of their Dutch neighbours, their pride in belonging to the British empire sustained a shock, all the more severe because they knew too well that the taunts were well founded and the jeers justified?

Anyhow, reasonable or unreasonable, the resentment entertained by our kinsfolk in South Africa and especially in the Cape, at the action of the Imperial Government in the Transvaal, paved the way for the new policy inaugurated by Mr. Rhodes as a leading member of the English party. He entered into a coalition with Mr. Hofmeyer and his followers, which was not based on parliamentary exigencies, as all previous alliances had been, but on a common principle. That principle was the one which formed the basis of the Afrikaner Bund; namely, that South Africa ought by rights to be administered by the South Africans of European race. He succeeded on the one hand in convincing the Boers that they could never obtain autonomy without the co-operation of their English fellow-colonists; he succeeded, on the other, in persuading a large number of his own countrymen that the best way of achieving virtual independence was to act with the Dutch, not against them; and to convert the British colonies and the Dutch republics into some form of confederated union. It is no duty of ours to discuss the policy identified with Mr. Rhodes's name. But it is only fair to express our individual conviction that, in advocating this policy, its author believed himself to be securing the best interests of his Mother Country as well as of the Colony. Mr. Rhodes is an Englishman to the backbone, and a strong and persistent advocate of the ideas which underlie all projects of an Imperial Federation under the flag of England. But he is also convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that such a Federation is only possible if our Colonies, or rather our groups of Colonies, are allowed actual, if not nominal autonomy, with respect to the administration of their internal affairs. We believe ourselves that Mr. Rhodes, when he made his famous gift to Mr. Parnell in aid of the Land League agitation, was influenced by an idea that Home Rule for Ireland must lead to some kind of Federal Union between the different States which compose the United Kingdom, and that such an union is an essential step to any scheme of Imperial Federation. At the
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same time we have no doubt Mr. Rhodes was influenced also by a well-founded conviction that, by his contribution to the funds of the League, he would secure the support of the Irish Nationalists in Parliament, and thus render it difficult for the Radicals, as a party, to attack the policy of annexation and extension which he had already in view. If so, his tactics have proved successful at home as well as in the Colony.

Meanwhile, events in South Africa were working in his favour. The cession of the Transvaal was followed, at a brief interval, by the discovery of the Witwaters Randt Gold district. This discovery produced similar results to those of the diamond discovery at Kimberley, but on a far larger scale. From all parts of South Africa the English colonists hurried up to the new Eldorado, while a very large emigration set in from Europe, but mainly from England. British capital flowed into the Transvaal; British companies bought up the lands of the Boer farmers in the hope that they would be found to contain auriferous reefs as rich as those of the Randt; British miners, traders, engineers, and artisans worked their way to the Transvaal, driven onwards by the *auri sacra fames*, and within the course of some three or four years the purely British town of Johannesburg became the chief city, not only of the Transvaal but of South Africa, while the British resident population in the Republic outnumbered the Boers. There were ups and downs; money was spent lavishly; speculation was carried to extravagant limits. Still, it soon became clear to all impartial observers, that the Transvaal was destined to be one of the chief, if not the chief, of the gold-producing districts in the world; and that this district was to be in the possession of Englishmen, living in a land which had but recently been their own, but which was now subject to the rule of a Boer republic, unfriendly, if not absolutely hostile, to the Power whose armies the Boers had just defeated, and whose pride they had humbled in the dust.

These facts, which were more patent to our countrymen in South Africa than to our countrymen at home, had a great influence on Colonial opinion. They increased the popular resentment towards England, caused by the surrender of the Transvaal, and led the public to look more favourably on the idea of co-operating with the Dutch and of forming a South African confederacy. Meanwhile, Mr. Rhodes had greatly strengthened his personal position by large and successful speculations during the boom in the Transvaal, and was also believed to have made a still larger fortune by bringing out the British South African Company, for which he had obtained a
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Royal Charter from the late Government. He had, in fact, earned the reputation of being a millionaire, and, what is more, of being a millionaire who cared little for wealth except as a means of advancing the objects he had at heart.

When Sir Henry Loch, the present Governor of the Cape, took possession of his post in the last days of 1889, Mr. Rhodes had become the leading personage in South Africa. Sir Henry had the good sense to recognize this fact, and to act upon it. It was by his advice, and at his instance, that the Chairman of the De Beers Mining Company, and the creator of the Chartered Company, became also the Prime Minister of the Cape on the downfall of Sir Gordon Sprigg's Ministry in June 1890. Since that date, Mr. Rhodes has remained in office; and his tenure of power has only increased his predominant influence in the Colony. He has annexed Mashonaland; he is about to annex Matabeleland, and, if he can carry out his policy, these territories, though up to the present they are nominally Crown possessions, will infallibly become part of the great Cape Colony. He has carried on the Great Northern Railway right through Bechuanaland, which is regarded by the Cape as a territory destined very shortly to pass under its direct control. He has pushed forward the telegraph line, which it is hoped is one day to unite Cape Town with Cairo, far on its way towards Uganda. He has established friendly relations between the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic; he has induced the Transvaal to abandon her policy of isolation, and to allow railway communication with Cape Town on the South and with Durban on the East. He has constructed the Beira Railway; and he has brought the idea of a South African Customs Union, which was previously a dream of the future, within the domain of practical politics. And, what is more than all in the opinion of his fellow-colonists, he has proved, or is at any rate believed to have proved, that colonial troops are quite competent to subdue any of the native warlike tribes without Imperial aid, either in troops or money.

We are quite aware that these achievements have not been all accomplished by Mr. Rhodes alone. The Prime Minister of the Cape owes much to the cordial co-operation of Sir Henry Loch, who has hitherto succeeded in inducing the Home Government to acquiesce in the policy of the Cape Premier. He owes much to the action of the late Government in granting a Royal Charter to the British South African Company. He owes much to the British capitalists, and to the De Beers Company, who have assisted him in providing the funds necessary for his
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various enterprises. He owes even more to the loyal support he has received from the Colony, and to the group of singularly able men he has associated with his fortunes. But when all is said and done, his success is mainly due to his own daring, his own energy, and his own genius. It is not our intention to express any opinion as to the ultimate results of Mr. Rhodes's various projects. Nobody who has any acquaintance with the subject can deny that the question of success or failure depends very largely upon the issue whether the funds for the completion of his enterprises will or will not prove to be forthcoming. All we assert is that, even if his endeavours should be frustrated, his Ministry overthrown, and his influence impaired by financial difficulties—contingencies which in such speculations as those on which he has embarked are always possible, if not probable—he has established the foundations of a united South Africa. Whether this union, when established, is to remain part of the British Empire, or an independent Republic, is a question which, as we deem, will be settled much more by the action of England than by that of the Colony.

Our object in dwelling with perhaps unnecessary length on the causes, political and personal, which have brought about this new departure in South African affairs, is to call attention to the danger attending the outcry against the action of the Chartered Company and the Matabele War, which has been raised by the English Radicals, and which seems likely to be endorsed by the Liberal party. The course pursued, and the language adopted, by our advanced Liberals towards our Colonists in South Africa, is, as we stated at the commencement of this article, only too similar to those which drove our North American Colonies into separation.

As we have said before, political parties, in our English sense of the word, can hardly be said to exist in the Cape Colony; all politics there turn, in one form or another, upon the Native question and the Labour question—two questions which are inseparably connected with each other. The relations between the white settlers and the coloured population differ fundamentally from those which exist in North America, in Canada, in New Zealand, and in Australia. In all these countries, the Native question has either been settled, or is rapidly being settled, by the simple process of elimination. South Africa, however, has proved an exception to the rule that where the white man comes the black man disappears. That this is so is not due to any superior humanity on the part of the whites in South Africa. The Hottentots, who occupied the Cape when the Dutch first made their appearance there,¹

now completely disappeared. But the Kaffirs, especially since the Colony passed under the rule of England, have increased and multiplied.

The probable explanation of the survival of the Kaffir lies in the fact that the Veldt—to use the term under which the whole vast tableland of South Africa is designated—has never been colonized, as colonization is ordinarily understood. The proportion of land which has been brought under cultivation is extremely small. Most of the Boers have several farms; and the size of each farm is, on an average, 5,000 to 10,000 acres. So long as the farmers had space enough for the grazing of their herds and flocks and were not interfered with in their hunting, they cared little about portions of their ground being squatted upon by native tribes. On the contrary, as these tribes paid rent by a certain number of days' labour, and made themselves useful in many ways to the farmers, they were not unwelcome neighbours in a very sparsely occupied region; they were not unwilling to work, they recognized the Boers as their lords and masters, and were in fact, though not in name, a sort of serfs *adscripti glebæ*. Whatever the cause may have been, they were, and are, a strong, vigorous race, and well able to work as servants, herdsmen, and carriers. Moreover, the Boers, especially in the early days of the Colony, followed the example of the patriarchs in more ways than one, and one result of the patriarchal system has been the production of a large half-caste breed of mixed Dutch and Kaffir parentage. These half-breeds form an important element in the population. It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate statistics upon a question involving any amount of sentiment and prejudice and race antipathies. Still there seems to be no reasonable doubt that, owing to the cessation of tribal warfare and the improvement in food, clothing, and dwellings which the Kaffirs enjoy under civilized rule, the native population has increased and is increasing rapidly, though whether its increase is relatively greater than that of the whites is a matter of dispute. The cry is constantly being raised in South Africa that the natives are rapidly outnumbering the whites, and that, if things are allowed to go on as at present, the Colonies are destined to fall back once more under the ascendancy of the black man. We have no doubt this apprehension is genuinely entertained in many quarters, but we should doubt its being seriously held by the statesmen of the Colony. When they join, as they not unfrequently do, in the cry that the growth of the native element constitutes a danger to the State, what they really mean is, not that they wish to get rid of the natives, but that they

they want to modify the relations between the inferior and the superior race.

It is indeed inconceivable that any intelligent South African colonist should seriously desire to eliminate the native population, for by so doing he would simply be destroying the supply of labour on which the whole prosperity of the Colony depends. South Africa never has been—and, for many long years to come, never can be—a field for the sort of emigrants who built up America, Canada, and Australia, and who now form the working classes of these communities. Experiment after experiment has been made to divert the tide of European emigration to South Africa, and every experiment has failed. The reasons of the failure are obvious. In the first place, the cost of the journey is beyond the means of ordinary emigrants; in the second place, though there is any amount of waste lands in the Veldt, they are not lands that can be made productive by settlers who have no capital beyond their own strong arms and stout hearts. It is a common saying in the West, that you have only to tickle the prairie with a hoe, and it smiles back with a harvest. Even the most enthusiastic Afrikaner would hesitate to make any similar assertion about his own country. The Veldt may be worth farming under certain conditions, but the first of these conditions is to have capital to sink in cattle and wells and irrigation works. If an ordinary British labourer were given a farm of a thousand acres in the Veldt, the only use he could make of it would be to sell it for whatever he could get. For a British workman there is work enough and to spare in South Africa, but then he would have to work alongside with natives, and would be liable to have his wages cut down by native competition. This he will never do as long as there are Colonies where the working classes are white men, and where the only competition he has to fear is that of his own fellow-workmen.

The truth is, South Africa offers a great field for emigrants, but only for emigrants who have money or who are skilled practitioners in their profession or trade, or handiwork, whatever that may be. It is, in fact, a land of white masters and coloured workmen. It is the natives who till the field, who dig in the mines, who make the roads and railways, who, in fact, do the manual work of the whole country under white overseers and foremen. You might offer a Boer any amount of wages as the price of his labouring as a workman, and he would refuse the offer with scorn. It is much the same with the English colonists. They are ready to be masters, but they are not ready to be common labourers. A few years ago, an Englishman who was the manager of one of the diamond mines, and who

had a great belief in the old theory that a British labourer can do better and more work than half-a-dozen black men, resolved to have his mine worked solely by white labour. He got out a body of miners from England, and paid them wages much above the then ordinary scale. For a few days all went well, but at the end of the first fortnight the men struck work and declined to go on, unless they had native labourers under them to do the digging, carrying, and loading. So it is everywhere in South Africa. The head-work is done by highly paid white labour, the hard work by comparatively cheaply paid black labour.

In these circumstances, it is a matter of vital importance to the Colonists to have a plentiful and steady supply of native labour. There are any number of natives strong enough and intelligent enough to work well under white control. No compulsion is required to induce the Kaffirs to work, and, in their own way, to work well. All that is wanted is that the Kaffir should have the wish to earn money. Unfortunately, this wish is of a very intermittent character. The native, except in very rare and exceptional instances, has no ambition to change his normal mode of life. His wants are few and cheaply supplied, and, as long as he can live after his own customs, he does not care to earn money for which he has got to work. Life, however, even for savages, is not so easy in South Africa as it used to be. The game has been killed or driven off. The raising of mealies, the staple of the native's food, has become more difficult, as the lands pass into the hands of white settlers, and the passion for drink makes a heavy drain on native savings. So, when things get bad, the native tramps off from his home, often for hundreds of miles, to the mines or railways, and takes work, for which he receives, on the whole, a fair value in wages. Believers in the dignity of labour would naturally assume that, when once the Kaffir had learned the comfort of steady pay and the advantages of regular employment, he would have no desire to return to the old precarious squalid life of savagery. The belief is not justified by facts. As soon as the Kaffir has fulfilled his term of contract and received his pay—the two events are, in the language of mathematics, functions of each other—he shoulders his blanket, loads himself with Kaffir 'truck,' as the *omnium gatherum* of a native's sack is termed, and tramps back to his village. There he buys a yoke of oxen, together with a new wife, and sets the latter to till his ground with the former while he loafs about hunting or pilfering. Thus the great difficulty in all industrial enterprises in South Africa lies in the uncertain and irregular supply of native labour.

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Wherever you travel in British South Africa, to whomsoever you speak, you hear one uniform complaint that something has got to be done to increase the supply and improve the efficiency of native labour.

It is the almost universal sentiment of the Colonists that the relations between the native labourers and their white employers cannot be allowed to continue much longer on their present footing. As a result of this conviction there has been of late a strong agitation throughout the Cape Colony in favour of curtailing, if not annulling, the suffrage hitherto possessed under the Constitution by the natives. When the Cape was converted from a Crown Colony into a self-governing Colony, the right of voting was made independent of race and colour; and as the Colony was then in a very poor way, the electoral qualification was placed at a very low figure. The result was that a very large number of natives became privileged to vote. The Kaffirs are far too ignorant and too indifferent to take any active interest in politics, and have not even reached the stage of mental development when men entertain political prejudices, still less political convictions. But the 'Blanket' vote, as it is called, is very numerous in many of the rural constituencies, and was sometimes strong enough to turn the scale in favour of either of the two Cape parties, which, as we have said, under whatever name they might be called, represented respectively the Boers and the British Colonists. Thus, in former days, the dread of losing the Blanket vote hindered either party from dealing by legislation with the native question. But since Mr. Rhodes's policy has joined English and Dutch in one common Afrikander policy, there is a very general consensus of opinion that, either by means of an educational test or by a higher pecuniary qualification, the lower class of natives ought in the interest of the Colony to be deprived of the suffrage.

It would be most unjust to accuse the Colonists of any desire to re-establish slavery. But they do, undoubtedly, hold that the white man and the black differ fundamentally in many respects besides that of colour; and that the uncontrolled liberty of action which is beneficial to the former is not only useless but hurtful to the latter. In theory, the laws of the Cape recognize no difference between Kaffirs and Colonists. In the Transvaal, in the Orange Free State, and, if we are not mistaken, to some extent in Natal, the law does recognize a marked difference. In the Transvaal, for instance, a native cannot move from his residence without a permit from the local authorities, and if he is found without one he is sent at once to prison: he is obliged to be indoors, unless he has special leave,

by a certain time of night, of which notice is given by ringing a bell: he is not allowed to buy intoxicating liquors: he has no voice of any kind in the government of the country: he is compelled, when not working for a livelihood, to reside in the native reservations, and, though the law protects him against injury to life or limb at the hands of his employers, he has very little chance of redress so long as any ill-treatment of which he may complain does not outrage such public opinion as exists amongst the Boers. Up to a few years ago, native workmen in the Transvaal were very poorly paid, and that chiefly in food and clothing, provided by their masters at their own estimate. But the demand for labour which has sprung up with the discovery of the Randt Mines, has raised the standard of wages to an extravagant degree. Native workmen employed at the mines can earn twenty-five shillings to thirty shillings a week, paid in hard money; and the Boers complain bitterly of the difficulty of obtaining farm hands. Already there has been talk of the Government interfering to reduce the rate of wages paid by the Mining Companies, and probably this would have been done already if these companies had not been almost exclusively in the hands of English owners. In the Cape and in Natal, the natives are more favourably treated, but this is mainly because popular sentiment is more influenced by modern ideas than in the Dutch Republics. But even here legislation has been passed which is distinctly based on the difference of colour. The plain simple truth is that, in South African opinion, the black man is not qualified as yet to exercise the same absolute liberty of action as is accorded to the white settler; and as South Africa becomes more united and more autonomous, this opinion is likely to influence still more the course of all future legislation in connexion with the native question.

Again, the policy of annexing native territories is extremely popular in South Africa. Boers and Britishers, however they may disagree on other matters, are absolutely of one mind as to the iniquity of leaving rich districts that could be developed and rendered productive in the hands of white settlers, to lie fallow in the possession of savage tribes, who make no attempt whatever to cultivate these lands to advantage. This land hunger, which is common to all men of Anglo-Saxon race, is especially strong amidst the Boers. As we have said before, the soil of the Veldt is ill adapted to spade industry; and therefore the ordinary British settler does not feel the same indignation at the Kaffirs holding vast acres of untilled and uncultivated land, ripe for crops or herds and yet producing nothing,

nothing, as is entertained by his American kinsman at prairie lands being kept apart as Indian reservations. But to the Boers the acquisition of new territory is a matter not only of personal interest, but of vital necessity. Their trade is cattle-breeding; and for cattle-breeding to be carried on with success large grazing-grounds are required, where the herds and flocks can roam about in search of fresh pasture. In the course of years the grazing-grounds become exhausted owing to lack of proper culture, and, what is more, the Boers are gradually being elbowed out of their old farms by the advance of British civilization. Unless therefore they are to abandon the pastoral occupations which are at once their livelihood and their reason of being, they have got to 'treck' further onwards and to seek new pastures. In order to do this, they must take possession of the lands now occupied by the so-called independent native tribes; and therefore they are keen advocates of an annexationist policy. It is by carrying out this policy that Mr. Rhodes has rewarded the loyalty of his Dutch supporters. Under his influence Bechuanaland and Mashonaland have been practically annexed to the Cape Colony, whilst Swaziland is to be handed over to the Transvaal. And in the near future, Matabeleland, Zululand, and Pondoland will be thrown open to Dutch farmers and British miners. It matters comparatively little whether these annexed territories are assigned in the first instance to one State or Colony or to another, or whether they remain nominally under British Protectorates. In one form or another they will, as the Colonists believe, be part and parcel of the United Confederacy into which Mr. Rhodes and the Afrikander Bund intend to weld the whole of South Africa.

Matters therefore stand thus: for the first time in South African history there is a genuine popular movement for the establishment of some kind of confederacy under which colonial affairs may be administered according to colonial ideas; and this movement is led by an Englishman of singular ability, who has contrived to win the confidence of the two rival nationalities, the English and the Dutch, and whose success hitherto has been so signal as to secure him the support of the Colonists in the prosecution of his policy. The four main features of that policy may be said to be, South Africa for the Afrikanders; the gradual absorption of all territories lying south of the Zambesi in some description of Federal Union; the regulation of the labour questions by the States composing the maintenance of the Imperial suzerainty of

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any definite scheme of his own, he has not yet made it public, nor has he, so far as we are aware, ever done more than express a desire to bring about a Customs Union over the whole of South Africa. But the end he has in view is obvious; and the means he employs to compass that end are the same as he employed in the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines, which was not to put forward any general scheme for uniting the mines into one gigantic association, but to effect the incorporation of one mine after another, till the body thus formed became so powerful that the recalcitrant mines were compelled to follow suit. Be this as it may, the idea of a South African Confederacy which ended in failure, when first proposed by the late Lord Carnarvon, is now a possible if not a probable project under the altered conditions of the colonies,—a result which has come to pass under Mr. Rhodes's *régime*, and to no small extent is due to his personal influence.

The question, therefore, that we wish the British public to consider is, what ought to be the attitude of England towards this new era in South African history. Our own opinion is, that it ought for the present to be one of friendly neutrality. We have endeavoured to state the Colonial point of view as fairly as we can, but a fair statement of the case for one party to an action does not involve an admission that that party is necessarily altogether in the right. We are not clear ourselves whether a United South Africa under British supremacy is as yet possible. We are still less clear whether the internal policy of such a union is one that would commend itself to public opinion at home. The one thing we are clear about is that the policy of which Mr. Rhodes is, so to speak, the embodiment, ought not to be condemned in the utterly irrational manner that has been adopted by the Radical party.

It is no concern of ours to defend the Chartered Company, or to express any opinion of its financial prospects one way or the other. But there is no disputing the plain fact that the founders and promoters of this great undertaking have shown the same qualities of energy, resolution, and adventurous daring which founded the British Empire in the bygone time. Yet because Englishmen of to-day have followed in the footsteps of their forefathers, and added by their own efforts a new province to Greater Britain, they are held up to obloquy by the organs of the new Liberalism in England as cut-throats, assassins, and border ruffians; while the Premier of the Cape Colony, the most popular and powerful statesman in South Africa, is assailed with virulent abuse, which would be out of place even in stigmatizing a convicted criminal. Nor is Mr. Labouchere alone
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in his denunciations of the Matabele War, and of the policy which the Colonists in South Africa regard as essential to the development of their country. The tone of the despatches sent from Downing Street to Sir Henry Loch during the late war showed, to say the least, no great sympathy with the course pursued by the Chartered Company; and it is believed in the Cape that, if the Ministry could have their own way, they would deprive the Colonists of all the advantages which the victories won by their own troops have secured. Language has been used by prominent members of the Liberal party in the House of Commons endorsing, though in more measured language, the indictments levelled by Mr. Labouchere. And, more than all, our Ministers, whether in Parliament or in the country, have never adequately protested against the misrepresentations to which our countrymen in South Africa are subjected.

It may be said that hard words break no bones, and that after all neither the Government nor the country have as yet placed themselves in direct opposition to the annexation of Matabeleland. Practically, whatever terms of settlement may be propounded by the Colonial Office, the decision as to the fate of Lo Bengula's kingdom does not rest with us. If Mr. Rhodes and the Cape Legislature have made up their minds to occupy Matabeleland and to throw its mines open, we have no means of resisting their decision except by sending Imperial troops in order to coerce the Colonists into withdrawing from the country they have already occupied. This we never should do, and, what is more, the Colonists are aware that we never should; and therefore they will pursue their own way, no matter what our papers may write, or our politicians may threaten.

The real danger of the outcry to which we allude, lies not so much in its immediate manifestation, as in the spirit of which it is the outcome. There is a growing tendency on the part of the Liberals to insist upon our Colonial possessions being administered in accordance with the ideas and prejudices of English Liberalism. In India this sort of vexatious interference is bad enough, but it is infinitely more mischievous if exercised in the case of a self-governing colony, such as the Cape. If, for instance, the Cape Legislature were to pass laws restricting the native vote or regulating the conditions of native labour, it seems probable that the Liberals would exert their influence to induce the Government of the day to refuse their sanction to the laws in question. The only result of such action on the part of the Mother Country would be to imperil the connexion between England and our South African Colonies. There is at present no Separatist party in the Cape; the Dutch,
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though they have no love for us, are ready to accept our rule; the English Colonists are still proud of their connexion with England; and most of them look on England as their real home. But Boers and English settlers are alike agreed that so far as South Africa is concerned they are not going to be governed from Downing Street, or to have their local affairs regulated by English party politics.

The common-sense of our countrymen will, we think, lead them to admit that the Colonists are in their right. Abstract principles, however right in themselves, are excessively difficult of practical application; and, after all, residents in South Africa who have passed their lives in the midst of savage or semi-savage population, who know the Kaffirs, not of fiction, but of real life, who understand the conditions under which the white Colonists live and have their being, are better able to judge what ought to be the legal relations between black and white men, than stay-at-home Englishmen who never saw a Kaffir in their lives. We feel even more confident that the sense of fair play and the love of pluck which are so universal in this country, will lead the great mass of the British public to do justice to the heroism displayed by the gallant handful of Englishmen who, carrying their lives in their hands, fought and conquered against overwhelming odds in the far-away land of the Matabeles. Nobody disputes the bravery of British soldiers, but anyone acquainted with the true story of South African warfare is aware that one of the causes of our comparative failure was the almost abject terror entertained by our troops at the idea of falling into the hands of their savage enemies. It was not death they feared, but what preceded death. The subject is a painful one, on which there is no cause to dwell. All we need say is that every man of the pioneer force which marched on Buluwayo knew well the fate that awaited him if he fell into the hands of Lo Bengula's warriors, and yet, knowing this, their resolution never failed. This much also we must add, that even if the men who fought in the Matabele campaign should be proved to have been guilty of individual acts of cruelty or inhumanity, some allowance must be made for the fact that they were one and all men who knew only too well what savage warfare means in grim reality.

We trust we have made our meaning clear. We cannot foretell the future, but we can see this much, that events in South Africa are tending rapidly towards the consolidation of the various States and Colonies of South Africa into an United Confederacy. It may be said that Imperial Confederacy of any kind would be of no value to the Mother Country upon such a basis as that contemplated

contemplated by Mr. Rhodes; and that, if our Colonies are to be autonomous, it matters little whether they remain or not under the Union Jack. It would be as reasonable to argue, that when the sons of a family with their father's consent have got houses and businesses of their own, it makes no difference to the family whether parents and children are partners or otherwise. Even as things are, the influence of home opinion is very strong in our Colonies; under any system of federal government it would be infinitely stronger. Whatever theorists may allege, experience shows that not only trade but attachment and a sense of mutual obligation follow the flag. Those therefore who believe with us that Great Britain has a grand mission to perform in the world's history, as the head of the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the globe, cannot but view with dismay the possible severance from England of her South African possessions. Anybody who reflects upon what the authority and influence of England would be nowadays if the United States still remained part and parcel of the British Empire, cannot but deprecate any action which might lead to the establishment of an independent Republic in South Africa owning no connexion with Great Britain other than that of community of race and language, and only that in so far as the English portion of its citizens are concerned.

The movement in favour of consolidation is now led by Englishmen, who are most anxious that the Confederacy, of which they believe they are now laying the foundation, should remain an integral part of the British Empire. If, however, the spirit and temper which have characterised the recent attacks on Mr. Rhodes, the Chartered Company, and the so-called 'forward' policy of the Cape Colony, should be displayed by any considerable party at home in their future dealings with South African questions, the Colonists will undoubtedly learn to look forward to the formation of a United South African Confederacy as the means not for consolidating, but for severing, the connexion between the Mother Country and her South African possessions. Not content with detaching Ireland from the United Kingdom, our English Separatists are now entering upon a course of action which must, if pursued, sever British South Africa from the British Empire, and thereby deal a deathblow to Imperial Federation. We cannot believe that English Liberals, as a party, desire to bring such an end to pass. All we wish to point out is, that they are working towards that end if they identify themselves with the 'Little England' policy that has found its latest manifestations in the organs of New Liberalism.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., G.M.C.G., sometime Her Majesty's Minister to China and Japan.* 2 vols. By Stanley Lane-Poole and F. V. Dickens. London, 1894.

WE have seldom read a biography which has pictured more clearly and faithfully the subject of its pages as the work which we have put at the head of this article. Many circumstances have contributed to this result, apart from the unquestionable skill with which the materials have been arranged. Sir Harry Parkes was a man with marked characteristics. Possessed of eminent ability, of a courage which never flinched even in moments of greatest danger, of a tact and insight into the Oriental character which made him at once admired and dreaded alike by Chinese Mandarins, Japanese Daimios, and Siamese grandees, Sir Harry Parkes stands out as a figure which must always command attention, while the background of the picture is full of those dramatic situations which seem to fall only to the lot of men of the British race.

The history of our relations with China is practically included within the last sixty years—exactly a Chinese cycle. Before that time, in spite of the Missions of Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst, China was, to all intents and purposes, a *terra incognita*. The few merchants who traded in the silks and teas of that favoured land, lived cabined, cribbed, confined within the narrow limits of the factory sites of Canton. Beyond the boundaries of that settlement they moved only at their peril. They were not permitted to enjoy the society of their wives and daughters. They were forbidden to enter the city, and their expeditions on the river were strictly limited to a given number of miles. They were not allowed to enter the presence of officials even of the lowest grades, and all communications to the local authorities took the form of Petitions. The only natives with whom they had communication were certain merchants who were especially appointed as guarantors for their good behaviour. The least infraction of the laws laid down for their guidance was punished by the suspension of trade, by the withdrawal of their native servants, and by the cutting off of all supplies. Like the Dutch at Decima in Japan, they lived at Canton a life of subjection and insult, to which they were fain to submit in exchange for the large fortunes which the rich shipments to Europe enabled them to amass.

Such was the condition of things in China when the English Government took over the management of affairs. In 1833 the transfer from the Company to the Crown was effected, and
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from that point the history of our relations with China begins. It was thought that the fact of the merchants being members only of a trading Company had induced the Chinese authorities to treat them with contumely. It was known that of all bureaucrats the Chinese were the most bureaucratic; that the possession of an office, however insignificant, raised the holder immeasurably above the people, and it was natural therefore to assume that, when the English representative should develop from a merchant into His Majesty's Minister, a corresponding change of conduct might be looked for on the part of the Mandarins. But this view, though reasonable, was based on misconception. In their ignorance of anything outside the frontiers of China, and in the pride begotten of more than twenty centuries of dominion, the Chinese regarded, and still regard, all foreigners with contempt. Their attitude has always been that foreigners residing on their shores are to be regarded as 'Barbarians,' who have come to seek light and leading as well as commerce in the territories of the Son of Heaven, and that their position should be that of suppliants for the Imperial favour. Ambassadors commanded no more respect than mercantile representatives. Neither Lord Napier, the first accredited Minister to China, nor his successor, Sir George Robinson, met with anything but insult at the hands of the Chinese, who are past masters in the art of harassing their opponents. In 1837 Sir Charles Elliot became Minister, and his appointment was the first step towards the war of 1840.

So long ago as 1799 a powerful agitation had been aroused in China by the drain of silver occasioned by the payment in specie for the opium imported from India. In 1839 the question was once more raised. Memorial after memorial was presented to the throne, praying that steps might be taken to check the flow of the precious metal abroad. The Council of State carefully discussed the situation; and though a majority of the Ministers were in favour of prohibiting the importation of the drug, a minority recommended that the traffic should be legalized, but kept in check by a duty which would add wealth to the coffers of the State. Technically the trade had already been forbidden, and the traffic against which the Emperor's edicts fulminated was a smuggling concern which the Chinese Government, had it been in earnest, and had it been possessed of the power common to all civilized Governments, might easily have put down. It was, however, powerless to suppress it, and the wisest course therefore would have been what has been done now, and to lend the s to the trade. But in such matters the E

has never shown itself far-seeing, and Commissioner Lin was appointed in 1839 to 'report upon the strained condition of affairs at Canton, where trade had been twice suspended and twice timidly resumed, and to suppress the traffic in opium.'

With the ignorant *hauteur* of a Chinese Mandarin, Lin, on arriving at his post, ignored the English Minister, and imperiously ordered the British merchants to surrender all the opium in their possession. In order to enforce this decree he imprisoned the foreign merchants in the factories, and even Sir Charles Elliot was, as he wrote, 'forcibly detained, together with all the merchants of my own and other foreign nations settled here, without supplies of food, deprived of our servants, and cut off from all intercourse with our respective countries.' Unhappily for the continuance of peace between the two countries, this mode of compulsion succeeded, and over twenty thousand chests of opium, valued at 2,000,000*l.* sterling, were given up and destroyed. If our relations with the Chinese have taught us one thing more than another, it is that to yield to hectoring and bluster inevitably results in further demands and more blatant hostility. If Sir Charles Elliot thought that by consenting to this proceeding he would conciliate the Commissioner, he was mistaken. Lin continued to take no notice of him, and arrested British subjects without any reference to him whatever. This was bad enough, but the insolence of the Chinese extended still further. Their war-junks ventured to insult British men-of-war; and when off Chuenpi two English ships resented the unwarrantable pretensions of a fleet of thirty-nine junks by sinking and disabling them, Lin issued a decree putting an end to all foreign trade, and ordering the expulsion of British subjects from the shores of China.

Such an outrage amounted to a declaration of war. The gage thus thrown down was taken up by the English Government, and in 1840 an expedition was sent out under the command of Sir Hugh Gough to punish the Emperor's Government for the wrong done, and to attempt to place the relations between the two countries on a more satisfactory footing. As preliminary measures the Island of Chusan was occupied, and the forts on the Canton river were captured, leaving the city itself at our mercy. With that fatal want of appreciation of the necessities of the case which has pursued us through most of our dealings with China, the British commander, instead of marching into the city and settling once and for all the question of the right of entry, which was subsequently to give rise to the second war, agreed to release the city on the payment of an indemnity. Even when negotiating this convention, the
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British commander was not allowed to enter the gates, but was induced to state his terms at the foot of the city wall, over which, in barbaric token of a desire for peace, the Chinese General threw him the gold bangles from his arm. In the north the Chinese displayed the same inveterate hostility towards the foreigners which characterised the Mandarins at Canton. The local authorities vied with the Imperial censors in their vituperation of the hated foreigners. In State Papers addressed to the throne, they described the 'English barbarians' as an insignificant and detestable race, as untamable robbers, and as devoid of all feelings but those for gain. Deceived by these State Papers, the Emperor, in one of the several lulls which occurred during the war, graciously declared that 'if the Barbarians would repent, become humble and submissive, they might still obtain a share of the tender favour of our Celestial dynasty towards strangers.' In a less ingenuous manifesto the Chinese Commissioner was instructed to take advantage of a truce to destroy the British ships, to seize the crews, and to send their heads to Peking in baskets.

It was at this juncture that Harry Parkes, a boy who was then just thirteen years of age, landed on the shores of China. While yet a child he had lost both father and mother, and with his two sisters had taken up his residence with his uncle, a retired naval officer, at Birmingham. There he attended King Edward's Grammar School until the death of his uncle in 1841, when he accepted the invitation of his cousin, Mrs. Gutzlaff, to join his sisters at Macao in China, where these had already taken up their abode, under the hospitable roof of that missionary lady. The new surroundings were such as constituted a great moral danger to a lad of his age. At a time when most boys are beginning the more serious work of school, he entered upon life in a new country, and isolated altogether from companions of his own standing. Happily for him, the depth of his character, and the strong religious impressions he had received from his mother's teaching, saved him from many temptations which might well have gained the mastery over him. Bright, clever, and active, he soon became a prime favourite, not only with Dr. Gutzlaff and Mr. Morrison, under both of whom he served his apprenticeship for the Consular service, but with Sir Henry Pottinger, Her Majesty's Minister, Major Caine, the military magistrate, and Captain Keppel (now Sir Harry Keppel), with whom his love of adventure and dauntless bravery formed a kindred tie.

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the boy hard at work. The lad himself was well aware of his own educational deficiencies, and in him, therefore, his preceptors found a willing pupil. But the lot which had fallen into the lap of the gods had decreed that a career of active usefulness was his destiny. The times were out of joint. A small body of Englishmen were pitted face to face with a fourth of the human race. A war was in progress, and it was no time, therefore, for anyone who could serve his country to devote himself to his books. The rules which he had carefully laid down for the employment of his time were thus rudely interfered with; and when Sir Henry Pottinger advanced up the Yangtze-kiang to Nanking, Harry Parkes was ordered to accompany him. Though he had been a conscientious pupil, the entries in his journal show that this new career was more to his taste than the humdrum life at Macao. With zest he took part in every hostile operation, and the more hazardous it was the better it suited his adventurous spirit. Wherever the 'Pluto' anchored, he wandered on shore in careless defiance of the fact that he was in an enemy's country. On one occasion he landed at Woosung, accompanied by a young fellow who 'was dreadfully frightened of being kidnapped, although he was nearly grown up,' writes the boy; 'and when I told him he was a coward, he said his anxiety was all because of me. At this I laughed heartily, which made him much offended.'

After various attacks upon the Chinese war-junks which were supposed to defend the river, the fleet arrived off Chinkiang. During the attack on that town Harry Parkes was kept at a respectful distance under the guardianship of Sir Henry Pottinger, but the place was no sooner taken than the boy, being let off the leash, found his way into the city.

'It was on fire in several places, and the houses were in ruins: one was a pawnbroker's. I never saw such a scene,' he writes. 'All the rooms were full of beautiful silks, embroidery, lacquer boxes, hats, china-ware, and almost everything of all descriptions, kicking about and being trodden on and passed over even in the courtyard and street. Amongst them was a man who had hung himself.'

Several of the local magnates committed suicide in this manner, and the Tartar General, finding that the city was lost, collected all his valuables about him, and, like another Sardanapalus, committed himself to the flames which consumed his household gods. A further advance up the river was productive of communications from Keying, the Viceroy at Nanking. The capture of Chinkiang had evidently alarmed that official, who however wrote in a blustering and defiant spirit

spirit that he was prepared to 'fight it out to the last, and to die in defence of his country.' These were high-sounding words, and were as hollow as they were high-sounding. Indeed it may be commonly taken for granted that the more warlike the tone of the Chinese, the less they are inclined to fight. On this occasion, as Harry Parkes shrewdly remarked, the bearing of the Mandarins who carried the valiant message of their chief was strangely inconsistent with its tone. Not only was their demeanour extremely conciliatory, but they were 'quite ready to eat the good dinner offered them by the enemy.'

By the time that the fleet arrived off Nanking the Chinese were prepared to enter into negotiations. Knowing well, however, that the least sign of hesitation would diminish the prospect of peace, the Admiral posted his ships for the attack and trained his guns for the walls of the city. This line of action had the desired result. Keying, who had boasted that he would fight it out to the last, now declared, without firing a shot, that he was willing to come to terms. This change of front, together with the fact that the fleet was in position before the second city in the Empire, induced Sir Henry Pottinger to forego his right to occupy the city before entering into negotiations. This was another of those short-sighted mistakes which before and since we have constantly committed in China. As Sir John Bowring subsequently wrote, 'It must ever be borne in mind, in considering the state of our relations in these regions, that the Governments of Great Britain and China have objects at heart which are diametrically opposed.' The constant aim and intention of the Chinese Government have ever been to belittle foreigners in the eyes of the natives, and to maintain the lofty pretensions to superiority which they have always assumed. No opportunity, therefore, of displaying our power in case of war, and our equality in time of peace, should for a moment be missed. Nanking lay at our mercy in 1842, and without firing a shot or sacrificing a life Sir Henry Pottinger might have taken possession of one of the gates, as Lord Elgin did at Peking eighteen years later, as a preliminary to the Treaty of Peace. But this was not done, and the Treaty was signed and sealed on board the 'Cornwallis,' amid the salute of twenty-one guns and the hoisting of the flags of England and China. Harry Parkes, who was already occasionally employed as an interpreter, was present at the meetings of the high-contracting parties, and describes with gusto in his diary the sealing of the documents, the beauty of the yellow silk into which the Chinese copies were stitched, and the lunch with which the conclusion of peace was crowned.

By the terms of the Treaty, it was provided that British subjects in China might

"carry on their mercantile pursuits without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo and Shanghai," not with the Hong merchants of Canton merely, but with "whatever persons they please." British Consular officers were to be appointed "to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants." The island of Hong Kong was ceded in perpetuity to the Crown of England . . . and an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars was to be paid for the cost of the expedition, caused by "the violent and unjust proceedings of the Chinese high authorities," and the opium destroyed by the Commissioner Lin. Pending the payment of the indemnity, . . . the islands Koolangsoo and Chusan were to be held by Great Britain. Entire equality between the two Governments was assumed throughout the Treaty, and "Her Britannic Majesty's Chief High Officer in China" was to "correspond with the Chinese High Officers both at the Capital and in the Provinces," not in the old humiliating form of "Petition," but by a "Communication."

Such were the principal diplomatic points of the Treaty, which inflicted a deep wound on the pride and pretensions of the Chinese Government. Mr. Poole, in reviewing the whole course of our relations with China, considers, and rightly considers, that our demands fell short of those which we had a right to make, and which alone would have added security to the peace which we then concluded. But the knowledge of the Chinese character which we have acquired by the light of subsequent events, was denied to the negotiators of the Treaty of 1842. The advantages which were gained were such as would scarcely have entered into the wildest dreams of the small band of English merchants who had, a decade before, been accustomed to imprisonment on the narrow site of the factories at Canton; and Sir Henry Pottinger might well have been proud at having broken down some of the most obstructive barriers which China had interposed between herself and the world at large.

But though a decided step in advance had been gained, more remained to be done. The Chinese had been compelled to submit to our terms by force of arms. Like all Asiatics, the natives of the Flowery Land are ever ready to agree to any terms when in the face of a superior force; but, like all Asiatics, they reserve to themselves an *arrière pensée* in such circumstances. That which has been extorted at the point of the bayonet may, they consider, be annulled and evaded by fraud and chicanery. So long as Chusan and Koolangsoo were held by our troops, matters were allowed to run smoothly, and the

the Chinese Government appeared to show every disposition to carry out the terms of the Treaty. No sooner, however, were those guarantees for the nation's good faith given up, than the true policy of the Government became apparent. Riots directed against foreigners broke out at the several ports; the factories at Canton were burned to the ground; Englishmen were attacked in the streets of the towns and in the neighbouring country districts; and the gates of Canton were resolutely kept closed in the face of all foreigners. In these and numberless other ways was expressed 'the invincible repugnance with which the Treaty was held by the official classes—that hide-bound body of pedantic literati, the grist of an irrational examination-mill, who represent alike statesmanship and clerkship in China.' The inevitable result of these tactics followed in due course, and a second war was necessary to bring home to the narrow and treacherous minds of the Mandarins the folly and danger of pursuing a dishonest and tortuous policy.

But to return to Harry Parkes. The conclusion of the Treaty brought to a temporary close the exciting life which he had lately been leading. Consular work seemed tame and uninteresting after the joy of battle, and, after short visits to Canton and Amoy, we find him ordered to proceed as interpreter at Foochow, and chafing at the prospective dulness of the port. The first Consul at Foochow was a man who, from a naturally kindly disposition, had made it his leading object to conform in all ways to the wishes and prejudices of the Chinese. He allowed himself to be housed in a miserable dwelling, in a low part of the town; and when he flew the British flag, he could not make up his mind to hoist it more than half-mast high, for fear of offending the Mandarins. His reward came in the shape of contumely and impertinences from the hands before which he bowed. Fortunately for Parkes, a man of quite another mould reigned as Consul when he received his appointment to that post. Mr. (now Sir Rutherford) Alcock was a man of strong determination and of keen insight into the Asiatic character, and soon learnt to appreciate to the full the ceaseless activity and the unflinching courage of his subordinate. To this period of his career Parkes owed much of the success that awaited him in the future. Mr. Alcock's discipline was strict, and he exacted a full measure of work from his interpreter. At the same time he admitted him to his friendship, and threw open to him the well-stored library which he had brought him to Foochow. In Mrs. Alcock, also, Parkes found a friend, and only those who have been called to dwell in Eastern cities can appreciate the advantage of being admitted to the society of so kindly an

As a legacy from the late Consul's obsequious policy, the new-comers had to endure insults and inconveniences from the natives. On one occasion, General D'Aguilar, commanding the troops in China, with his staff, visited the port, and encountered gross violence from the mob. 'They shouted *Fau kow!* (Foreign dogs) at them,' writes Mr. Martin, who was present on the occasion, 'leaped on the (sedan) chairs and opened the hanging fronts, threw a brick at Captain Hewitt, and even jumped on his shoulders to tear off his gold epaulets.' A little later, Parkes himself was assaulted when walking on the city wall, and narrowly escaped with his life. These outrages were not likely to be passed over either by the Consul or his interpreter; and we read that 'three of Parkes's younger assailants were severely flogged with bamboos, and three of the older men were exposed for a month with the *cangue*, or wooden collar, round their necks.'

In 1846 Mr. Alcock was appointed Consul at Shanghai, and took Parkes with him as his interpreter. The choice of Shanghai as a Treaty Port was a most fortunate one. Situated close to the mouth of the Yangtze-kiang, it commands the trade brought down by that mighty stream from the Central and Western Provinces of the Empire; the districts in the immediate vicinity are accounted some of the richest of even the most fertile departments of China, while its central position on the coast marks it out as the emporium for the trade of the outer world. The people also are of a different mould to the natives of Foochow and Canton. They are men of peace, and abhor all disturbances which interfere with the exercise of their ceaseless industry. Mr. Alcock's duties, therefore, consisted at first in developing the resources of the port; and in this, as in every other undertaking, he was ably and vigorously supported by his interpreter. The calm, however, was shortly broken. The facilities of Shanghai as a trading port had attracted to its neighbourhood large numbers of Fuhkien junkmen, who found employment on board the vessels which bore the grain of the Central Provinces to the capital. These men brought with them all the fierceness of their race, and were not long in showing that they were not a whit behind the people of Foochow in their hatred of foreigners. A singularly unprovoked attack was committed by these men on three missionaries who had visited Tsingpu, a town near Shanghai. With neither excuse nor warning, an infuriated mob set upon the defenceless foreigners. With the greatest difficulty the missionaries escaped with their lives, but not before they had all been robbed and seriously wounded. A prompt and full redress for this outrage was demanded from the Taotai, who promised everything, but

did nothing. As Mr. Alcock wrote to Sir John Davis, the British Minister :

‘ The efforts of the Chinese on the one hand to establish the nullifying clause of irresponsibility, and our determination to enforce the opposite principle . . . as the essential condition of the Treaty, is the whole question at issue . . . and one which seems at the present moment to threaten the necessity for recourse to active hostilities.’

Finding that this plea of irresponsibility was still urged by the Taotai, Mr. Alcock determined to adopt stringent measures. After having in vain demanded the capture of the chief criminals, he gave formal notice to the Taotai that, unless these offenders were apprehended within forty-eight hours, he would stop all payment of duties by British ships, and that not a single grain-junk should be allowed to leave the river. This measure must, we can well suppose, have had the full support of Harry Parkes. The position was one which was well suited to his enterprising nature. A great principle was at stake, and the evil-doers were supported by fifty war-junks and thirteen thousand discontented vagabonds in the neighbourhood. To face these forces, and to keep watch and guard over the fourteen hundred junks which were ready to put to sea, the Consul had to rely upon one sloop-of-war. Fortunately Captain Pitman, the commander of that ship, was cast in the same mould with Alcock and Parkes. With alacrity he undertook to support the Consul’s action, and so well did he accomplish his task, that without firing a shot not a single junk escaped.

The Chinese are not an inventive people, and it is easy from past experience to predict with certainty the course they will pursue in given circumstances. In cases such as the present the Mandarins invariably first attempt intimidation. If that fails, they affirm their helplessness to do what is required of them ; and if forced from this plea, they shield the real offenders by giving up men of straw who have had no more to do with the outrage than the man in the moon. In this particular instance they began by pointing out the danger which might arise to the Consul and foreigners generally from the anger of the populace. The answer given to this warning was that the Consul and his interpreter continued to walk unattended through the streets and lanes of the city, while Mrs. Alcock visited her friends and acquaintances as if nothing were impending. Seeing the futility of attempting to frighten people of the English race, the Taotai next declared that he was powerless to arrest the criminals. This plea Mr. Alcock met by despatching Parkes to lay a formal complaint against the Taotai before the British Minister. Driven by this action to his third int

notified to the Consul that he had secured the offenders. An inspection, however, revealed the fact that the captured men were not the real culprits, and it was not until the Viceroy had sent the provincial judge to Shanghai that the real offenders were handed over to justice. Thus within little more than a week the matter was finally and satisfactorily settled, and a statement of the circumstances cannot but suggest a comparison between the effective policy pursued on this occasion with that which has been attempted by the foreign Ministers at Peking since the establishment of the Legations at the capital. No one who remembers the ceaseless delays which occurred in gaining even partial satisfaction for the Tientsin massacre, the murder of Margary, and the recent riots on the Yangtsze-kiang—we will not add the murder of the two missionaries at Sungpu, since, though the outrage occurred more than six months ago, no reparation has as yet been made—will fail to perceive that our weapons have been blunted and our power for good emasculated by the new policy which contact with the Central Government has brought about.

The time had now arrived when Harry Parkes considered himself entitled to a leave. He had left England as a mere boy, and he desired to revive his recollections of his native country, as well as to acquire some knowledge of the other nations of Europe. With his usual energy he made the most of every moment of his time, and combined sight-seeing, visiting his friends, and study, with untiring diligence. Already he was a marked man at the Foreign Office, and the impression which both Lord Palmerston and Mr. Hammond had formed of his character from his work in China was fully confirmed by personal interviews.

With his mind full of resuscitated memories and new impressions, he returned to China in 1851, and took up the post of interpreter at Amoy. He was almost immediately, however, ordered to Canton; but finding a negotiation pending which suited his humour, he agreed at the request of the Consul to remain until the matter was settled. For three years the Consul had been vainly attempting to settle a land question with the Taotai, who, after exhausting the usual pleas for delay, had betaken himself to Hinghwa, a town a hundred and twenty miles from the scene of his legitimate labours, where he naturally considered himself safe from the intrusion of the persistent foreigner. But he had counted without Harry Parkes. With the consent of the Consul, his energetic interpreter undertook to go in pursuit of the erring Mandarin. Alone, with the exception of his native attendants, Parkes started on his adventurous

turous journey. But the news of his approach had already reached the Taotai, who sent an official to persuade him to return to Amoy, on the understanding that he would follow immediately. Parkes's experience of Chinese promises had taught him that they were worthless, and he therefore pushed on towards his destination. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Hinghwa, he was met by the district magistrate, who objected to his entering the city on the plea that there were no inns within the walls. To this excuse Parkes turned a deaf ear, and declared his determination to demand lodgings at one of the official residences if rooms could not be otherwise obtained. 'This declaration,' he writes to his Consul, 'induced them to conduct me at once to a commodious house within the city in which the Haifang—a Customs' officer—also located himself.' After remaining in the town some days, during which, in spite of numerous prevarications and excuses on the part of the authorities, he arranged the main points in dispute, he returned to Amoy, having received a promise in writing from the Taotai that he would follow him in a day or two. The Taotai kept his word on this occasion, and three days after his arrival at Amoy the vexed question was settled.

Parkes was now free to take up his post as interpreter at Canton. The conditions of the port were different from those to which he had hitherto been accustomed. Instead of the local authorities with whom he had treated at Shanghai, Foochow, and Amoy, it fell to his lot to negotiate with the Imperial High Commissioner, who, under the Emperor, exercised supreme control over foreign relations at the five treaty ports. At first sight, it might be supposed, that the presence of an Imperial plenipotentiary would have facilitated the transaction of business. But we discovered at Canton, as has since been made plain to us at Peking, that the attempt to place our relations with China on a level with those which find acceptance in Berlin and Paris is based on a misconception, and must prove futile in practice. We are apt to suppose that in China as in Europe treaties are made to be kept, but the true Chinese view is that so soon as the Emperor has put his hand to a treaty of peace every artifice should be practised to nullify its effects. As has been said of the natives of India, we have to deal in China 'with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour, with men who would give any promise without hesitation and break any promise without shame, with men who would scrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to their ends.' Instead, therefore, of finding negotiation facilitated by the presence of so august an official, Parkes

that Canton 'was the head-quarters of fanaticism, arrogance, and duplicity—the focus of the anti-foreign feeling in China.'

The burning questions at Canton at the time of Parkes's arrival were the constantly occurring outrages on foreigners and their exclusion, contrary to the treaty, from the city. To the remonstrances and the demands for redress made by the Minister at Hongkong and the Consul on the spot, the Chinese had neither given satisfaction nor had provided protection against similar outrages. Though the acts were the people's acts, the hand was in each case recognized as the hand of the Mandarins. Against the High Commissioner's opposition Parkes fought as he had fought against the aggressive acts of the authorities at the other Treaty ports. But it was not so easy a matter to run the High Commissioner to earth as it had been to find the Amoy Taotai, more especially as he steadily refused to hold personal communication with the Consular authorities. While matters were in this state, Parkes was called upon to accompany Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Bowring on a mission to that hitherto impracticable country of Siam. The accession of a new king, who was possessed of a certain amount of European learning and was said to hold advanced views, was considered to afford a favourable opportunity for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. The Mission met at first with a doubtful reception. But Parkes was not easily discouraged. With indefatigable energy and marked ability he discussed point after point with the Ministers, and succeeded after infinite labour in breaking down their objections and in carrying the points at issue. It is remarkable that here, as in China, Parkes won not only the esteem but the regard of the officials with whom he was brought into contact, and notably of those who had begun as his most pronounced opponents.

On the conclusion of the negotiations Parkes was sent home with the treaty, which he had the honour of explaining in person to the Queen. Six months' leave was all that was allowed him, but in that short time he transacted at the Foreign Office much important business, and added the crowning joy to his life by his marriage with Miss Fanny Plumer. Nine days after the event he started with his bride for the far East.

'Two days they allowed themselves for a pretence of a honeymoon; then the bridegroom was summoned to wait on the Queen at Windsor to take leave. On the seventh he was up writing all night for the Foreign Office, and the bride had not seen him all the day. On the eighth he wound up his work with a rush; and on the ninth they left England.'

On his way to China he stopped at Bangkok to exchange the
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the ratifications of the new treaty, and with his bride was received with cordial hospitality by the king. There were several matters still to be considered in connexion with the tariff, and Parkes was not the man to leave anything unfinished. He therefore stayed some weeks in the Siamese capital, and concluded, to the satisfaction of all concerned, the knotty points which had been left for final consideration. On arriving in China he was appointed to act as Consul at Canton in Mr. Alcock's absence, and he was then brought face to face with the man, who of all others represented the stolid repulsiveness of the Chinese Mandarinate, and who was destined eventually to fall before him. Yeh had succeeded as Imperial High Commissioner at Canton. Possessed of a more than usually obstinate nature, he, in his foreign policy, bettered the instruction of his predecessors. He had a profound contempt for all foreigners, and not only refused to hold personal communication with the British officials, but still persistently refused to allow a foreigner to enter the gates of the city. It is doubtful whether among his own countrymen he was not as unpopular as among ourselves. His cruelty was excessive; and though the seditious outbreaks which disturbed the neighbourhood of the city justified the adoption of strong measures, the wholesale executions which disgraced his rule aroused a strong feeling of resentment among the people. In 1846 Sir John Davis had concluded a convention with Keying, in which the right of entrance into the city was distinctly acknowledged, and this convention was subsequently confirmed by a written declaration from him that the city should be thrown open to foreigners at the end of two years. No sooner had Yeh succeeded to the Commissionership than he threw to the winds Keying's written undertaking, and asserted positively that the question was dead and buried. The absence of all sense of national honour is a marked product of the Chinese official education. Even the highest Mandarins, while attempting to browbeat foreigners, will often bring themselves to ask political favours or assistance from the men they affect to despise. At the very time when Yeh was heaping insults on the British Minister, he had the mean audacity to ask him for armed assistance against the rebels who were threatening the city.

Matters were in this state when Parkes appeared on the scene. He had come out inspired with the spirit of Palmerston, who had already written to Sir John Davis:—

‘We shall lose all the vantage-ground we have gained by our victories in China, if we take a low tone. We must take especial care not to descend from the relative position which we have acquired;

acquired; . . . but if we permit the Chinese, either at Canton or elsewhere, to resume, as there is no doubt they will always be endeavouring to do, their former tone of superiority, we shall very soon be compelled to come to blows with them again.'

'This despatch should be put in the forefront of the instructions given to every Consul and every Minister in the East,' writes Mr. Poole, and we entirely agree with him. All our difficulties in China have arisen from our taking a 'low tone,' and from our submitting to their air of superiority which it is the object of the Chinese to assert. The opinions of the Foreign Minister were precisely those of Harry Parkes, and feeling that his country's honour was entrusted to his keeping he determined to submit to no insult or outrage that should blur her escutcheon. But events were moving apace. Inflammatory placards were issued denouncing foreigners, and no attention whatever was vouchsafed to the Consul's remonstrances. At last matters came to a crisis. The Commissioner's subordinates seized a vessel, the 'Arrow,' sailing under British colours, hauled down the flag, and made the crew prisoners. If such an outrage were to be permitted, Parkes felt, there would be an end to all peaceable trading in the Chinese waters. He therefore addressed to Yeh a strongly-worded remonstrance demanding an apology for the insult, and the surrender of the crew. Instead of complying, Yeh tried the prisoners, and, having declared three to have been guilty of an imaginary offence, offered to hand over the other nine to the Consul. It is needless to say that this offer was declined as a settlement of the dispute, and, after repeated attempts to induce Yeh to act in accordance with the laws of civilized nations, Sir John Bowring determined to place matters in the hands of the Admiral. Without loss of time Sir Michael Seymour appeared with his fleet before the city, and, failing to get even a prospect of ultimate satisfaction, opened fire on the wall and on the Commissioner's *jamén*. The only answer to this action was the publication by Yeh of a proclamation ordering the people to kill the 'troublesome English villains' wherever they were met with, and offering a reward for every life thus taken. This unexpected obstinacy on the part of Yeh raised a serious difficulty. The force at Sir Michael Seymour's command was plainly insufficient to occupy and hold the city, and it became necessary therefore to suspend operations until the arrival of a further force from England.

In his supreme ignorance of foreign affairs—it is doubtful whether he even knew where England was on the habitable globe—Yeh regarded this abstention as a sign of weakness; and had he known that the Manchester Peace Party were at the same

same time protesting against the vindication of their country's honour, his heart would have been still further hardened. So strong was the support which this school of politicians received at the moment, that a vote of censure was passed on the Government. Palmerston at once appealed to the country, and with that courageous patriotism which always distinguished him, he, while the decision of the constituencies was yet pending, ordered out a considerable force to China, and appointed Lord Elgin as special Envoy to the Court of Peking. Like most of those who have had no experience in dealing with Orientals, Lord Elgin was inclined to accept the pretensions of the Chinese at their own value. But every effort to bring Yeh to a sense of his responsibilities proved unavailing, and, after considerable delay, an allied army of English and French was eventually mustered for an attack on Canton. Again time was given Yeh for repentance, but up to the last he believed that we should hesitate to cross swords with him. In this spirit he addressed a memorial to the Emperor, in which he wrote, 'Elgin passes day after day at Hongkong, stamping his foot and sighing at the difficulties that surround him.' Even Lord Elgin's patience, however, was at last exhausted, and an assault was made upon the city. With only a slight loss the city was taken, and Parkes at once set out in search of Yeh, who had attempted to avoid the consequences of his ill-doing by going into hiding. After some difficulty a man was found who undertook to guide Parkes, with a small company of bluejackets, to his place of concealment. As Parkes entered the building a Mandarin stepped forward and declared himself to be Yeh. Parkes, however, who had a portrait of the Commissioner in his pocket, at once discovered the chivalrous imposition, and, rushing through to a back yard, discovered the Imperial High Commissioner struggling with all the difficulties of obesity to clamber over the back wall. He was at once recognized, and a sailor rushing forward twisted the august tail of his Imperial Majesty's representative round his fist, while Captain Key seized the fugitive, as well as he could, round the waist. 'Who are you that address me in my own language?' demanded Yeh in answer to a remark of Parkes's. 'There is no need to tell you my name,' answered the Consul; 'you know it as well as I know yours.' The duel was over, and the victory remained to the man who, through good report and evil report, had done his duty manfully.

The city was now in the hands of the Allies, and it was determined to hold it until Lord Elgin's negotiations. The Central Government should be brought to a task was not a light one. With a combiner

four and five thousand men it was no easy matter to control and govern a city containing a million of presumable enemies, and surrounded on three sides by a population which was said to be hostile. With a true instinct Lord Elgin appointed Parkes one of the three Commissioners whom he nominated to govern the city under instructions from the Generals commanding the allied forces. Without in any way disparaging the energy and ability of the two military officers—one English and one French—who were associated with Parkes on the Commission, it must be admitted that the strain of the work fell upon his shoulders. He alone spoke Chinese, he alone knew intimately the native system of government, and he alone possessed influence with the people. Under his able administration the dual Government—for the Chinese governor was left in nominal control, while all real administration was carried on by the Commissioners—was made to work well and efficiently. The meagre garrison was judiciously stationed at points of strategic value, and a system of police was introduced by which the city was actively patrolled day and night throughout its length and breadth.

Here, as has been always the case in China, the people whose supposed hostility had been for years employed as a plea to keep foreigners out of the city, proved to be both submissive and friendly. After a few isolated acts of violence, on our first entry, the town settled down to a peaceful quiet such as it had never known before. The merchants and tradesmen learnt to regard our police as their best protectors, and to recognize that the rule of the Commissioners was untainted with the iniquities common to the native courts of justice. The transformation was complete. One of the most unruly cities in the Empire ceased from troubling. Property was respected and guarded; lives were held sacred; torture and the cruel deaths which had been every-day occurrences under the native rule were abolished; the prisons were inspected and improved; and, what was in the eyes of the Chinese as a pearl of great price, the presence of the allied army and the revival of trade which followed the peace brought a rich stream of wealth into the town.

While engaged in these and other administrative reforms within the city, Parkes kept a watchful eye on the condition of the surrounding country. The bands of rebels who had so alarmed Yeh as to induce him to ask for help from the 'troublesome English villains,' still haunted the neighbourhood, and even threatened the city itself. Parkes, who well understood the insignificant nature of the rebel forces, by dint of persistency overcame the reluctance of the allied Generals, and induced the

the military authorities to order an expedition against some of the most disturbed villages. The result was a complete and almost bloodless victory. This one bold stroke entirely dissipated the banditti. But Parkes was not content with this. His mind ranged beyond his country's immediate needs, and future interests were ever present with him. One of the many rivers that fall into the stream known to foreigners as the Canton River is the Sikiang or Western River, which flows through some of the richest portions of the province of Canton, and is bordered along its course by wealthy and populous cities. So rich a field for foreign commerce had early attracted Parkes's attention, and, with the double object of spying out the land and of checking the unruly state of affairs which was said to exist on its upper waters, he persuaded the Generals to make a military progress in that direction. Complete success attended the venture. The Commissioners were received at all the towns with civility and even cordiality. The navigability of the stream was fully demonstrated, and the country was shown to offer a rich promise of future commerce. A fitting commentary on Parkes's far-sightedness is found in the fact that last year, after an interval of more than three decades, the Hongkong Chamber of Commerce presented a memorial to Lord Rosebery, urging him to negotiate with the Chinese for the opening of the river to trade.

While Parkes had thus been busily engaged at Canton, matters had taken an evil turn in the North. After the capture of Canton, Lord Elgin had gone northwards with the intention of negotiating a treaty at Peking. On arrival, however, at Tientsin, the inevitable Commissioners appeared on the scene, and, with fatal persuasiveness, induced him to negotiate at that city instead of going to the capital. Lord Elgin had no sooner signed the treaty than he sailed for England, leaving to his brother, Mr. Bruce, the duty of exchanging the ratifications at Peking. This might have been a natural mode of procedure, if the Chinese had had the slightest intention of dealing honestly by us. But, as Mr. Poole justly says:—

'The Emperor had agreed to the treaty . . . in order to get the Allies out of their threatening position near his capital; but he had not changed his policy a hair's breadth, and he and his Ministers had not the smallest intention of allowing the "Barbarians" to break down the old barriers which excluded them from intercourse with his Government and his Court.'

This was proved up to the hilt in more ways than one. *S* documents were discovered which showed that the treaties was scarcely dry before the Chinese in

to prevent a ratification of the treaty, not only in Peking but even at Tientsin. The Taku forts at the mouth of the river were reconstructed and re-armed. Chains were thrown across the stream, and iron stakes were placed in the bed to prevent the approach of ships.

News of these measures reached Mr. Bruce at Shanghai; and the Chinese Commissioners, who had followed him thither, while denying any hostile intention on the part of their Government, urged him with all the arguments in their power to give up the idea of going to the capital by the high way of the Peiho, and to take the inconvenient route from Pehtang, a village ten miles north of the Taku forts. Very wisely Mr. Bruce declined to adopt this course, and in June 1859 he advanced with an attendant naval force to the mouth of the Peiho. The position looked so threatening that Admiral Hope, who was in command of the fleet, sent a considerable force of gunboats to clear the passage if any obstruction should be met with. The leading gunboat, however, had no sooner touched the first boom than a murderous fire was poured upon her from guns which were suddenly unmasked on the forts. The boats answered the fire gallantly, but the weight of the Chinese guns was so enormously superior that the Admiral deemed it wise to withdraw, and the day ended with the loss of three gunboats and of several hundred men killed and wounded. A more complete act of treachery had never yet been perpetrated by the Chinese Government. A year later, however, they were destined to outdo even this infamous act.

The news of the Taku disaster no sooner reached this country than Lord Elgin was re-appointed Envoy Extraordinary, and a considerable force, together with a French army, was despatched to the scene of war. During the following summer the allied forces assembled in the neighbourhood of the Taku forts, and as soon as the arrangements were complete a force was landed at Pehtang, with the intention of taking the Taku forts in rear. Parkes, whose services were recognized as indispensable, was among the first to land. As at Taku, the mud which is brought down from the alluvial plain of North China by the sluggish rivers which find their way into the Gulf of Pecheli, lies thick along the neighbourhood of the shore, and it was with considerable difficulty that the men and guns were eventually landed. The first night was spent by the expedition on an open causeway between seas of mud. But even the repose of this wretched resting-place was denied to Parkes. A report had reached head-quarters that the Pehtang forts had been evacuated, and Parkes at his own suggestion undertook to enter the town and negotiate

negotiate for their complete surrender. With a file of men and two officers, he went into the place, and having gathered the notables about him arranged with them not only that the fort should be handed over to the Allies, but that supplies should be also forwarded to our men. In accordance with this arrangement, Parkes, with three soldiers, an officer of the First Royals, and Mr. Gibson of the Consular service, took possession of the fort, which at one time had been seriously regarded as an obstacle to our advance. After some troublesome fighting the Taku forts also fell, and Parkes at considerable personal risk crossed the Peiho, and hunted down the Viceroy of the Province, much in the same way as he had unearthed the Taotai at Hinghwa, and had captured Yeh at Canton. The Viceroy, seeing that further resistance was vain, capitulated in due form; and a force having been left to garrison the forts, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros with the allied armies advanced to Tientsin. It is needless to say that Parkes was among the first of those who reached that city. With the Admiral and eighty-seven men he took possession of two forts in the neighbourhood of the town and one of the city gates, and at once proceeded to establish a committee of supply among the leading native merchants for provisioning the troops. Lord Elgin had no sooner arrived than Imperial Commissioners from Peking hastened to meet him: Parkes, however, who, as the Ambassador observed, 'exhibited in the conduct of these proceedings his usual zeal, ability, and tact,' soon discovered that they had no plenipotential powers, and they were therefore dismissed with the notification that all future negotiations must be conducted in Peking. The march towards the capital was therefore continued, and now was committed by the Chinese Government a crowning act of treachery, which has left an indelible stain on the already deeply tarnished honour of the nation.

As the army advanced into the neighbourhood of Tungchow, Parkes, accompanied by Mr. (now Sir Henry) Loch, Mr. de Norman, Mr. Bowlby, the 'Times' Correspondent, and Lieutenant Anderson, commanding the escort of five King's Dragoon Guards, and twenty *sowars* of Fane's Horse, rode into the city to arrange a meeting between the Ambassadors and the Imperial Commissioners. The history of the treacherous capture of these men is so well known that it need not be repeated here. Let it suffice to say that they were all carried prisoners to Peking and beyond, Parkes and Loch being separated from the rest. These two having been tightly bound were driven at a rapid pace in an open springless cart to Peking.

'It was sunset,' Parkes wrote, 'before we reached the east gate of Peking, and 8 P.M. before our cart halted in a court of which it was then too dark to see anything. Lanterns were produced, and again I shuddered, as I found we were in the hands of the Board of Punishments, who may be classed with the officers of the Bastille or the Inquisition of Spain. Soon we were loaded with chains, and carried before these inquisitors, who, after a short examination, ordered us to be imprisoned in the common prisons, each prisoner to be confined in a separate prison, but among sixty or seventy of their own wretched fellows.'

Here, surrounded by foul and diseased criminals, with occasional examinations before the board of inquisitors, 'in which the argument of threats and the indignities of the torturers were used without scruple,' Parkes was left for four days. At the end of that time he was removed to a cell by himself, when efforts were made to induce him to intercede with Lord Elgin for the suspension of hostilities. This he steadily refused to do, and the Chinese, getting alarmed at the possible consequences of the ill-treatment they were inflicting upon him, ordered his chains to be removed, and announced that he would be probably taken out of prison on the following day. 'Not unless Mr. Loch goes out too,' was the staunch reply of the man who was incapable of seeking his own safety by deserting a friend. The next day came, and the two men met with a joy which can only be understood in its fulness by those who have suffered similar adversities.

At the temple to which they were taken they were well fed and well cared for. Here negotiations were resumed by Hangki, who had formerly filled the post of Commissioner of Customs at Canton, and who prided himself on having made the discovery that 'the English had a curious habit of speaking the truth.' After some days of intense anxiety and weary watching and waiting, Hangki announced to Parkes that Prince Kung, who had taken over the administration of the government during the absence of the Emperor at Jehol in Mongolia, had decided on releasing him and Loch at once. Parkes merely bowed in answer, and told Loch, who was by, adding, 'Don't exhibit any pleasure or feeling.' At Loch's suggestion Parkes resumed without further remark a discussion as to whether or not the moon rotated on her own axis. 'You appear,' said the Mandarin, 'to be alike indifferent as to whether you are to die or live,' to which Parkes replied, 'Not at all; but we have now had considerable experience of the vacillation and deceit of the Chinese Government, and therefore until our release becomes an accomplished fact we venture to doubt it.'

But

But the release came, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon the prisoners were put into covered carts, and were driven out of the city. A quarter of an hour after the city gates closed upon them, a peremptory order was received from Jehol for their immediate execution.

Four Frenchmen and one Sikh were liberated at the same time, and eight Sikhs were subsequently given up. But the remainder, with Lieutenant Anderson, Mr. De Norman of the Legation, and Mr. Bowlby, the 'Times' Correspondent, were all tortured to death. Such infamous conduct on the part of the Chinese Government could not be passed over. The act of capture under a flag of truce was a deed which finds no parallel in civilized warfare. If the treachery had been devised by the military authorities on the spot, the first duty of the Chinese Government should have been to disavow the act. But by adoption they made the crime their own, and the subsequent indignities and tortures inflicted reduced the perpetrators of these atrocities to the level of African savages. Lord Elgin felt that it was necessary to mark the horror and indignation with which the baseness and inhuman cruelty of the Emperor's advisers were universally regarded. At a distance of eight or ten miles in a north-westerly direction from Peking stood the Summer Palace of the Emperor. There, for many generations, successive Emperors had sought relief and relaxation from the cares of State. There had been collected together all that was choicest and most valuable among the Imperial treasures. A library richly stored with works of every age, and on every subject known to the Chinese, furnished literary amusement to the monarchs, when wearied with the frivolities and whims of the ladies of the harem. There were also collected valuable curiosities gathered from all the nations of the earth, while jade and other ornaments of native manufacture added a quaint beauty and variety to the collections. But the contents of the palace formed only one of many attractions which it possessed. Situated at the foot of the Western Mountains, the undulating grounds surrounding the buildings lent themselves readily to the skilful hands of landscape-gardeners, who had converted the whole scene into one of strange and exquisite beauty.

This was the palace in which it was known the Emperor chiefly delighted, and its destruction therefore was determined upon by Lord Elgin as a fitting punishment for the gross outrage which had been perpetrated by his orders.

On the 18th and 19th of October the palace was given to the flames, and as the buildings crumbled into ruins, 'clouds of smoke,' writes Mr. Loch, 'driven by the wind, hung like a

vast pall over Peking.' As a preliminary to the conclusion of the treaty, the north-eastern gate of Peking was occupied by the Allies, and on the 27th of October the treaties were ratified. The winter was approaching, and for four months during that dreary season Peking and the neighbourhood are cut off from the rest of the world by impassable barriers of ice and snow. The temptation, therefore, to Lord Elgin to accept the ratifications from the hands of Prince Kung, instead of from the Emperor in person, was very strong, and, as in 1858, so now he left for Europe, having again handed over the control of affairs to his brother, Mr. Bruce. A few days after the ratification of the treaty the Ambassador, with his staff and army, marched out of the city, leaving one Englishman, Mr. Adkins, to superintend during the winter the repairs necessary to the building which had been leased for the Legation. Of the retreating company Parkes was the last man to leave Peking. After all he had gone through, he now naturally looked to rejoin for a time his wife and family in England. But this was denied him. The new ports on the Yangtze-kiang had to be opened, and he was ordered to arrange this, and to accompany the Admiral, who was desirous of making himself acquainted with the position of the Taipings at Nanking. On visiting the Heavenly King, some difficulty was made by that potentate about establishing a ship for the protection of foreigners in the neighbourhood of his capital, on the ground that he had seen a vision which forbade his giving a sanction to the proposal. 'This won't do at all,' said Parkes when told of the difficulty, '*he must have another vision.*' And so he did, and the ship was posted at its allotted anchorage.

Even yet the long-looked-for leave was withheld from him. Canton was to be restored to the Chinese, and there was only one man who could efficiently wind up the many important affairs in that city. This Parkes did, and he had the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of a new site for the foreign settlement, which, by his initiative, had been recovered from the river. For three years the city had been in the hands of the Allies, and when the time came for the withdrawal of the foreign garrison, a genuine testimony was given to the wisdom and justice of their rule by the universally expressed regret of the inhabitants at their departure, and by even a show of more than passing cordiality on the part of the Mandarins. Almost immediately after the conclusion of this great work, Parkes went home on his well-earned leave of two years, and was created a K.C.B. in recognition of his great and untiring services. But he was now too well-known a man to be allowed
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the quiet which his broken health and shattered nerves demanded, and he returned to Shanghai as Consul in 1864, without having received all the benefit which he had hoped to derive from a residence in the English climate.

At this time the Taiping rebellion was drawing to its close, and much anxious work had to be undertaken in connexion with it. This he negotiated in conjunction with Gordon, with whom, as was natural, he formed a close friendship. The ordinary consular work at Shanghai was, however, not so congenial to him as the stirring events of the campaign had been; but whatever his hand found to do he did it with his might; and when in 1865 he was appointed Minister to Japan, the foreign community at Shanghai recognized that they were losing the services of a man who had done much for them, and was capable of doing much more.

For eighteen years Sir Harry Parkes filled the post of Minister at the ever-changing Court of the Mikado. He watched the progress of the revolution which upset the old feudal system, which had been in force in the country for more than twelve centuries, and he took part in consolidating the authority of the Mikado when he accepted the reins of power from the last of the Shoguns. These were troublous times. Even among the Japanese, to whom, of late years, change and novelty have seemed necessary for their existence, there were found interested patriots who resented the establishment of the new order of things. The fanaticism of these men showed itself by attacks on the hated foreigners, whose advent they associated with the disappearance of the political state to which they were accustomed. Thrice Parkes was attacked by men carrying the polished blades of their country, and thrice as by miracles his life was saved. For the details of this most interesting period of Sir Harry Parkes's life, we must refer our readers to the very able and graphic description contained in the second volume of the biography. This portion of the work fell to the lot of Mr. Dickins, who has executed it with marked ability and with a careful regard to historical perspective. Two domestic events occurred in these years, which threw a gloom over the rest of Sir Harry Parkes's life. While on leave in England, in 1872, his eldest daughter died of scarlet fever, and seven years later Lady Parkes, whose health had never recovered that sad shock, passed away.

On the departure of Sir Thomas Wade from Peking in 1882, the offer of that Legation was made to Sir Harry Parkes, who promptly accepted it. His return to China, the scene of his many triumphs, was greeted with acclamation by the foreign

communities. On landing at Shanghai he received an ovation, and his advent at Peking was the subject of as much hopeful expectancy on the part of his countrymen, as it was of suspicion and disapproval on the part of the Tsungli Yamên (the Chinese Foreign Office). Sir Harry had thought it likely that the Chinese Government would have exercised their right of veto, and would have objected to his appointment. This they did not do, being confident that the weapons which a knowledge of European diplomacy had put into their hands would serve their purposes. The transference, brought about by the establishment of the Legation at Peking, of the scene of all negotiations from the Treaty ports to the capital, has so far had a most disastrous effect on the position of foreigners in China. In the old days a Consul or Minister dealt with the local authorities at the Treaty ports, who had two motives—not always effective—for acting in conformity with their Treaty obligations. They were aware that any false step on their part might bring down upon them the Emperor's wrath, which would probably mean dismissal, or in aggravated cases a sentence of death, and they were conscious that they were face to face with a Power which possessed means on the spot to enforce its just demands. We have now altered all this, and for the tremblingly obstructive local authorities we have exchanged Ministers who are inveterately hostile, and who at a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the coast feel themselves securely protected against any but diplomatic pressure. Just as, years before, the presence of an Imperial Commissioner at Canton had made that city the headquarters of fanaticism, arrogance and duplicity, so the change to Peking has placed foreign affairs in the hands of the most arrogant and persistent enemies of the 'outer Barbarians.'

Sir Harry Parkes was well aware of the difficulties with which the Legation had to contend under the new condition of things, and he was prepared therefore to meet with obstruction and difficulties. But only those who have had experience of dealing with the Yamên can have any idea of the annoyances and impertinences to which Ministers are subjected on their visits to that Office. No one knows better than a Chinese Mandarin how to offer slights to a visitor, either by indifference of manner, or by turns of expression of which it is difficult to make formal complaint. If a Minister, having a knowledge of the language, speaks to them in their own tongue, they affect to misunderstand him, and sneer at his diction; and if they find no excuse for such conduct, they weary him out with ridiculous commonplaces and affected civilities. Masters
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of the art of procrastination, they drive businesslike envoys to despair with their interminable delays and ceaseless flow of talk. 'To get a decision from the Tsungli Yamên,' said Parkes, 'was like trying to draw water from a well with a bottomless bucket.' To foreign Ministers, whatever were their temperaments, visits to the Yamên had become, and are increasingly becoming, hours of torture; but to Sir Harry Parkes, with his active mind and energetic character, they were unusually painful. Accustomed as he had always been to settle matters out of hand, the sight of the ever-lengthening list of unsatisfied British claims added a constant worry to his other annoyances. By persistence and sheer force of will he succeeded occasionally in clearing off long outstanding complaints, but he did this at the expense of scenes such as have rarely been witnessed within the walls of the Yamên. On one historic occasion the Mandarins strode up and down the reception-hall, shouting and raging at Parkes, who employed the time thus wasted in rolling and smoking a cigarette! But though in this as in other hard-fought battles he came out victorious, the constant strain, engendered by the ever watchful and unceasing antagonism of the Mandarins, injuriously affected his constitution, which had already been shattered by overwork, and by the many perils and difficulties which he had encountered. In these circumstances an attack of fever, which in happier surroundings might probably have been thrown off, sapped his remaining strength, and during the night of the 21st of March, 1885, he passed quietly away at the early age of fifty-seven.

Thus died the man whom Mr. O'Connor, the present British Minister at Peking, has described as 'the ablest defender of British interests in the Far East,' and from north to south, wherever the British flag flew in China, the news of his death was received with universal mourning. But it was not only among his own countrymen that his death was regretted. The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs telegraphed his 'deep sorrow at the death of one whose wise and frank advice and timely and energetic action have assisted Japan in the course of her progress'; and it was by the direct order of the Viceroy, Li Hungchang, whose body-guard escorted the coffin to the ship at Tientsin, that 'as the steamer bearing the remains passed down to the mouth of the Peiho, the very Taku forts—where the late Minister had dictated the terms of surrender a quarter of a century before—fired minute guns' until the ship disappeared below the horizon.

- ART. IX.—1. *Sir Thomas Erskine May's Law, Privileges, Proceedings, and Usage of Parliament.* Tenth edition, edited by Sir Reginald Palgrave, K.C.B., Clerk of the House of Commons. London, 1893.
2. *Summary of the Constitution and Procedure of Foreign Parliaments.* Compiled by Reginald Dickinson, Barrister-at-Law, Committee Clerk of the House of Commons. London, 1890.

THE House of Commons is the great inquest of the nation. It supervises and reviews every branch of the administration. If any office has become rusty, the House is ready to replace it; if any service has become obsolete, it is prompt to abolish it; for it has power to rebuild or destroy our most venerable institutions. Some of its Members indeed are ready, with light heart and reckless hand, to undertake any work of destruction, in order to show their confidence in the 'People' and in 'themselves.' But the theory of mowing down what is old because something better is sure to spring up in its place is mere Nihilism. The sober judgment of the country is not with this arrogant self-assertion; but its patience is exhausted when the great renewer of our institutions itself lags behind, deaf to all suggestions of improvement and adaptation. Yet, whenever the House of Commons is asked to adopt, even as an experiment, some improvements in its methods of procedure, it takes refuge in a sort of sacerdotal *non possumus*, and is always nervously conservative of archaic forms and inveterate habits. Surely the nation is entitled to say to it, when it is plainly out of health, 'Take physic yourself,—you who prescribe so freely to others. It is only the quack who declines to take his own medicine.'

It is within the recollection of those whose memory extends beyond the present Parliament that a worthy Member, shocked by the awful proposal that the House should meet at 3 o'clock instead of at 4 in the afternoon, warned the House, 'and never was prophetic voice so full of woe,' that it was impossible to foresee the ultimate consequences of so dangerous an innovation. Packed Houses, surprise majorities, snapped divisions were to be the inevitable result, and all our precious liberties were to be swept away almost before the Speaker had uttered his sonorous 'Amen' at the conclusion of the last prayer. The rhetorical trick of 'awful consequences' becomes very familiar to those who have long frequented St. Stephen's. It is said that the first Bill to build a bridge across the Thames at Putney was opposed in this Cassandra vein. The wooden piles
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would inevitably cause the silt to accumulate ; the silt would be swept down into the port of London ; with the port of London choked up, what would become of the commerce of the country ? Was there not an excellent ferry, established centuries ago by a good bishop, which would convey any number of passengers, ten at a time, across the river for a halfpenny each ? What more could any reasonable man require ? The traffic across the Thames at Putney has scarcely increased more than the business at Westminster. But the traffic over the bridge is regulated in a rational manner. No band of roughs is there allowed to upset a waggon in the middle of the thoroughfare, browbeat and threaten the waywardens, and attack all who attempt to maintain the rule of the road and set the thronged highway free for lawful use. It is just the reverse at Westminster. Improved arrangements are required for the increasing traffic ; but, owing to the jealousy between rival bodies of police, law-hating obstructors are allowed a free hand to molest and delay anything and everything they dislike, and they particularly dislike whatever may be expected to reflect any enduring credit on their rivals. Indeed, it is a matter of notoriety that the police off duty are occasionally in active league with the offenders against the police on duty. The accomplices who actively assist in the disorder, like the accomplices who passively look on, each and all hope to reap party advantages out of the public loss. Even the police on duty look askance at a *too* efficient weapon of control, because they fear it may be used unfairly against them when it comes to be the turn of their opponents to don the badge of office.

Under the old electorate public opinion exercised some restraining influence over these petty treasons against the parliamentary sovereignty, and checked excesses of obstruction whenever these ignoble tactics were extended beyond insignificant skirmishes of party warfare to great battles affecting imperial destinies. But with the suffrage thrown open to classes who are as yet inexperienced in politics outside the sphere of their personal interests, whose elementary education was only begun in 1870, and who are far too busily engaged in earning an honest livelihood to be able to watch closely the incidents of the nocturnal strife at St. Stephen's, unscrupulous politicians enjoy as much license as if they were indulging their lawless instincts in the wilds of Central Africa. Eloquent leaders, after appealing to the generous sympathies of the English character, and artfully mixing with the sentiments so invoked the ingredients of an attractive party prospectus, have only to preface their perorations by a statement that obstruction

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has never been practised except by their opponents, to be greeted with cheers. And when the electors march to the poll, the suspicious few who may have heard strange tales of scenes at St. Stephen's, and the unquestioning many who never had a doubt awakened, are both dominated by other watchwords and nearer influences than dim memories of deeds done at Westminster in a past session of a previous Parliament. There is therefore no effectual responsibility for misconduct in the House. The feeling of the educated, held up to suspicion as the leisured, classes, may be safely despised; they count for so few at the poll. The party press takes care that the true facts do not come home to the great mass of the voting power in the constituencies. Besides, the workman who does his own work with a will naturally thinks that it is the duty of the House, and not of the electors at large, to keep order at Westminster, and thus, even if thoroughly well informed, says, and says truly, 'Do for yourselves what every other elected Assembly has to do for itself, and do not come whining to us.'

The conditions of the problem are, therefore, very complicated, not so much from any intrinsic difficulty in the solution as from the vehemence of the conflict of interests involved. Reforms of procedure can only be carried out quickly when both front benches are agreed, and it used to be the recognized practice to arrive at a private understanding with the other side before formally announcing any proposition of importance. The process of change has been slow for this other reason also, that the fortunate hour was hard to hit. In quiet days, when things were going on tolerably, it was difficult to overcome the aversion to change; in troublous days it was difficult to come to an understanding with the other side, and impossible to find time to thresh out the subject in a protracted debate. Yet, in spite of all these obstacles, something considerable was done in 1882 under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, and in 1888 under that of Mr. W. H. Smith; and if much remains to do, still the foundations are well laid and, we believe, firmly set, and the work can be carried on to completion upon safe substructures whenever the House can find time and inclination to devote to the work.

The sacrifice asked of Members is not serious. Some further limitation and regulation of debate must be acquiesced in. If all who have something to say are to receive as far as possible a reasonable hearing, the time of the House must be fairly apportioned, and deliberate obstruction must be brought under effectual control. With the platform and press open to Members, as to all others, is it too large a call on their patriotism to invite them

them to compress their arguments in accordance with the rules of effective eloquence, and to express their thoughts in a form so compendious that their reasoning may be remembered? Such a demand is surely no assault on freedom of speech. 'Free speech,' forsooth! Alas! what pernicious rights are claimed in thy name! These are some of them. (1.) The right to fling out as *obiter dicta*, however foreign to the subject of the debate, or even in putting a question when all debate is forbidden, imputations unsupported by evidence against fellow-subjects, high or low, to say nothing of allied Sovereigns and their Ambassadors. (2.) The right to obstruct, *i.e.* the right of a large or small minority to paralyse the House, or impose its will on the majority, and so to supersede and reverse the judgment of the people at the last election. (3.) The right to levy blackmail, *i.e.* to obstruct a Bill admitted to be good, until the majority are forced to accept some objectionable provision in that or perhaps some other Bill, on quite a different subject. (4.) The right of talking at any length, which is a *reductio ad absurdum*, unless all Members are allowed to speak at once, as there are 668 Members who can advance equal claims to an audience.

The ancient and invaluable parliamentary privilege of free speech consists in this, that a Member cannot be punished by Prerogative, or through the Courts of Law, for words spoken in Parliament. He is free to expose every abuse in the Administration and every error of a mistaken policy. This right is absolute as against the outside world, but words spoken in Parliament may be, and have been, punished by the House in which they were uttered. The House has, and ought to have, jurisdiction over its own Members, and prescribes and enforces Rules of Procedure and debate. Derogatory words spoken in one House against the other, or some Member of it, have been taken notice of, and have been the subject of remonstrance by way of message between the Houses; and it is the duty of the House to which the offender belongs to rebuke, and, if necessary, require amends to be made for, every such offence, and by more modern practice the intervention and rebuke must be made *instantly*. The High Court of Parliament should be at least as chary of its character and authority as any other court. Within his own House a Member is subject to those rules of debate which in their restraints are wholesome, and are the fruit of very long experience. Whilst it is the undoubted right of the House of Commons to impeach any Minister, and any Member of either House of Parliament may bring charges against any public servant, high or low, of misconduct or incapacity in the discharge of his public duty, neither House will allow such charges

to be thrown out as mere *obiter dicta*. Attacks on official conduct must be relevant to the motion before the House. If the charge be a personal one and attribute, not error but dishonourable conduct, dishonest motives, or *mala fides*, the House will only entertain any such grave imputation on a substantive motion embodying the charge, open to amendment and after notice given. Only thus can the House be placed in a position to pronounce a deliberate, proportionate, and definite judgment in the case. The House also insists that, however serious may be the charge, or reprehensible the measure, the accusation shall be urged without violating that decency, or departing from those forms of expression, which the character of gentlemen requires to be used one towards another.

On this head the existing Rules, if quickly and firmly enforced, are strong enough, except perhaps in relation to certain abuses in questions to Ministers. The Rules are not, however, sufficiently strong, prompt, or supple to cope with the various forms of obstruction. They are too slow in coming into operation; they are wanting in pliancy to suit varying circumstances; they impose penalties which are either too trivial or of the wrong kind. It is the object of this paper to make these defects clear even to those unfamiliar with the ways of the House.

By the terms of the Closure Rule of 1881, laid on the table by the Speaker under urgency, and also of that adopted as a Standing Order in 1882, closure could only be initiated by the Chair, and could be applied only to the question immediately before the House. Such a rule was soon proved to be both objectionable and inadequate. It was objectionable because it involved the Speaker in party politics; it was inadequate because, since the Chair must be extremely loth to intervene, lawlessness necessarily enjoyed a long immunity, and an irreparable loss of time was incurred before the remedy was applied, and because, when applied, the remedy only disposed of one question, perhaps a trivial amendment, and the game began again on the next amendment under the same hopeless conditions. If the Speaker were prompt and determined, he might seem, or might be represented to seem, to favour one side, because the Chair could only intervene on the side of the majority, *never* to protect the rights of the minority. By the Rule of 1887, moved by Mr. W. H. Smith, the initiative was taken from the Chair, and the Chair was ordered to put the question of the Closure whenever moved, unless, in the Speaker's judgment, the motion was either an abuse of the Rules of the House or an infringement of the rights of the minority. Except under one or other of these conditions, no discretion was left

left to the Chair. The Closure was to be put whenever moved, and the House determined by a vote whether the debate should continue or not, just as it decided whether a Bill should be read a second time or not. Thus the intervention of the Chair was strictly limited to the discharge of two well-defined duties,—preserving the minority from any infringement of its rights, and protecting the Member who was addressing the House from impertinent interruption. Of course, any infringement of rights would constitute an abuse of the Rules of the House; but, *ex abundanti cautela*, the House inserted the words ‘an infringement of the rights of the minority’ in the Government proposal as a specific direction to the Chair. Thus the intervention of the Chair could only be in favour of the minority and of the orator in possession of the House. The Speaker was constituted the guardian of rational debate; he was no longer under the invidious obligation of intervening only on the side of the majority.

Apart from the protection of a minority, it was necessary to prevent the Closure from being itself used as an instrument of obstruction. In the Parliament elected in 1880 we have heard Mr. Gladstone interrupted a dozen times in a quarter of an hour in the climax of his argument. In the Parliament of 1886 such interruptions were for the most part aimed at Mr. Balfour and Mr. Goschen. But no change in the object of attack alters the character of the offence. Imagine the glee with which a Member, who thought fit thus to distinguish himself, would rise, with a copy of the Standing Orders in his hand open at Rule 25, and blandly say, ‘Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to interrupt the right honourable gentleman, but I beg to move that the question be now put.’ But for the discretion thus entrusted to the Chair, the question would have to be put, and the House would have to divide. With such a legalized power of interruption, what, we might ask, would become of free speech?

Experience has proved this precaution to be effective; for, of all the ill-mannered interruptions to which orators are in these latter days perpetually subjected, a premature claim for the Closure is the least distracting. It has been indeed suggested that protection could be secured, both against interruption and premature use, if the initiative of Closure were limited to the Member in charge of the business under consideration. But, as nine-tenths of the contentious business is promoted by the Government, the Member in charge of the business means generally a Minister of the Crown. And then, with no discretion entrusted to the Chair, what becomes of the rights of the minority? They are placed at the mercy of an excited

and an enthusiastic majority. The safeguards work smoothly, and certainly no one has yet suggested any better. Let us now consider the sufficiency of the Rule for its purpose.

The utter inadequacy of the Rule of 1881-2 was quickly disclosed by the fact that Mr. Gladstone had four times to obtain a special order from the House to close peremptorily the proceedings at an appointed hour on the Committee and on the Report of both the Coercion Bills of 1881. It was demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt that something more was necessary on the Committee and Report stages of Bills, when amendments could be multiplied *ad infinitum* with very little ingenuity, and, as fast as one question was closed, a new one could be started. The second part of the second paragraph of the Rule of 1887 was designed to deal with these cases. It enacts, 'That if a clause be under consideration a motion may be made (the assent of the Chair, as aforesaid, not having been withheld), that the question,—“That certain words of the clause, defined in the motion, stand part of the clause,” or “That the clause stand part of, or be added to, the Bill,”—be now put.'

It was anticipated that these new motions would enable the Committee, or the House, to brush aside frivolous amendments, whilst obstructive debate on fair amendments could be brought to a conclusion by the first part of the Rule, providing for the Closure on any question already proposed from the Chair.

But the ingenuity of the obstructor is as difficult to baffle as that of the lover, and for the same reason, that both are utterly indifferent to the consequences of their actions to others so long as they can get their own way. Week after week, the Opposition toiled to smother the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Bill, by piling up amendments prescribing Rules of Court, which ought never to be inserted in any Act, but should always be left to the discretion of the Court, in order that they may be modified from time to time, as experience teaches and justice and convenience may require. In the course of the long struggle, it happened that there were fourteen amendments by way of addition to a clause. Twelve the Chairman held to be frivolous, but he withheld his assent to the motion, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' which would have shut them out, because the 11th and 14th amendments appeared 'worthy of some consideration,' and would have been also thereby excluded. On the other hand, he hesitated by his own authority to pass over the frivolous amendments and reach those which had some claim to be considered genuine. He therefore restricted himself to inviting the Members not to move those that in his judgment were frivolous. The invitation was accepted on that occasion ;

occasion ; but, in other cases, its success must necessarily depend on the temper of the minority at the moment, and the esteem in which any particular Chairman may be held by the Opposition. It is by multiplying amendments by way of addition to clauses, and by moving new clauses, that Bills can be most easily smothered, and this is the precise point at which the Rule has been shown to be imperfect. The paper was loaded with proposed additions to clauses, with a few grains of corn mingled, here and there, with the abundant chaff. The Committee was occupied for weeks with amendments mostly impracticable, and intended only to defeat the Bill by effluxion of time. At last the impatience of the House reached a pitch at which it supported a peremptory order to bring the proceedings of the Committee to a conclusion on a particular day. A repetition of the same tactics compelled the Government to seek and obtain a similar order to bring the proceedings on the Report stage to an abrupt termination. The House therefore was still compelled to deal with the crisis in 1887 under the new Rule, just as it had dealt with a similar crisis in 1881 under the old Rule. The largest portion of the Bill was never considered at all, either in Committee or on Report. The Government was precluded from inserting an amendment which they had been understood to accept, and were reproached with bad faith ; and the Bill was deprived of that prestige which a thorough sifting of the machinery and its acceptance by considerable majorities can alone confer.

What happened in 1887 was repeated with a difference in 1893. The Bill of 1887 made permanent the most successful provisions of the Crimes Act of 1882. The Home Rule Bill did not seek to amend or enforce a particular law, but to create a new Constitution, raising an infinity of questions of extreme delicacy and the utmost importance. A handful of opponents fought minor points with excessive persistency. Under existing Rules those few dictated the tactics to their friends with perfect impunity, until their foes, without a single Member having been made amenable for abuse, closed debate both in Committee and on Report in four compartments at brief intervals, under a single peremptory order for each stage ; and, within these rigid compartments, it was not the crucial questions which were debated, but the earliest amendments on the paper irrespective of importance.

It is neither just nor tolerable that an unscrupulous minority or it may be a score of unscrupulous Members in a " " should have the power of preventing the clauses being either considered or amended by the Hc

Moreover, none of the motions at present authorized by the Rule expressly prevent amendments, once passed over by a vote of the Committee or the House, from being again proposed in some other part of the Bill, either in precisely the same words or under some thin disguise.

It appears therefore desirable to authorize an additional motion of Closure in Committee and on Report, 'That certain amendments defined in the motion be not considered,' subject, of course, like other similar motions, to the assent of the Chair, who might make his assent conditional on the omission of any amendments comprised in the motion which he thought worthy of consideration. It would also be necessary to provide that no amendment be moved without notice except by leave of the Chair. Such a Rule would enable the House to control the abuse which has hitherto baffled its authority.

The special form of Closure on amendments, not yet proposed, authorized by the second part of the second paragraph of the existing Rule, applies only to the clauses of a Bill. Logically there is no reason why they should not be applicable to resolutions also. It took fourteen days to pass the Closure Rule, and many of the proposed amendments were simply meant to destroy it.

One other amendment ought to be made to this Rule. By its last paragraph, Closure can only be put in force when the Speaker or Chairman of Ways and Means is in the chair. But by Standing Order No. 1 (Sittings of the House), passed in the following year, viz. 1888, the Speaker is directed to nominate every session a panel of five Members to act as temporary Chairmen. These duly appointed Chairmen ought to have every power necessary for the proper discharge of their duties. The limitation was directed against 'casual Chairmen,' who, in very prolonged sittings, were informally invited to take the chair by the Chairman. But the objection urged against these cannot apply to those appointed by the Speaker in pursuance of a Standing Order. It is hardly desirable that such Chairmen should be placed in an inferior position, as they are intended to occupy the chair of the Committee continuously, whenever, owing to any long indisposition of the Speaker, the Chairman of Ways and Means may be called upon for a considerable time to discharge the duties of Deputy Speaker. Besides, the Chairman of Ways and Means might himself be ill and absent for some time in the crisis of the session.

The expediency of extending the Closure Rule to the Standing Committees, and giving to the Chairman of a Standing Committee the same duties and authority as are entrusted in
Committee

Committee of the whole House to the Chairman of Ways and Means, seems to be well worthy of consideration. Those Committees are intended to supersede the Committee of the whole House, and are sufficiently large to give opportunity for the display of all the resources of obstruction, and Bills have already been exposed to determined resistance by a very insignificant minority with the scarcely concealed object of killing the measures by delay. Of course it will be said that such a power of Closure might be abused. Power would not be power, if it could not conceivably be abused. Prudence may ask, Is there any practical likelihood that it would be abused? and the answer to this is, That no amendment could be passed over as frivolous or vexatious without the assent of the Chair; that the decision of the Chair is absolute on all other questions of the admissibility of amendments; that the Speaker and Chairman are the designated protectors of the minority; and that therefore, if the amendment has any substance and is not moved for merely obstructive purposes, they will withhold their assent. It may be observed further, that the majority, which would by its vote exclude the amendment, would, if it were proposed, certainly negative it, though after the waste of much valuable time.

The latest device of obstruction, that of multiplying Instructions to enlarge the powers of a Committee of the whole House on a public Bill, has only been in vogue for some six sessions. Yet already, besides trammelling the action of the House on large measures, it has inflicted serious injury on the community by choking the channel through which many small but useful reforms made their way to the Statute Book without encountering hostile criticism. Now, no sooner has one of these simple Bills been read a second time without opposition than the Committee is swamped by a dozen Instructions being put down on the Order Book. Until all these are disposed of, the Committee cannot commence its labours; and if a quarter of them were adopted, the Committee would be compelled to entertain, not a limited improvement of the law, to which every one was ready to agree, but a far-reaching change bristling with matters of a highly contentious character. Of course there is no time to debate all these Instructions, and an useful Bill is destroyed—a destruction much to be desired, according to the recent school of political ethics, whenever the good Bill is brought in by a political opponent.

This abuse of the old liberties of the House is also employed to break down the new Standing Order which abolishes the repetition of a second reading debate on going into Committee,
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and directs the Speaker to leave the chair forthwith unless an Instruction be moved. Under the pretext of moving a series of wide Instructions, a succession of second reading speeches is attempted, and opponents obtain the right of addressing the House on each separate Instruction instead of their old opportunity of one speech on the motion that the Speaker do now leave the chair. Indeed, perverse ingenuity has been adroitly exercised to discuss on one Bill the provisions of some other whose fortune in the ballot has been less favourable, or to insinuate a debate on some pet or popular fad, whenever it has been possible to establish any plausible kind of Scottish cousinship between the hobby and the humble little Bill before the House. Nay, more, one Member put down four Instructions to the same Bill, which, if admitted to be in order, would have quadrupled his opportunities of speaking. Thus, on a Bill for enabling soldiers and sailors absent on duty to vote at elections, it was endeavoured by a series of Instructions to tack on a new Reform Bill; and, on a Bill for facilitating the recovery of tithe, it was proposed to debate the whole question of tithes in general and the special aspirations of Wales for higher education in particular, which might be endowed by the appropriation of the tithe to that object.

On the 2nd of May, 1890, Mr. Ritchie tested the legality of this newly-invented system of multiplying Instructions by putting down as an amendment to the first of the series of Instructions on the Allotments Act (1887) Amendment Bill the resolution 'That this House declines by any Instruction to extend the scope of this Bill.' Thereupon Mr. Seale Hayne proposed to add words excepting his particular Instruction from the resolution, and of course, if he could have made that motion, all the others could have moved similar exceptions in favour of their Instructions. The Speaker was appealed to, and he at once proceeded to point out the inconvenience of these new tactics, and concluded by saying that, if it were persisted in, it would render nugatory the new Standing Order. He suggested that it would be better that a compromise should be arrived at between the contending parties rather than that the matter should be brought before him to decide as a question of order. Though the judicious advice of the Speaker was accepted on this occasion, the abuse was not abated. On the 9th of June, 1890, he felt it his duty to warn the House in these words: 'If the abuse of Instructions is carried much further, I believe it will be fatal to the transaction of business, not only by the Government, whoever they may be, but by every individual Member who may be in charge of a Bill.' Matters must have been very
grave

grave before the Speaker could have felt compelled to make such a statement; and yet some party leaders, in whose word the country ought to be able to place confidence, assure their audiences that there has been no obstruction.

In the session of 1889 an appeal was made to the Speaker for guidance, when certain amendments were announced which, if adopted by the Committee, would have entirely changed the character of the Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill, and transformed it into quite a different Bill from that which had been read a second time. Now these amendments could have been adopted without an Instruction; but under the cover of an Instruction, and still more under the cover of a series of Instructions, if no limit is to be placed to Instructions, any Bill might be altered and expanded out of all recognition, and, even though none of the series were likely to be carried, the Bill could still be so overlaid and smothered with motions for Instructions, that the Committee would never be allowed to begin the task which it was proposed to augment beyond their capacity and beyond all precedent.

It may be laid down that the proper functions of an Instruction are threefold: (1) To enable a Committee to consolidate two or more Bills into one, or to divide a Bill into two. (2) To extend the Bill to other areas, persons, cases, or times, strictly cognate to those in the original Bill: *e.g.* a Bill which by its title is limited, say, to England may, if found acceptable to Scottish or Irish Members, be extended to either or both of these kingdoms. Similarly, a Bill limited to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge might be extended to other Universities. Again, a Bill to enable soldiers absent on duty to vote by papers at parliamentary elections might be extended to sailors, or to local as well as parliamentary elections; or, as in a case of recent occurrence, the uniform weights to be used at markets and fairs might be extended to other sales than those in markets and fairs; or, again, certain provisions in a Sunday Closing Bill might be extended to part of Saturday. (3) Occasionally complementary and ancillary provisions have been found necessary to carry into effect and perfect the proposed change in the law. These can only be fit subjects for an Instruction provided they are directly consequent on the change in the law proposed to be effected by the Bill, and do not trench on matters which have habitually been treated by separate legislation.

The aim in all these cases is to give full and complete consequences to the principles of the original Bill. But to attempt to evade the ordeal of the important stages of first reading and second reading, and to foist fresh and even

matter upon the Committee, is a violation of the fundamental understandings on which sound parliamentary procedure rests. Excessive multiplication of Instructions should be met in the same manner as the excessive multiplication of amendments. A motion, subject to the assent of the Chair, should be sanctioned that certain Instructions be not considered.

Of open obstruction it may be said the House knows the ultimate possibilities; but there is a more insidious offence, that of veiled obstruction, which is more difficult to meet, and which is capable of very dangerous development. Some 30 Members (and it might be 60 or 100) are sometimes told off to worry some particular business, usually Civil Service Estimates. Exaggerated opposition is raised against certain familiar items, often to the exceeding embarrassment of the Whips of the responsible Opposition, who know that their chiefs must propose the same expenditure when they return to office. What do the Stalwarts care about that? Debate they intend to have, with a fine popular ring about it, if possible; but, at any rate, a prolonged debate. Many of the objections urged have been disposed of session after session to the satisfaction of the Committee, but they are still trotted out year after year. No one need speak for more than five minutes at a time to keep the ball rolling, and just as the game seems to flag in rushes the professional bore. His irrepressible vanity prompts him to speak early and often, and at any length, and his wordy ignorance diverts the irritation aroused by the half-disclosed manipulations of the adroit wire-pullers. The obstructors gain time to think of new objections, and the languid debate is revived. Hour after hour drags on, yet there is nothing absolutely out of order. Blame can be affixed on no one, for the bore is rarely in the plot. Nevertheless every one is aware of what is going forward, except those who do not choose to see. These go off to the library or the smoking-room to escape weariness, and to be able to say that they have witnessed no obstruction. The great party leaders are of course absent, and everywhere affirm that they never encourage obstruction. How far the Commander-in-chief is responsible for the outrages of his Bashî-Bazouks is a moot question. In Turkey he is held responsible; at Westminster not. By this organized system the time occupied over the seven classes of Civil Service Estimates has been quadrupled in recent years, with the desired result that the hours left for legislation are diminished in the inverse ratio. Besides, the disproportionate time consumed over such trumpery details absolutely precludes serious economists from bringing forward criticisms and suggestions which might be of practical use.

As an improved arrangement of business, a suggestion was made to the Select Committee of 1888 on Estimates Procedure (Grants in Supply). As the great bulk of the Civil Service Estimates do not, like the Army and Navy votes, involve questions of high policy which depend on fluctuating conditions, but on the contrary are payable under the sanction of permanent Acts of Parliament and on a fixed scale, it would not only save much valuable time, but would also conduce to economy and efficiency in the public service, if estimates of this character were referred to a strong Standing Committee, like the Public Accounts Committee, which could examine such officers of the Treasury and of the departments as it thought fit. This Committee would make two classes of Reports. The votes which were unaltered and called for no comment would be reported from time to time, and might be distinguished as ordinary Reports, and the votes which authorized any fresh expenditure or otherwise demanded attention and sanction would be comprised in special Reports. The special Report would stand referred to the Committee of Supply, and be dealt with after the existing system; but the ordinary Reports would be treated like Reports of the Committee of Supply. This would lighten the labours of the Committee immensely, and mere elucidations and explanations could be demanded in the House, where a Member is only allowed one speech on each question. The two main objections urged against this plan were: (1) That a Grand Committee would inspire more confidence than a less numerous Select Committee of experts. This is, after all, an objection of detail and not of principle. Let the experiment be tried with either Committee, though few competent judges would doubt that the Select Committee would be the stronger tribunal, with its permanent staff of experienced Members serving year after year upon it. (2) That the time gained would be lost by frequent motions to recommit votes to the Committee of Supply. This objection might be met by restricting such motions to Ministers of the Crown. On the very rare occasions when such motions have been made, they have been made by a Minister, and not in respect of a Civil Service but of a war vote, when some favourable change making for peace has permitted a reduction of armaments. However, as the aversion to so considerable a change of habit will only yield to time and the irresistible pressure of circumstances, it is worth enquiring whether some method of regulation in Supply might not be discovered which acceptable to the best men on both sides of

Could not some formal understanding
be Government and the Opposition as

latter desired to oppose or criticise at length, and the relative importance attached by them to the subjects involved, and also as to the votes which they were prepared to concur in without much comment? The Government might then meet the legitimate demands for time by placing first those resolutions which the Opposition desired to debate at length in such a manner that the period allotted would be satisfactory to all except professional obstructors. This would be no new practice. It has long been in action and is well understood; but it has been carried on only by informal and confidential communications through the Whips. Such arrangements have, until recently, been always held to be of binding force. But now the House is divided into many sections, each with its staff of Whips; and one section will not always acknowledge the agreements made by the Whips of the Opposition in chief. Moreover the libertines of debate decline to accept any arrangement whatever, even when made by their own Whips. Any agreement therefore, whether confidentially or publicly arrived at, must be confirmed and sanctioned by the House in such a manner that such minorities and irresponsible individuals may be compelled to yield to the general wish of the House.

After such an understanding had been come to, notice would be given of the votes to be taken on any given night or succession of nights, and, under the authority of a new Standing Order, the agreement arrived at might be sanctioned by a resolution moved after notice given, which, like all other motions regulating the business of the House, would be taken at the commencement of public business. The motion would allot a definite time for the consideration by the Committee of Supply of any vote or votes of which notice has been given. At the expiration of the allotted time (if the proceedings were not previously concluded) the decision of the Committee would be taken forthwith on every question necessary to complete the proceedings on such vote or votes; such motion to be open to debate and amendment for half an hour only.

If this suggestion of apportioning the time of the Committee of Supply, and the earlier suggestion of enabling Committees on Bills to brush aside frivolous and obstructive amendments, were adopted, it would be possible to advance business without curtailing fair debate, and would prevent the House from being driven to the hard choice of submitting to be paralysed by an unscrupulous minority, or of shutting out all, even legitimate, debate by a peremptory order to close the proceedings in Committee or on Report at a particular time, of which (as we have said) the House has nine times had experience.

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By many persons the Constitution of the United States of America is regarded as the pattern to which it is desirable to assimilate the British Constitution, and even those who admit its inferiority regard it as the inevitable bourne towards which an unknown but irresistible force is sweeping them on. The Stalwarts and the Forwards are eager to press along this path, which they are pleased to call that of development, though to many, who have certainly not studied history less than the busy agitator, it appears a retrograde movement in the direction of primeval chaos. We invite these pushing politicians to consider the stringent terms of a Rule, to which the otherwise unmanageable obstruction of the professional politician in the United States has compelled the House of Representatives to submit for already fifty years. It is well known that the Lower House of Congress has handed over a great part of its functions to Standing Committees, whose Chairmen are little autocrats. In the House Closure can be moved at any time, and is often moved without any, or after a very short, debate, and the Chair has no authority to secure a hearing for the minority. If obstruction breaks out in Committee (and any strenuous opposition by a minority, apart from the character of the arguments, is treated as obstruction), the Chairman applies to the House for the Ten Minutes' Rule. The House without debate orders 'That the Committee shall be discharged on a day and at an hour named after having taken the question on the several amendments then pending, or that may be then offered.' The consequence of this order is, that, up to the appointed time, the mover of any amendment has five minutes to explain its purport, and a reply is allowed for the same limited period, after which the vote is taken; but when the appointed time is reached, the outstanding amendments are put *seriatim* without any debate at all. Immediately after the Report is brought up, the House makes a corresponding order, and the amendments on Report are disposed of in the same manner. This is a pretty stiff Rule, but the House of Representatives has been forced to submit to it for just half a century. And to such a Rule, sooner or later, unless a more mild and more pliant but still effective method in the spirit of these suggestions can be devised, the House of Commons must inevitably come.

Reference should be made for a moment to the tactics known as blackmailing and to the mere wilful wasting of time. The latter is the favourite sport of a few wrong-headed men who delight in exasperating the House, without any other immediate purpose than the gratification of a rage for self-interest; but blackmailing has in it both meth-

The fate of Mr. Goschen's Savings

fresh in every parliamentary memory. This measure met with universal acceptance; and who could object to it, seeing that its only object was to improve, in the light of experience, the facilities for the investment of small savings by the working classes? Nevertheless it encountered a mortal opposition, and that opposition was confined to a single Member, who had not a word to say against the Bill on its merits, but determined to force the Chancellor of the Exchequer to graft on it a pet clause of his own, which happened to be of a highly contentious character. The provision so sought to be imposed was outside, and in addition to, the accepted provisions of this simple Bill; but unless Mr. Goschen promised to pay the blackmail, the Bill was to be waylaid and slain. In vain Mr. Gladstone interceded. An iron tear stole down Sir W. Harcourt's cheek as he pleaded for the life of the innocent. Nor were appeals for mercy wanting from below the gangway. But all in vain. The despotic Radical was obdurate. Mr. Goschen could not fairly, at so late a period of the session, enlarge the scope of the Bill, and he declined to embark on contentious matter. As he did not surrender at the first and second summons, the obstructor expanded the sphere of his opposition and began to speak at great length against another Bill which the Government was bound to pass, and so the Savings Banks Bill had to be abandoned to its doom. Talk of tyranny! No Stuart ever resisted the House of Commons so contemptuously, yet under the existing Rules the House is more helpless than a carriage-load of Cook's tourists in a Sicilian lane. It is not only at the mercy of a band of brigands, but even of a solitary footpad.

There is, however, no reason why the House should submit to such disregard of its rightful authority, and on bended knees humbly entreat its persecutor to allow it to do its duty. The House has sanctioned the closure of a debate; why should it not close the lips of a single debater? Why, when the obstruction is confined to one or a few, should not these be put to silence rather than that all Members should be deprived of their right of fair criticism? The obdurate offender would simply forfeit the right of persevering in his offence. This form of Closure would be a softening of the severity of the existing Standing Order, which sanctions complete closure of all debate on any question already proposed from the Chair or upon the clause then under discussion. A motion might be sanctioned, the assent of the Chair not being withheld, 'That Mr. Blackmail or Mr. Wasteall be not further heard on this Bill or motion.' There would be no suspension or other penalty. Mr. B. or Mr. W. might still
vote

vote and exercise every other right of a Member except the one which he had abused. The House would regain its freedom and vindicate its dignity. The Rule (Order in Debate) would still be available against persistent obstruction by combinations, though as a matter of fact the unfortunate modification of that Rule in November 1882, only nine months after its passing, has left it but a clumsy and too easily evaded weapon against that particular offence. The suggested motion would be as available against the time-waster as the blackmailer.

It is worth while to recall to mind the circumstances of the debate on the second reading of the Bann Drainage Bill on the 19th of July, 1888. The order was called on at twenty-three minutes to twelve. Only one Member rose, and that an English Member, who quickly betrayed ignorance of the scheme, but persevered in vague declamation, with the obvious intention of talking out the Bill. It had been intimated to the Speaker through the usual channel that the Irish Home Rule Members did not wish to speak on that stage. Two Unionist Irish Members claimed to move the Closure, and were refused. Finally, at midnight the Speaker allowed the Closure to be submitted to the decision of the House, and that question was carried by a majority of very nearly three to one. It transpired next day that the representation made to the Speaker, that no Irish Member wished to speak on that stage, had been made without full enquiry, and that several Home Rule Members wished to make observations on the second reading. If it had been possible to closure the obstructor instead of the question proposed from the Chair, the Speaker would have called on any Irish Member who rose, and any fair debate would have been allowed to proceed; but as no Irish Member had risen, the Speaker had good grounds to conclude that there was no minority to be protected, and that the universal wish of the House was that the stage should be taken that night. The time-waster often discredits an honest minority, prevents their arguments being fairly stated, and prejudices the House against their views. Any simple, effective, and summary method of disposing of a nuisance of this kind ought to be welcome to every party in politics.

Surely the abuses pointed out are grave. They cripple Parliament. The remedies suggested are not rigorous. Might not some of them, or something like them, be tried at least as an experiment?

ART. X.—1. *The Census of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, for 1891.* London, 1893.

2. *The Royal Commission on Labour: Reports of the Assistant Commissioners.* London, 1893.

THE first impression conveyed by a study of the agricultural division of the Census is that it is a striking illustration of the folly of attempting too much, seeing that some of the numerous subdivisions are so curiously and variously grouped in the different decennial returns that no approach to a precise comparison of the numbers of agricultural labourers at different periods is possible. Consideration shows, however, that the fault is that of doing too little when the enumeration takes place. People are left to describe their avocations pretty well as they please, and agricultural labourers choose to call themselves by at least fourteen different names. This would not matter much if the number returned under each denomination were separately given, for then those who are well acquainted with agricultural nomenclature would be able to make up a total of persons properly ranking as agricultural labourers. But when 'horsekeepers,' who are head horsemen on farms, are grouped with jockeys and grooms in one Census return, while no grooms at all are returned in the agricultural division of the next, and jockeys are very properly also left out of it, comparison becomes difficult. Similarly, the inclusion of the large number of domestic gardeners in the agricultural class for the first time in 1891, with men who work in market gardens and fruit plantations, is likely to mislead the unwary. The most hopeful method of preventing such complications, and others which need not be mentioned, would be that of inserting among the directions sent out with the Census schedules an instruction to the effect that every person working on the land should state, whether he or she is employed on a farm of any kind, in a market garden, in a nursery, or in a gentleman's garden; while grooms and horsekeepers might be enjoined to state the occupations of their employers.

The Registrar-General has not attempted to bring order out of confusion in his 'General Report,' so far as the agricultural labouring class is concerned. On the contrary, he gives incomplete totals only to discredit them by admitting that the returns under the headings which he mentions 'are never very trustworthy,' because 'there is no doubt that a considerable number of agricultural labourers return themselves as simply "labourers," without anything to indicate that they are employed on farms, and these would be classified as general labourers;'

labourers ;' also that 'there is good reason to believe that many agricultural carters and waggoners, owing to the imperfect way in which they state their occupation, get transferred to the carters, carriers, and hauliers of general traffic.' It has been shown that these are not by any means the only reasons for regarding the returns as untrustworthy.

From the remarks just quoted, it is clear that any totals derived from the several Census returns, however carefully they are compiled, are almost certain to be too small to include the whole of the agricultural labouring class. But in the 'General Report' the totals for 1881 and 1891 are made entirely misleading by the inclusion only of persons returned as 'shepherds, carters, or agricultural labourers.' The number of males returned under these designations, the Report states, was 830,452 in 1881 and 756,557 in 1891; but reference to the detailed tables shows that the former total is that of 'agricultural labourers, farm servants, cottagers, and shepherds,' while the latter is that of 'agricultural labourers, farm servants, shepherds, horse-keepers, horse-men, teamsters, and carters.' It will be noticed that horse-men, under their various designations, excepting those who come under the heading of farm servants, are omitted from the former total, and cottagers—very properly dropped out of the agricultural division in 1891—from the latter. It is clear, then, that the totals are not only incomplete, but are not fairly comparable.

'Farm servants' are agricultural labourers, usually horse-men or stockmen, hired by the year or half-year, and boarded and lodged, or lodged only, by their employers. As they include the majority of horse-men in England, the uselessness of attempting a separate enumeration of men employed with horses under their various designations is obvious. No doubt the great majority of the men styled 'agricultural labourers'—a generic term which should not be used for a subdivision—are day labourers.

The numbers given in the 'General Report' as those of female agricultural labourers are 40,346 for 1881 and 24,150 for 1891; but these totals exclude females employed in various capacities on the land, while they include 'female farm servants,' many of whom are farmers' domestic servants. In the directions for filling up the Census papers, it was stated that domestic servants should not be returned as farm servants; but as nearly all, except dairy-maids, are domestic servants, wholly or partly, those hired as farm servants were probably for the most part returned under that title. It is impossible to distinguish in the returns the women who are employed in a domestic capacity
only

only from those who work wholly or partly in the dairy or on the land; therefore there is very little value in any total supposed to represent the number of female agricultural labourers. Moreover, most of the women who work in the fields do so only in the summer and autumn, while many only do a little occasionally, as in hay-time and harvest; and it is not likely that occasional workers return themselves as female agricultural labourers. There is no doubt that the number of female field-workers has greatly decreased. All the Assistant Commissioners to the Royal Commission on Labour testify to this effect, and some of them point out that such workers have become almost extinct in many counties, except so far as they may help their husbands or other male relatives at piece-work in harvest. Throughout the greater part of England dairy-maids are the only important class of farm workwomen at the present time.

A few statistical writers have endeavoured, by comparing the different Census returns, eliminating non-agricultural classes, and allowing for those improperly eliminated, to make up more complete totals of agricultural workers than those given in the 'General Report.' A study of the last three Census returns shows that this may be done with approximate correctness, except with respect to men returned as gardeners. But one or other class of workers has been omitted from every compilation except one, in which an attempt has been made to eliminate domestic gardeners by taking them in their proportion to gardeners of the agricultural class as given in 1881. Taken thus, the males number 56,290 for 1871, 74,600 for 1881, and 82,800 for 1891; while 84 female domestic gardeners were returned in 1871, and 45 in 1881. Probably this is a fair approximation; but, as it is possible that the very different proportions of 1871 may be as near the mark, it seems best to include all classes of gardeners. With them the workers returned as farmers' resident male relatives, farm bailiffs, agricultural labourers, farm servants, horsemen under various synonyms, grooms, shepherds, land-drainage men, persons working with agricultural machines, drovers, woodmen, vermin destroyers, and 'others employed in agriculture,' should be included. It is true that some of the farmers' male relatives are not regular workmen; but as hardly any under fifteen years of age are returned, it must be assumed that all do more or less work for the farmers with whom they reside. Omitting gamekeepers, the following totals are given as those of agricultural and horticultural labourers of all ranks and denominations:—

AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL LABOURERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

	1871.	1881.	1891.
Males . . .	1,188,490	1,125,180	1,040,020
Females . . .	60,440	43,230	28,730
Both Sexes. . .	1,248,930	1,168,410	1,068,750

These figures show that the decrease in the number of males employed on farms and in gardens, or in close connexion therewith, is not so great as has been commonly supposed. But if gamekeepers, who are recruited mainly from the agricultural labourers, be added, the percentages of decrease are still less, as may be seen from the following table :—

PERSONS EMPLOYED ON THE LAND IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

	1871.	1881.	1891.
Males . . .	1,200,920	1,137,810	1,053,840
Females . . .	60,440	43,230	28,730
Both Sexes. . .	1,261,360	1,181,040	1,082,570

DECREASES.	MALES.	FEMALES.	BOTH SEXES.
Ten years to 1881 . . .	(Total . . . 63,110 Per cent. . . 5·3)	17,210 28·5	80,320 6·4
Ten years to 1891 . . .	(Total . . . 83,970 Per cent. . . 7·4)	14,500 33·5	98,470 8·3
Twenty years to 1891. . .	(Total . . . 147,080 Per cent. . . 12·2)	31,710 52·5	178,790 14·2

This comparison may be taken as the best available criterion of the diminution in the employment of wage-earners on the land in England and Wales.

So far, no reference has been made to the ages of the males employed. This, however, is an important consideration, not only because the labour of boys is much smaller than that of an equal number of men, but also because it is, and always has been, much less regular. Taking the most complete totals given

given above as those of all classes of workmen employed on the land, it is found that they may be divided as follows:—

MALES.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Fifteen years and over . . .	1,096,660	1,064,995	982,496
Under fifteen years . . .	104,260	72,815	71,344
Totals . . .	1,200,920	1,137,810	1,053,840

DECREASES.	FIFTEEN AND OVER.	UNDER FIFTEEN.
Ten years to 1881	{Total . . . 31,665 Per cent. . . 2·9	31,445 30·2
Ten years to 1891	{Total . . . 82,499 Per cent. . . 7·7	1,471 2·0
Twenty years to 1891	{Total . . . 114,164 Per cent. . . 10·4	32,916 31·6

The decrease in boys under fifteen between 1881 and 1891 was made considerably smaller than it otherwise would have been by an increased demand for them in gardens. As it is, not far short of one-fourth of the total decrease in males employed on the land in the twenty years ending with 1891 consisted of boys under fifteen, many of whom were never regularly in work. This decrease in boys, of course, is mainly due to school-attendance regulations. No doubt, this decline and the much greater proportionate falling-off in the number of women employed on the land have kept down the decrease in adult males, although not to a corresponding extent.

The figures for women, as already remarked, are to be regarded with a good deal of suspicion. The number of female 'farm servants' returned in 1871 was greater than the total number of female workers on farms, including 'farm servants,' in 1891; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that part of the decrease thus indicated is due to a more correct return of servants in farmhouses, in accordance with the instruction to the effect that domestic servants should not be entered as 'farm servants.' Still, as it is probable that very many of the women who used to work in the fields during a portion of the year were never entered as female farm labourers, but were put down as labourers' wives or daughters, the decrease in female agricultural labour is not likely to have been exaggerated. It is a
beneficial

beneficial decrease from all points of view, excepting that of an employer who misses the convenience of extra help at busy seasons of the year. Its cause is, not that women cannot obtain work on the land, but that they will not undertake such work; and their refusal is one of the most significant signs of improvement in the circumstances of the class to which they belong.

Bearing in mind the severity of the depression which has affected agriculture during nearly the whole of the period reviewed, the great contraction in the area of arable land, and the increased use of labour-saving machinery, the wonder is that the decrease in the number of agricultural workers has not been much greater than the figures given indicate. In 1881 there were 13,977,662 acres of land under tillage in England and Wales; and in 1891 this area had fallen to 12,903,585 acres, the decrease being 1,074,077 acres, or 7·7 per cent. The decrease in tillage, however, is one of the results of depression, and therefore its effect upon the demand for labour cannot be regarded as a set-off to the effect of depression. There is abundance of evidence, too, in the reports of the Assistant Commissioners of the Royal Commission on Labour, to prove that, in most parts of the country, farmers have been constrained to cut down their labour expenses to a greater extent than the conversion of arable land into pasture by itself would account for. In such circumstances it is fortunate that the labourers not needed on the land have been attracted from it by openings in the towns or the mining districts, instead of waiting to be driven away by lack of employment. This feature of the migration has been noticed in all parts of the country. From no quarter do we hear of agricultural labourers having been thrown out of work and reduced to a condition of distress rendering migration compulsory. Nor, until last year, had there been any common reduction of their wages since the period of depression commenced, and even then it was not general. It is not the men who would be the first to be paid off who form the bulk of the migrants; on the contrary, farmers generally complain that the best of the young men quit the villages, leaving the old and the inferior men behind. Even in the case of boys, the diminution of their employment on the land after it is allowable under school regulations is attributable to voluntary migration, and not to the decrease of demand for their services; for employers commonly declare that they find a growing indisposition among boys to learn to plough or to do other farm-work.

In the evidence as to the ages of men who are left to do farm-work

work there is a curious discrepancy. It is the universal testimony that the young men are the ones who leave the land, and this is what might be expected, as they are better educated and more enterprising than the old men, and have more openings in the towns as well as fewer ties in the villages. Yet the Census figures show a slight decrease in the proportion of old men employed on farms, so far as they are to be relied upon. Taking the most numerous section, that of 'agricultural labourers and farm servants,' it is found that the proportion of men of sixty-five and upwards was 8·7 per cent. in 1881 and 8·4 per cent. in 1891. Excluding boys under fifteen, the percentages of men of sixty-five and upwards were 9·5 and 9·2. But 'cottagers' were included in the section referred to in 1881, and not in 1891, and it is probable that many of the men so entered were paupers, or otherwise past work. If this difference does not account for the discrepancy, the only alternative appears to be to conclude that, through the withdrawal of many of the best lives from the rural community, the proportion of men who live to a good old age has been reduced. Against the latter explanation there is evidence of a reduced death-rate in most agricultural districts. But there is also evidence of a reduced ratio of paupers in almost all unions, so that the discrepancy cannot be explained by assuming that the proportion of old men in receipt of outdoor relief has increased. It is possible that more old people were supported by their prosperous sons and daughters in 1891 than in 1881; but the most probable explanation is that the Census figures are misleading, on account of the inclusion of 'cottagers' in 1881, and that the proportion of old men employed on farms has become greater instead of less. At any rate, there is an overwhelming amount of evidence to the effect that the standard of efficiency among agricultural labourers has been lowered by the migration of the young and vigorous.

A very curious fact is noticed in the 'General Report' of the latest Census. It has been shown that the agricultural labourers and others employed on the land decreased in number during the decade ending in 1891, and the number of farmers declined from 223,943 to 223,610. Yet there was a small increase in the rural population of England and Wales as a whole. Taking as rural districts the rural sanitary districts and the urban districts with less than 10,000 inhabitants each, there was a decrease in only twenty counties, eight of which are in Wales. Huntingdon and Hereford are the only English counties in which the decrease was 5 per cent. or more, and in such purely agricultural counties as Norfolk and Suffolk the
decreases

decreases in the rural population were only 0·68 and 0·56 per cent. More striking still is the statement with respect to the 137 registration districts which, in 1891, contained no part, however small, of any urban sanitary area. In these, as a whole, there was an increase of population in every decennium from 1801, with the exception of that which ended in 1881, when there was a decrease of 0·41 per cent. The rate of increase declined regularly after 1821, it is true; but still in the ten years ending with 1891 there was the slight increase of 0·05 per cent. There appears to be no other way of accounting for this increase, slight though it is, than by assuming that there has been an augmentation of people who get their living in towns, but reside in the country. At any rate, it disposes of the idea of a 'rural exodus.'

Any attempt to explain differences in percentage decreases of agricultural labourers in the several counties, by rates of wages or descriptions of farming, involves the student of the Census figures in endless anomalies. The decrease is very great in some of the counties in which wages are lowest, while in others it is extremely small, and it is not far short of the maximum in three or four counties where the labourers are better paid than in any others. Again, a comparison of the figures relating to arable and pastoral counties brings out the fact that the percentage decreases are greater in some of the latter than in most of the former class. These facts are quite consistent with what appears to be the only general rule in relation to the migration; namely, that it is greatest in the immediate neighbourhood of great towns, mines, and factories. Where agricultural wages are comparatively high, they are so because men have been kept from being in excessive supply in the rural districts by the attractions of the manufacturing and mining districts, or of the great towns; and the same conditions still continue. Conversely, where wages are very low, it is because easy opportunities of improving their position have not been open to the farm labourers. But there is reason to believe that in future, as the young men become better educated, distance will not operate, as it has operated in the past, to check migration from low-wages to high-wages counties. Mistakes may easily be made, however, and too commonly are made, by assuming that the condition of agricultural labourers can be gauged by the amount of their ordinary weekly wages in money. As will be shown hereafter, there are many things which may render the condition of the men more advantageous than it appears to the cursory observer to be in one county, and less so in another. As to the migration from pastoral counties,

is exceptionally great from some of them, simply because they happen to be manufacturing or mining counties, or to be situated close to great centres of population.

It is satisfactory to learn from the reports of the Assistant Commissioners to the Royal Commission on Labour that the migration of agricultural labourers has not been excessive. In nearly every district of England and Wales visited, it is said, the supply of labour is sufficient for the diminished demand at ordinary seasons of the year, although in some there is occasional shortness in busy seasons. It is hardly to be regretted that there are not always enough resident men to meet the farmers' requirements in times of pressure of work, seeing that, if there were, a good many would be out of work at slack times. The supply of migratory labourers, chiefly from Ireland, appears to have fallen off in most districts; but this is probably because these men have found that there was not enough for them to do. The use of reaping machines, and especially of binders, has greatly diminished the demand for casual harvest-men, and has shortened the period of harvest, so that men do not find it worth their while to travel long distances for what remains to be done by outsiders. Another very general complaint is that there is not a sufficient supply of boys; while many of those who work on the land for a time after leaving school have very little desire to make themselves proficient in farm-work, because their minds are set upon migrating, as soon as they become old enough, and an opening for them occurs. But, although in nearly every district, as a whole, the supply of labour at ordinary seasons was found to be sufficient, it was not so on many outlying farms, or in a few entire parishes in which cottages are not sufficient in number to accommodate an adequate resident working population. In most parts of the country there appears to be a growing disinclination on the part of labourers, or of their wives, to live in cottages on farms far from a village; and as there is also a very natural preference for work near to their dwellings, the farmers who occupy land distant from a village are the first to feel any scarcity of labour.

In nearly all the English counties ordinary labourers are engaged by the week or fortnight, and it is only with respect to horsemen and stockmen that great variations in the terms of hiring exist. In Wales, however, and in some parts of Ireland, the regular day labourers, although they may live in cottages, get their meals in the farmhouses on working days. This arrangement may be satisfactory to the men, but can hardly be so for their wives and families, who have to be maintained with the scanty money wages which Welsh and Irish labourers receive.

As to horsemen, in twenty-two out of thirty-six counties of England and Wales (reckoning the three Ridings of Yorkshire as one county) visited by the Assistant Commissioners, they are usually hired by the year or half-year, and in most of these the regular stockmen are hired in the same way. In most counties, however, married men are hired by the week, whether they are horsemen, cattle men, or shepherds. In some counties the unmarried men are boarded in the farmhouses; in others, they are boarded in the cottages of married labourers; and in two or three, all the horsemen and stockmen, though hired by the year, are lodged or have cottages rent-free, but are not boarded.

Men who are hired by the year or half-year are usually styled 'farm servants.' This system of hiring is not so general as it used to be; and where the custom of boarding the men in the farmhouses is dying out, there is very little to be said in favour of it. Its chief advantage lies in the excellence of the diet which the lads and young men receive during the period of their most rapid growth and development when they are boarded in the farmhouses. When they are boarded in the cottages of foremen or other married labourers, who naturally try to make a profit out of the money paid them by the farmers for their lodgers' food, the advantage referred to can hardly fail to be diminished. Another good point in the system is its tendency to encourage saving habits on the part of young men, as they are less likely to waste their spare money when they are paid half-yearly than when they receive their wages weekly.

The food supplied to farm servants in the farmers' houses is usually abundant and nourishing. In Nottinghamshire, for example, the Assistant Commissioner was informed by several witnesses that the men have three meat meals in the day. For breakfast there is either bacon or beef, with bread and milk; for dinner, butcher's meat, pudding, and beer; and for supper, meat with bread and milk again. It is common, too, to take a sandwich of bread and bacon into the fields for lunch. If bacon is too often supplied, there is grumbling. In Leicestershire, again, the same inquirer learned that the farm servants had three meat meals a day. There is no reason to suppose that the men are fed better in these counties than in others. Where they are boarded in cottages, it is usual to pay 9s. or 10s. a week for their board and lodging, with washing and attendance; and although even the lower sum would form a large proportion of the wages of a weekly labourer, who has perhaps 7s. to support, it seems hardly sufficient to cover the cost of supplying three good meat meals a day; therefore

that the men who are boarded out of the farmhouse are fed somewhat less liberally than those who are kept in it.

As to the tendency of the hiring system to promote saving, Mr. Wilkinson says that many of the farm servants bank almost all their year's wages as regularly as they receive them.

There are, however, several disadvantages inherent to the yearly hiring system. From the farmer's point of view it has, indeed, little to recommend it, except that it ensures the services of the men and lads who attend to horses and other stock on the spot, so that their help is available, if needed, at any hour, even in the night. There is not much force in the contention that it also secures the services of the men all the year round, in harvest as well as in less busy seasons; for the same end is attained with weekly labourers by paying higher wages at busy times than at other periods. Strange as it may seem, several of the Assistant Commissioners testify to the fact that the system, instead of keeping men for years on the same farm, leads to frequent shifting. It is the rule for a farm servant to change at the end of every year's hiring, however well he has been treated by his employer. Apparently the feeling of being bound for a whole year induces the man to exercise his liberty to make a change at the end of it. There are men who stay for years with the same employer; but they are exceptions. Now, when men are engaged by the week, it is not at all uncommon to find them working on the same farm for a lifetime. The constant shifting referred to is an annoyance and an inconvenience to farmers, who would be glad to retain the services of men who have got used to their ways and to the conditions of work on their farms. On the other hand, the necessity of keeping an unsuitable man for a whole year is also disadvantageous to an employer.

From the men's point of view the yearly hiring system is in many ways distasteful. The good food has already been referred to, and it is further to be observed that farm servants are paid and fed, not only all the year round, whatever the weather may be, but also during illness. But they dislike the restraint of living in the farmhouses, being constantly at the beck and call of their masters, and being required to be indoors at night at a certain hour. As a rule they have hardly any time that they can call their own; for they have usually to give some attention to horses or cattle after supper, and to rise early in the morning to attend to the animals.

In one respect the yearly hiring system is bad for masters and men alike, when the men are boarded. When a man marries, *he ceases to be a farm servant; and supposing that he is a*
ploughman,

ploughman, unless there is an opening for him as a 'horse-keeper' or 'waggoner,' as a head horseman is commonly styled, he usually becomes an ordinary weekly labourer. Thus, after spending years in learning to plough and otherwise to work with horses, he gives up that department of labour in which he has acquired skill, to his master's disadvantage, and becomes a so-called 'day labourer,' liable, perhaps, to lose time in wet weather, and to earn less than a horseman, as a rule.

On the whole, the yearly hiring system appears to have more disadvantages than advantages attached to it, and it is not surprising to learn that in many counties it is dying out.

Upon the question of regularity of employment the Assistant Commissioners found a good deal of variation in their several districts. In the first place, it is to be understood that horsemen and stockmen are almost invariably employed all the year round, and paid their full wages, whatever the weather may be, whether they are hired by the year or half-year, or by the week or fortnight. It is only the day labourers, then, who are liable to be out of work in slack seasons, or to lose time in wet weather. There are great variations in these respects, not only in different parishes, but also among different employers. Several of the Assistant Commissioners state that good men are regularly employed all the year round, and this may be taken as a general rule for all classes of farm labourers. The least favourable verdict upon this point is that which Mr. Richards expresses in reference to the Monmouth district, to the effect that there is no continuous employment for ordinary labourers except on large farms. But the losing of a day or part of a day when the weather prevents work out of doors is another question, and one upon which no general statement can be made. Many farmers pride themselves upon finding something to do for every man who comes to work, even in wet weather or when the snow is thick on the ground; while others require the men whose services they do not require in the barn or sheds to lose time when they cannot work in the fields on account of the weather. Judging from the evidence, it may safely be said that only a small minority of the regular men on farms lose time except from choice or illness. Casual workmen cannot always get a job in winter; but the districts in which there are many men (excepting the idle loafers and drinking fellows) out of work for any considerable portion of the year are comparatively few. There are men who will not take regular work, but to get extra pay for occasional jobs, and to lose time in idleness. Occupiers of small land is arable, are necessarily irreg

often out of employment for the greater part of the winter if they depend on farm-work ; but many of them rely on carting upon the roads, or other work apart from farms, for the necessary supplement to the small returns from the land which they cultivate. The evidence of relieving officers proves that there is much less distress in the rural districts from lack of employment during the winter than there used to be.

Hours of work vary greatly in different parts of the country, especially those of horsemen, which are very long where the horses are kept in the stables at night. For example, a man is commonly required to be with his horses, to feed them before they go out to work, at 4.30 or 5 A.M. in summer, and at 5 or 5.30 A.M. in winter, and his attendance upon the animals has not ceased until he has 'racked them up,' or 'suppered them up,' at about 8 P.M. In the meantime he has had $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 hours for meals, and a little leisure after his supper, as well as some time occupied in merely waiting while the animals are feeding. But the length of time during which the services of the man are required, although not continuously, is irksome, and for this reason many men who have been farm servants and ploughmen prefer to become ordinary labourers when they marry, even where they have the chance of being 'horsekeepers' or 'waggoners' (head horsemen). At least one of the Assistant Commissioners expresses the opinion that such long hours for horsemen are not necessary, pointing out that in some counties they are greatly shortened by turning the horses out into the yards and sheds at night. Where this is done, the horsemen leave after giving their horses the usual allowance of corn in the stables at the end of the day's work, and filling up the racks and cribs in the sheds and yards with fodder for the night. They have to attend early in the morning, of course ; but in the evening they get away as soon, or nearly as soon, as the ordinary labourers, and even earlier in summer, when they sometimes turn the horses into the fields or pastures after baiting them in the afternoon. It is contended that horses do at least as well in the straw-yard as in the stable at night ; and, indeed, that they become hardier and less liable to take cold. On the Duke of Portland's home-farm at Clipstone, as the Assistant Commissioner for that district of Nottinghamshire points out, the horsemen, like the other men, leave at 5.30 P.M., and are not required to return to rack up the horses, that work being done by the foreman. In many districts there has been some relaxation in respect of attendance to the horses very early in the morning, not so much from any definite arrangement, as from the fact that the increased independence of the men has enabled

enabled them to defer the hour of attendance from 4 or 4.30 A.M. to 5 or 5.30 A.M.

Ordinary labourers' hours of work vary less than those of horsemen. Still, the evidence shows such differences as between 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. in summer in one county and 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. in another. In the former case, however, the men are allowed half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, while in the latter they have breakfast before going to work. In both cases they occasionally take at least a quarter of an hour for lunch—an allowance which several of the Assistant Commissioners found to have been extended to half an hour; but this is an encroachment which is tolerated rather than authorized. The most common hours in summer are from 6 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. In winter almost universally they are from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M., or from light to dark, with one hour for dinner, and usually a little time for lunch. Where a farm is at a great distance from a village, the hours are often shorter than on farms more favourably situated. The nominal working hours of ordinary labourers appear to be from 9 to 10½ hours in summer, and 8½ to 9 hours in winter; but time-keeping is necessarily slack where men are scattered over a large farm, and they frequently take extra time for meals, or pack up their tools before the proper time of leaving their work. The working hours of men employed to attend to cattle are commonly a little longer than those of ordinary labourers, and those of cowmen are often a good deal longer. Shepherds' hours are quite indefinite.

The demand for a half-holiday on Saturday has been made for the farm labourers rather than by them; but Mr. Fox met with it among the farm servants of the North of England, where they envy the liberty enjoyed by the miners. He mentions cases of a few employers allowing the holiday. Mr. Chapman, too, heard of a few employers in the Builth district of Breconshire who allowed their men to leave off at 4 P.M. on Saturdays. The Assistant Commissioner for the Southwell district of Nottinghamshire states that, on the great estates, the regular estate men leave off work at 1 or 2 o'clock on Saturday; but that this privilege has not been found feasible for the farm labourers on those estates. On the Duke of Newcastle's estate just outside his district, however, he learned that the farm workmen left work at 4 P.M. on Saturday. It is obvious, as some of the Assistant Commissioners point out, that there is great difficulty in allowing a half-holiday to men who have horses or stock to attend to, and they are the only men who are long on weekdays, and who are also employed on Saturdays.

The evidence as to the earnings of

agricultural labourers in some of the districts is not so complete as could be desired. Moreover, it is not unreasonably complained that the wages are those of unions, and not of whole counties; and it has been pointed out that, in some cases in the unions visited, wages are lower than in others in the counties to which they belong. It may be that the converse is true in other instances; but probably it is not so in many, because the most thoroughly agricultural union in a county appears to have been chosen as a rule, and wages are lowest where there are no great industries to compete with agriculture. Still, the results of the inquiry show that the earnings of farm labourers are not by any means so miserably small as they have frequently been represented on platforms and in the press. Speaking generally, wages are shown to have kept up well since agricultural depression set in, up to the autumn of 1892, when a reduction of a shilling a week took place in some parts of the country for the winter, and it is uncertain whether a recovery occurred in the following spring or not. In many places it was at one time usual to pay less in winter than in summer; but the custom appears to have fallen into disuse to some extent, and to have been revived only on account of the severe depression caused by the poor harvest of 1892. The fall, however, is not noticed in several of the reports, although the inquiries were not concluded until late in 1893.

Several important facts are brought to light by the evidence as to wages, although they are not recognized distinctly in some of the reports. It has been the custom with persons who take a delight in depicting the condition of the agricultural labourer in the darkest colours to name his lowest nominal weekly wages, and then to make imaginary deductions for loss of time. Now, it has never been disputed that the earnings of the men in some counties are lamentably small; but those who knew the circumstances have frequently protested against the misrepresentation referred to, though without much avail. The point, however, may fairly be regarded as settled beyond dispute by reports representing nearly all the counties of England and Wales; for, without exception, they represent the average weekly earnings of regular men as higher than the ordinary weekly wages, and in most cases they are shown to be considerably higher. It may not be so with casual workmen, who are mostly men of the thriftless class; but in most cases it is their fault rather than their misfortune that they are not regularly employed on farms, unless they have other means of earning money, and in that case they may be as well off as the best of the regular farm labourers. Further, it is shown that the
average

average earnings are not always lowest where the nominal weekly wages are lowest, because, as a general rule, both piece-work and payments in kind, or other extras, are more freely given where wages are low than where they are high. For example, it is altogether misleading to state that the weekly wages for different classes of labourers in the Eastern Counties are 11s. to 14s. a week, and in the Northern Counties 15s. to 20s., without also pointing out that the men in the former district frequently earn 6*l.* to 8*l.* extra during the harvest month, while most of those in the latter district have little or nothing extra except food. Very generally, too, perquisites are numerous in the low-wages counties, and few where high wages are given. Again, cottage and allotment rents, as a rule, are lowest, and gardens are largest, where wages are low. Thus there are many things to be taken into account in comparing the condition of the agricultural labourers in one part of the country with that of the same class in another part. When all allowances are made, it is found that the men are better off in Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, than in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hampshire, or Dorsetshire; but the difference is less than mere regard to ordinary wages would lead the observer to suppose.

There is reason to believe that the estimates of average weekly earnings are usually too low rather than too high, first because the value allowed for free cottages is commonly much less than the commercial rent in the nearest village, and secondly because the actual averages obtained in a few cases from farmers' labour books are higher than most of the estimates for the same district. In this connexion it is appropriate to observe that, when the earnings of rural and urban labourers are compared, the frequently excellent cottage and large garden occupied by the countryman rent-free should not be valued, as it usually is, at only 2*s.* a week or less, seeing that the two are really more valuable than the cramped dwelling without a garden, or only part of a house, which the townsman has commonly to put up with, at a rent of 4*s.* to 6*s.* a week.

To illustrate the differences in perquisites, payments in kind, and various extra earnings, the evidence given for two districts in the same report may be noticed. Out of six districts, situated in Hampshire, Sussex, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, the wages in the Basingstoke district of Hampshire are the lowest, and those of the Soar union of Nottinghamshire are the highest. In comparing average weekly earnings, the order is the same. The difference in perquisites is much less, as shown below :—

WORKMEN.	BASINGSTOKE.		SOUTHWELL.	
	Weekly Wages.	Average Weekly Earnings.	Weekly Wages.	Average Weekly Earnings.
Ordinary labourers .	11s. to 12s.	14s. to 16s.	15s.	16s. to 17s.
Horsemen . .	{ 13s. to 15s., with cottage }	16s. to 18s.	{ 16s. to 18s., with cottage }	18s. to 20s.
Stockmen . .	{ 13s. to 14s., with cottage }	15s. to 17s.	{ 15s. to 16s., with cottage }	17s. to 19s.
Shepherds . .	{ 13s. to 14s., with cottage }	16s. to 20s.	{ 16s. to 18s., with cottage }	19s. to 21s.

Here it will be noticed that, while the regular weekly wages of day labourers are 3s. to 4s. a week higher in the Southwell than in the Basingstoke district, the average weekly earnings, including the value of perquisites as well as extra receipts in harvest and hay-time and at piecework, are only 1s. to 2s. higher—comparing the two lower and the two higher extremes. The horsemen get 3s. more as ordinary wages in the Midland district than in the Southern one, but only 2s. more when all extras and payments in kind, including the cottage rent-free, are taken into account. The differences in stockmen's wages and average earnings are alike; but in the case of the shepherd, instead of getting 3s. to 4s. a week less than his fellow in Nottinghamshire, as the nominal weekly wages would indicate, the Hampshire man averages only 1s. to 3s. less.

This partial merging of differences may be explained with advantage, as the details may be taken as illustrative of those commonly pertaining to the North and South. In Hampshire the day labourers are said to be nearly always engaged in piecework during the summer, and to earn about 1*l.* extra in hay-time. Harvest earnings have been reduced by the general use of reaping machines, and appear to be about the same in the two counties for day labourers. In the Nottinghamshire district, on the other hand, there is very little piecework, and in hay-time it is not usual to pay extra except for overtime. Horsemen in Hampshire have 2*l.* to 3*l.* as Michaelmas money (their engagements being by the year, although they are not boarded), 2*d.* to 3*d.* an acre for cutting grass or corn with a machine, 1s. a day for beer money when carting hay or corn, firing worth 12s. to 20s., and journey money averaging 6*d.* a week all the year round in many cases, and sometimes more. It is only the 'waggoners' or head horsemen in Nottinghamshire

Nottinghamshire who can be well compared with the Hampshire men, as the rest are boarded men who have no extras, except beer in hay-time and harvest. Therefore the comparison is hardly fair to Hampshire, where under-horsemen are included in the reckoning. But even the waggoners in the Midland district do not in all cases get any extra money for hay-time and harvests, though many of them have 2*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.*; and the other extras earned by the Hampshire horsemen were not heard of in Nottinghamshire. The waggoners in the latter county frequently have skim milk, or occasionally a cow, provided for them; but it is usually, if not always, given as part-payment for boarding farm servants in their cottages. The profit from boarding these young men need not be estimated, because married horsemen in Hampshire also lodge and board single men. Lastly, shepherds in the southern county usually have 2*d.* or 3*d.* for every lamb reared, or 1*s.* for every lamb in excess of the number of ewes, and 12*s.* a year for the keep of a dog, payments not usual in the Southwell district. In both districts potato land is provided free of charge for men who require it.

A comparison of the English counties in which wages are respectively highest and lowest shows that the former are almost invariably those embracing mining or manufacturing industries, or contiguous to such counties. Omitting the two counties just mentioned, taking the districts visited to represent the counties of which they form parts (though there is some doubt as to the accuracy of such representation), and ranking in the first category all in which ordinary wages are 14*s.* or more, and in the second those in which the minimum is 10*s.* or 11*s.*, a comparison of the ordinary wages and average earnings of day labourers will be found in the Table on the next page.

All that can be said for this comparison is that it represents the counties referred to as the Labour Commission represents them. It has already been explained that the single district taken in each county (excepting Yorkshire) may not always indicate fairly the rates of wages in its county as a whole. For example, there is reason to believe that the average of wages in Suffolk is at least as low as it is in either Norfolk or Essex; but in the Suffolk union selected (Thingoe) the rate of wages given for ordinary labourers is 12*s.*, which places the county, as represented by its district, just outside the limit.

The case of Berkshire shows that nearness to a great city even to the greatest in the world, has much less effect on the wages of agricultural labourers than nearness to manufacturing factories has. Kent, compared with all three being within easy distance

HIGH-WAGES COUNTIES.			LOW-WAGES COUNTIES.		
COUNTIES.	Ordinary Wages.	Average Earnings.	COUNTIES.	Ordinary Wages.	Average Earnings.
Northumberland	{ 17s. and cottage }	20s. 3d.	Dorset . . .	10s.	14s. 6d.
Cumberland . .	{ 18s. and cottage }	{ 18s. 6d. to 23s. }	Wilts . . .	10s.	{ 12s. 6d. to 16s. }
Yorkshire . . .	15s. to 17s.	16s. to 18s.	Somerset . . .	10s. to 12s.	{ 11s. 6d. to 13s. 6d. }
Lancashire . . .	17s. to 20s.	{ 18s. to 21s. 2d. }	Berks . . .	10s. to 11s.	15s. to 16s.
Cheshire . . .	15s.	{ 16s. to 19s. 2d. }	Gloucester . .	10s. to 11s.	{ 12s. 8d. to 16s. }
Leicester . . .	15s.	15s. to 17s.	Hereford . . .	10s. to 12s.	{ 12s. to 17s. 4d. }
Derby . . .	{ 16s. and cottage }	{ 17s. 4d. to 20s. }	Warwick . . .	11s. to 12s.	14s.
Stafford . . .	15s. to 17s.	16s. to 18s.	Worcester . . .	11s. to 13s.	{ 12s. 6d. to 15s. }
Kent . . .	14s. to 15s.	15s. to 20s.	Essex . . .	11s. to 12s.	{ 13s. 6d. to 17s. 6d. }
Surrey . . .	15s.	15s. to 17s.	Norfolk . . .	11s. to 13s.	{ 13s. 6d. to 16s. 4d. }

the most striking example to be found in the country of the good effect of such agricultural industries as fruit and hop farming upon the earnings of the labourers. In the case of Surrey, the district taken (Godstone) is almost Metropolitan, and wages are affected by a considerable population of wealthy and well-to-do residents.

It is more difficult to compare the earnings of horsemen or stockmen, because in nearly all the high-wages counties they are boarded, and not in most of the low-wages counties. A large proportion of these farm servants, too, are mere lads, and it was hardly possible for the Assistant Commissioners to be certain that, in giving a range of money payments, they included only adults. But, generally speaking, the earnings of a horseman or stockman may be put at a shilling a week more than those of a day labourer. The earnings of shepherds are highest of all, when they have flocks of considerable size to attend to; but their takings vary so greatly, even in the same parish, that generalizations are quite uncertain. The range of their estimated average weekly earnings, taking extreme examples from the reports, is as great as from 12s. 8d. to 36s. 7d. The range for farm bailiffs would be still wider, possibly from 14s. to 80s.

Some examples of family earnings given in the reports show that

that the total receipts of a farm labourer's family in England, without including the wages of lads over sixteen, are often double those of the man alone. Reckoned on this basis, it is estimated that the money taken into many a farm labourer's cottage amounts to 100*l.* a year or more. A few estimates of much higher totals are given.

In Wales the question of earnings is complicated by the custom of supplying meals to men who do not live in the farm-houses, as well as to those who do. The valuation of the men's board varies so greatly, too, in different parts of the Principality that no confidence can be felt in some of the estimates of average earnings in the reports, which range from 10*s.* to 21*s.* a week. It is manifestly erroneous to put the average earnings of a man getting 7*s.* 6*d.* a week with board and a cottage rent-free at only 10*s.* a week, as the money and the cottage make up that amount, without anything for board. The comparatively few men in the several counties of Wales who have money alone are nowhere said to receive less than 12*s.*, and only in one district less than 14*s.* The ordinary range, without food, appears to be 14*s.* to 16*s.*, rising to 18*s.* in Glamorgan and Brecon.

In nearly all the districts visited the supply of cottages is said to be sufficient generally, though scarcity in two or three parishes is occasionally mentioned, and instances were met with in which most of the labourers employed in one parish have to live in an adjoining one. More commonly, however, owing to the building of new cottages and a decrease in the population, more or less empty cottages were found. One good result of this general abundance of cottages is that the sanitary authorities are not constrained to tolerate overcrowding, as they once were; and another is that many of the habitations unfit for human dwellings are deserted. In most of the districts the cottages are concentrated in villages, and apparently this is likely to be more and more the rule, as several of the Assistant Commissioners refer to the growing disinclination of the labourers or their wives to dwell in the outlying cottages on farms, although these are usually better, and have much larger gardens, than most of the dwellings in villages. For the men, and especially those who have to do with horses or other live stock, residence close to their work is a great advantage, and the neglect of it is the chief cause of men having to walk long distances to the place of their employment. The women, however, object to the loneliness of a cottage on a farm, where they have no neighbours; and

where they have young children, they find it a great advantage to be near the school.

As might have been expected, the condition of cottages was found to vary immensely. In every district some very bad ones were found, and in a few the majority are condemned as discreditable. But nearly everywhere a great improvement has taken place during the last twenty years, not only through the building of new and improved dwellings, but also owing to the action of the local authorities in compelling reluctant owners to keep their property in decent repair. This action might well be more general and stringent, as in all the reports there are descriptions of cottages in a disgraceful condition. All the Assistant Commissioners found the best cottages on the large estates and in the 'close' villages, and the worst in the 'open' villages, except where the owners of the former, in times past, allowed squatters to put up shanties on the waste by the roadside, which are usually the worst dwellings in a village. Mr. Wilkinson and others mention the fact that, in many places, the worst cottages are those owned by the parish.

Cottage rents are almost invariably low on the great estates, excellent new buildings being commonly let at the rate of 1s. 6d. or 2s. a week, and more rarely up to 2s. 6d., while for small cottages only 1s., or less, is frequently charged. In many villages, however, double these rents are often charged by small owners, some instances of rents as high as 4s. to 5s. a week being given. An examination of the district reports shows that rents, as a rule, are highest where wages are highest.

The sanitary condition of dwellings and villages is reported to have been vastly improved in recent years in nearly all parts of the country. Comparatively little, however, has been done to improve the water supply, which is insufficient or bad in a great number of parishes.

It is hardly necessary to say that, in all parts of the country, the majority of the cottages in the rural districts have gardens attached to them. Too many of the large villages, however, are so closely built that most of the gardens are extremely small, and not a few cottages have a mere scrap, and some none at all, nor even a back yard. Speaking generally, gardens are more plentiful and larger in the Southern than in the Northern half of England. In Wales good gardens are generally attached to the cottages of agricultural labourers.

With respect to allotments, the general verdict of the Assistant Commissioners to the effect that they are sufficient for

for the demand, clearly needs to be qualified in some cases by the addition of the words 'at the price'; for the details of the evidence include numerous complaints of the high rents of allotments, and especially those which are close to villages or country towns. It is equally clear, however, that there is no considerable demand for allotments in many parts of the country. Mr. Spencer mentions the fact that they are generally most numerous where wages are lowest, and Mr. Richards states that they are not required in the dairy districts. These statements indicate two of the reasons of the great difference found in the demand for allotments; but there are others also. It is true, as a rule, that most men who earn good wages do not care for allotments. In the greater part of the Glendale Union of Northumberland, for example, Mr. Fox says that allotments are unknown, and appear to be neither required nor desired, except by tradesmen. In the dairy districts, as Mr. Richards observes, the desire is for a small grass holding, rather than for an allotment; and the reason is obvious. The hours of work on dairy farms are usually long, and the men employed have no more time to spare than the cultivation of a small garden occupies. Again, in most of the dairy districts, and the high-wages districts too, the majority of the labourers are boarded by the farmers, and they have no need of allotments, nor time to cultivate them. The married men in these districts usually have potato ground free, and this is manured and ploughed for them, so that they obtain all the potatoes they require much more cheaply and with less exertion than they could by growing them in an allotment, while other vegetables can be produced in their gardens. On the other hand, a cow-plot can be managed by the wife of a cottager, with a little help from him in the evening, and this is found to be a very great advantage, especially when there is a large family of children. But it is true, nevertheless, that in many places the demand for allotments is kept down by high rents, and this brings to light a difficulty which it is not easy to overcome. On nearly all the great estates the Assistant Commissioners found sufficient allotments at moderate rents, except where they were quite close to large villages or towns. Now, experience proves that few men care for an allotment which is not within half a mile of their dwellings, and land close to a village of any considerable size is usually valuable as accommodation land. Therefore, as a rule, it is only by an act of generosity on the part of a landlord that allotments both near and cheap can be obtained by the inhabitants of a village. In very many cases this generosity is not lacking, while in others it could only be exercised at the
expense

expense of tenant-farmers, whose most valuable pastures are often close to villages. Only those who thoroughly understand the circumstances of farming realize the seriousness of taking from a farmer the pasture close to his homestead, or other valuable grass land which happens to be near a village. This lack of understanding is the only excuse for the apparent recklessness with which the majority of the House of Commons proposed to empower Parish Councils chosen by farm labourers, and possibly consisting partly or wholly of labourers, to take compulsorily any piece of land which they might fancy for allotments or small holdings, without any effectual check upon the grossest injustice. Nominally, the land was to be taken for allotments only; but as the limit of each plot extends to four acres, the term as an inclusive one is a misnomer. It is easy to imagine the whole of the pasture and a great deal of the arable land surrounding many villages being hired compulsorily for these four-acre holdings and allotments, thereby rendering thousands of farms unlettable, because of the severance from them of land essential to their profitable cultivation.

There is a great mass of evidence as to small holdings scattered through the reports, and it shows that the success or failure of those who farm them is dependent upon a great variety of circumstances. In many parts of the country they have been given up, more or less, where they were formerly numerous, and in others they have increased. If one lesson be taught more clearly than another in the evidence, it is that the wholesale extension of the small holdings system in this country would be disastrous. The only kind of small holding which appears to be almost invariably a success is a grass holding of fifteen to fifty acres in a cheese-making district. Generally three or four acres of grass can be held by a labourer with advantage, because the management does not hinder him from obtaining regular employment on a large farm; but if he cannot sell milk, his pecuniary advantage is not always of much account, as butter-making is barely profitable in remote country districts, and no one can make cheese to advantage on so small a holding. This explains why very small grass holdings have been given up in some districts. With respect to arable land, nothing is clearer than the difficulty of making small portions of it pay under an ordinary system of farming, and nearly everywhere it is found that occupiers of twenty acres or less have to work for wages, or otherwise to add to the returns of their little farms, unless they grow something more profitable than common farm crops. Occupiers of twenty to fifty acres, farming in the usual way, have, as a rule, a very hard struggle to make ends meet,

meet, except in the dairy districts; and where they succeed, it is often at the expense of their sons, who work at home without money wages for years after they might be earning their living independently, and even saving. With respect to fruit-growing and market-gardening on a small scale, it is shown that success is dependent upon soil, climate, or marketing facilities; and that even where conditions are favourable, there would be a serious risk of general failure if a great and sudden extension of these industries took place.

It is hardly necessary to qualify the preceding remarks upon small holdings and allotments by the statement that the 'personal equation' is of great importance. As in every other calling, there are exceptional men who command success in the cultivation of land in spite of unfavourable circumstances. It is commonly understood, however, that all generalizations upon this and kindred subjects apply to the common run of mankind.

Without exception, the six Assistant Commissioners for England testify to the effect that the great majority of the agricultural labourers, and nearly all the young men, belong to some benefit society, and mainly to one or other of the great registered societies. There are still too many of the little local clubs which are entirely untrustworthy; but they are rapidly dying out. Unfortunately, many of the old men were subscribers to clubs which have broken up, and now they are in no benefit society. In Wales subscription to a benefit society appears to be much less common than in England.

The question of old-age pensions has awakened a strong interest in many rural districts, and a few of the great benefit societies have taken it up; but, as a rule, the terms they are able to offer are not sufficiently tempting to induce many men or women to insure against destitution in old age. Too commonly outdoor relief is regarded as, and even styled, a pension; and as it costs the recipient nothing, it is a formidable competitor to the most liberal of pension schemes. Still, there is universal horror of 'the house,' and security against the possibility of being compelled to end their lives in it would be more highly valued by the rural labouring classes than any other boon which Parliament could present to them. All the best of the labourers, too, would rejoice to avail themselves of a cheap means of escaping the indignity of applying for outdoor relief in old age.

Trade unionism among farm labourers is almost non-existent in England or Wales. Vestiges of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union are to be found in a few counties; but it is only

only in the Eastern counties that there is a combination of the kind that is worth consideration. Even local strikes are mentioned in only two or three of the reports as having occurred in isolated districts.

It is obvious that the Assistant Commissioners were somewhat puzzled in coming to a conclusion as to the relations between employers and employed. While they were generally informed that those relations were friendly, they found it difficult to reconcile the glib statement with the grumbling to which they listened from either party. Nearly everywhere masters found fault with their men for being less efficient than in former times, and for showing less interest in their work; while the men complained of the farmers for not employing more labour, and for letting the land 'lay itself down in twitch,' as some of them expressed it. That the men are everywhere more independent than they used to be should not be accounted a fault, if it were not for the fact that ignorant persons are apt to assert their independence in a discourteous fashion. It would be strange indeed if, after having been preached to about their wrongs for many years by outsiders who know nothing of their actual circumstances, they had not become convinced that they have cause for discontent. Yet, in very many instances, labourers spoke well of their particular employers, and masters expressed a friendly feeling towards their men. Speaking generally, there appears to be a good deal of discontent on either side, without much actual hostility.

With respect to the general condition of the agricultural labourers there is no conflict of evidence whatever. That it is better than it ever was before, is the unanimous verdict in relation to the English districts. At least, this was the conclusion arrived at in 1892, and it still holds good, except where wages have been reduced since the summer of that year. Mr. Thomas expresses the same opinion with respect to the labourers in South Wales, and only ventures to tone it down in relation to North Wales by stating that perhaps the men in that part of the country were slightly better off about 1879. This view of the case was substantiated, not only by nearly every disinterested witness, but also by a great many of the labourers and their wives. In most districts the earnings of the men are a little smaller than they were in more prosperous times, when less machinery was employed; but, owing to the general fall in the prices of food and clothing, the purchasing power of the money received by the labourers is greater than it has been before within the memory of any living man.

It does not necessarily follow, as is commonly concluded,
that

that the agricultural labourers have not been injured by agricultural depression, because, before that conclusion would be warranted, it would be necessary to know what their condition would have been by this time if agriculture had remained prosperous. By means of migration, wages have been kept from falling, or had been so kept up until the autumn of 1892; but, supposing that farming had been as remunerative as it used to be, and that migration had nevertheless been considerable, a great advance in wages would have been inevitable. Whether, under such circumstances, the purchasing power of the labourers' earnings would have been greater or less than it is under existing conditions, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty.

Space does not permit us to deal with Scottish and Irish labourers. But through all the reports, whether they relate to England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, one important truth shines clearly forth: namely, that while landowners and farmers have been more or less impoverished or pinched by the long period of depression, the condition of their workmen has greatly improved. In many of those reports, too, it is distinctly stated, and in others it may be gathered from the evidence supplied, that, whether wages are high or low, they are quite as much as farmers can afford to pay under existing circumstances. It may be added that the reports for Great Britain prove that the agricultural labourer is much better off than he is commonly supposed to be, and that this is the case in some counties where the ordinary weekly wages are among the lowest. Wherever his average earnings exceed or reach a pound a week, his lot is a far more enviable one than that of the ordinary town mechanic or factory operative; and even where they are from 15*s.* to 18*s.* a week, it is in many respects superior to that of the unskilled town workman. His life is spent in the open air and among the beauties of nature, instead of in a stuffy or draughty workshop or a dusty factory; his dwelling is usually healthily situated, as compared with one placed in a stifling court or a squalid back street; his work is healthy and varied, while that of the townsman is often injurious and monotonous; and his food is as abundant as that of the town worker and more wholesome, although it may include fewer luxuries. It has been well said that the great want of the agricultural labourer is 'a career,' and it is true that his chance of rising to a higher social level is often small; but in many parts of the country the number of labourers who have become farmers is much greater than outsiders suppose, and the present tendency of acquiring land in small portions and gradually will increase the number of a

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large farmer are greater than they have been for a century or more. The great difficulty now is, not that of getting land, but that of making it pay; and while the able, thrifty, and industrious man still has a good chance of getting on in certain branches of agriculture or horticulture, there is a serious risk in the modern craze for creating farmers by Act of Parliament and setting them up in business on capital provided by the State. It is only they who are capable of rising by their own efforts for whom there is any assurance of success in the precarious undertaking of farming on a small scale, and no greater mistake could be made than that of creating a peasant-proprietary burdened with debt in such times as these.

As previously observed, the great lack of the agricultural labourer's lot is his want of security against pauperism in old age. In this respect he does not differ from the town workman in any marked degree, if at all; but his greater fixity of residence makes the evil in his case the more obvious. If this drawback to his life can be remedied, a bright future may reasonably be expected for him. Seeing that his condition has risen in spite of severe agricultural depression, it cannot fail to improve in much greater degree when prosperity once more returns, as it will return some day, to the oldest and most important of industries.

- ART. XI.—1. *Fragments of an Oration against Demosthenes respecting the Money of Harpalus*. Published [in facsimile] by A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, M.R.S.L. London, 1848.
2. *The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes respecting the Treasure of Harpalus*. The Fragments of the Greek Text, now first edited from the facsimile of the MS. discovered at Egyptian Thebes in 1847 . . . by Churchill Babington, M.A. London, Cambridge, and Oxford, 1850.
3. *The Orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and for Euxenippus*. Now first printed in facsimile, with a short account of the discovery of the original Manuscript at Western Thebes in Upper Egypt, in 1847, by Joseph Arden, F.S.A.: the Text edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington, M.A., F.L.S. Cambridge, 1853.
4. *The Funeral Oration of Hyperides over Leosthenes and his Comrades in the Lamian War*. The Fragments of the Greek Text now first edited from a Papyrus in the British Museum, with . . . an engraved facsimile of the whole Papyrus, by Churchill Babington, B.D., F.L.S. Cambridge and London, 1858.
5. *Hyperidis Orationes quattuor cum ceterarum fragmentis edidit Fridericus Blass*. Editio altera. Lipsiae, 1881.
6. *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum: II. Hyperides in Philippidem*. Edited by F. G. Kenyon, M.A. London, 1891.
7. *Corpus Papyrorum Ægypti*. Tome III. Papyrus Grecs du Louvre, etc., publiés par Eugène Revillout. 1er fasc. Le Plaidoyer d'Hypéride contre Athenogène. Paris, 1892.

ONE of the most curious chapters of Greek literary history is that which relates to the loss and recovery of the works of the Athenian orator Hyperides. In his own day he stood in the forefront of the great speakers in the golden age of Athenian eloquence, classed with Demosthenes and Æschines as we link the names of Pitt, Fox, and Burke. The critics of the Augustan age discuss his speeches and the characteristics of his style; the grammarians quote him as their authority for legal terms or strange phrases. Then he disappears in the obscurity which envelopes all Greek literature from the fifth century to the fifteenth; but, unlike all his great contemporaries, he disappears not to reappear again in the brilliant revival of which marks the beginning of modern scholarship. It was, so to speak, merely an accident that he was lost. We can lay our hands on at least two places where his works were extant to a comparative

manuscript was in the library of Matthew Corvinus, king of Hungary, at Buda-Pesth, and is stated by one who saw it to have been enriched with a full apparatus of notes; but the library fell into the hands of the Turks in 1526, and its contents became the prey of anyone who coveted a handsome binding or a handful of waste paper. In 1545 fragments of the orations of Hyperides were said to exist in the possession of Paul Bornemiza, bishop of Alba Julia, now Karlsburg, in Transylvania. What became of them is not known. They may have been a portion of the Buda manuscript, or that manuscript may have been utterly destroyed, or may even (but it is a faint hope) survive still in some unthought-of corner. On this hope we would build nothing; but it is tantalising to know that, at a period when the West had already awakened to the knowledge of Greek literature, the orations of Hyperides were extant, and yet have failed to come down to us. The knowledge of this fact gave scholars a sense that we had come very near possessing the works of this great orator; and this sense increased the disappointment that the speeches had in fact utterly disappeared, save for a few quotations on which minute scholars might busy themselves, but which were of no use to those who desired to read the complete works as literature.

Fifty years ago the hopes of scholars for the recovery of the lost works of antiquity were much lower than they are to-day. The search for palimpsests, promoted by the discovery of the lost text of the jurist Gaius in a palimpsest at Verona, had produced no other find at all equal to this in importance. The charred papyrus rolls from Herculaneum had led to little but disappointment. The monastic libraries of the East, where Tischendorf had already found a few leaves of the great uncial codex of the Greek Bible,—to be known, after the discovery of the whole, as the Codex Sinaiticus,—had produced, and have to this day produced, no important manuscript of a classical author. Yet scholars were on the brink of a new era of discovery, an era of which we are still, in all probability, only at the beginning. The tombs and buried houses of Egypt had already given up a considerable number of documents on papyrus, some reaching back as far as the second century before the Christian era; but until the year 1847 nothing of literary value had been found among them. Had, however, the possibility of such a discovery been realized, there were two authors whom most scholars would have named as those, the loss of whom was most surprising, and the recovery of whom might be held *most probable*. The first of these was Menander, the second
Hyperides.

Hyperides. For Menander we wait still; but Hyperides was the first-fruits of the new harvest.

The manner of the first recovery of this orator has been told more than once in the editions of Hyperides, but it will bear repeating; moreover, there are later amplifications of the story since the time of the first editors. In the spring of 1847 two English travellers, Mr. A. C. Harris and Mr. Joseph Arden, visited Egypt independently. Both had their eyes open for antiquities (to Mr. Harris, it may be mentioned, is also due the recovery of the two largest papyri of the Iliad), and both, in the course of their travels, reached Thebes. Here the principal antiquity-dealer was an Italian, named Castellari, who had constructed himself a dwelling on a portion of the roof of the temple at Luxor, and employed several of the Arabs to collect antiquities for him, which he sold to travellers at a considerable advance in price. Mr. Harris seems to have entered into communications with Castellari, Mr. Arden with the Arabs direct. The result was that Mr. Harris obtained some thirty-two fragments of a papyrus roll covered with a very neat and careful writing; while Mr. Arden, after much negotiation and many promises to keep the affair from coming to the ears of the Arabs' taskmaster, Castellari, secured no less than forty-nine columns in a perfect and continuous state, forming, as was subsequently discovered, the concluding portion of the roll to which Mr. Harris's fragments belonged.

Both travellers brought their purchases home, each ignorant of the achievement, possibly even of the existence, of the other. Mr. Harris was the more prompt in giving his treasure to the world, and in 1848 he published a facsimile of his fragments. The name of Hyperides does not appear on the title-page, but he is named as the probable author in the brief introductory note. The fragments mainly belonged to the speech against Demosthenes, but there were also a few passages which evidently came from a different work. The name of this second speech was only revealed when Mr. Arden published the portion of the roll which had fallen to him. This was in 1853, when Mr. Churchill Babington, who had already in 1850 edited the Harris fragments, issued, by the permission of Mr. Arden, an edition of the papyrus in the possession of the latter, accompanied by an excellent facsimile. The nature of the whole roll was now evident. It was a fine, well-written manuscript of very early date, probably before the beginning of the Christian era, and it had contained the speech against Demosthenes and the defences of Lycophron and Euxenippus. Of these the first, historically by far the most important, had survived only in fragments; of the

‘Lycophron’

'Lycophron' the beginning was fragmentary, but the last fourteen columns were preserved intact; while the 'Euxenippus' was complete from beginning to end and in excellent condition. The assignment of all three speeches to Hyperides was made on the ground of internal evidence, slight but sufficient, and was not disputed.

But the Arabs, when they parted with the greater portion of their spoil to Mr. Arden and Castellari, had kept a little 'up their sleeve.' Then, as now, there was a flourishing industry in Egypt connected with the manufacture of dummy papyrus-rolls. These, as many travellers know to their cost, are constructed of a number of scraps of worthless papyrus, neatly arranged so as to present at their ends the appearance of a genuine roll, glued together so that the purchaser cannot unroll a portion of them on the spot, and having a piece of a genuine manuscript fastened on the outside, with the air of being a portion of the contents of the roll accidentally displayed to view. The whole composition is then sold at prices varying with the credulity of the purchaser. To furnish the necessary stock-in-trade of genuine fragments several scraps of the Hyperides MS. were retained by the Arabs, and some of these have since come to light. Thirteen of them found their way to Paris and were published by Egger; among them one contained a portion of the title of the roll, giving the name of Hyperides. One came to London, and on it was found the table of contents, in the shape of the titles of the three speeches. These were published in 1868, twenty-one years after the discovery of the roll, which seems an extraordinary interval for such scraps to have survived. But this does not close the history of the great Hyperides roll. Only two years ago a dummy roll, which had been given to the headmaster of Rossall School by the father of a pupil, was sent to the British Museum to be examined, and was found to contain several fragments of this identical manuscript. Inquiry produced a second roll from the same quarter, and this too yielded some more scraps which could be attached to the fragments already extant. To crown the whole, a few months later a Cambridge undergraduate picked up a dummy roll for a few pence at a curiosity shop in London; and here again comparison with the rest of the MS. in the Museum showed that it contained three or four more fragments of its mutilated beginning. Much is still wanting, probably lost hopelessly, but the fate of this precious manuscript, buried perhaps before the Christian era, found and mutilated nearly fifty years ago, its fragments sold to several different purchasers, and now for the

the most part united again in our national collection, is certainly a curious episode in literary history.

Meanwhile the extant remains of Hyperides had received a notable addition from another source. In 1856 the Rev. H. Stobart bought a roll of papyrus from a dealer in Thebes, probably the same Castellari mentioned above. This, when examined, proved to have on one side of it the horoscope of an individual who was born, as the astronomical data showed, either in A.D. 95 or in A.D. 155; on the other side (and, as subsequent investigation has proved, written later than the horoscope) was the Funeral Oration spoken by Hyperides over his countrymen who had fallen in the Lamian war. The papyrus was imperfect at the end and had considerable *lacunæ*; moreover, it appeared to be only the work of a somewhat illiterate schoolboy, and abounded with mistakes in orthography and more serious blunders; but nevertheless it was a most important addition to the relics of the great orator. This oration, like its predecessors, was edited by Mr. Babington, in the year following its discovery.

Here the canon of Hyperides remained closed for many years, and it might have seemed unreasonable, when literary discoveries were, after all, rare occurrences, to expect that any more portions of this same author should come to light. The past two years have falsified this opinion in an agreeable manner. Among the important papyri which the British Museum has recently been fortunate enough to acquire is one (of very early date) which contains the conclusion of a speech against a certain Philippides, which is confidently assigned to Hyperides on the grounds both of the name of the defendant, against whom that orator is known to have composed an oration, and of internal style. This text was published, with others, in the course of 1891. Finally a papyrus, more important in some respects than any of these, has within the last few years found a home in the Louvre. The contents of this MS. are the speech against Athenogenes, one of the most famous efforts of Hyperides, as will be shown presently; and the MS. dates back to the second century before Christ. Its fortunate discoverer was M. Eugène Revillout, who bought it for the Louvre from a dealer in 1888. The discovery was announced in 1889, and a provisional text was published in magazine form in 1891; but the full edition (with an excellent facsimile, but without introduction or notes, and with a somewhat imperfectly restored text) did not reach the public until the beginning of the year 1893.

So Hyperides has come back to life, by a resurrection
from

from Egyptian tombs. The circumstances of his recovery give him a peculiar interest to English readers; for of the six orations now extant in whole or in part, five were first identified and given to the world by Englishmen, and the unique manuscripts of these five orations have found a home in our national Museum. Yet it may be doubted whether Hyperides is much read in England. Probably the mutilated condition of most of the speeches, which makes them hardly suitable for school or university purposes, accounts in a large measure for this neglect. Certainly the difficulty of the Greek is not to blame, since Hyperides ranks among the easiest of classical writers. The 'Euxenippus,' which does not labour under the disadvantage of mutilation, should make an excellent text-book for forms a little below the highest in our public schools, while the other speeches might furnish masters with useful passages for unseen translation. But it is not as grist for the educational machine (except so far as it is only through that machine that most of us become acquainted with the masterpieces of Greek literature) that we wish to treat of Hyperides, but as literature. We have enough of his works now, especially since the recovery of the speech against Athenogenes, to enable us to form our own judgment of their characteristics, and to test for ourselves the opinions expressed about them by the chief critics of antiquity.

On the biography of Hyperides, as on the political history of his time, in which he was so deeply concerned, the speeches cast little light. The date of his birth has been ascertained, curiously enough, from another recently recovered work, the treatise of Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution. It was already known from an inscription that he served the office of public arbitrator (*διαιτητής*) in the year 329 B.C. Now Aristotle tells us that every citizen held this post during his sixtieth year, immediately after ceasing to be liable for military service. It follows that Hyperides was born in the year 389 B.C., and was consequently senior by seven years to his great contemporary, Demosthenes. Of his private life and character, perhaps the less said the better. He was a notorious pleasure-seeker, much addicted to sensual enjoyments of all kinds. The comedians of his own day bantered him on his excessive devotion to his dinner, and especially to fish. He is also said to have been fond of 'shaking an elbow,' as our grandfathers termed the intellectual pursuit of dicing. Later scandal attributed to him the maintenance of separate establishments in Athens, Piræus, and Eleusis, like the traditional sailor with a wife in every port. Certain it is that the list of his speeches
shows

shows him to have been the favourite advocate of the *demi-monde*, presumably on the same principle by which we find certain barristers commonly employed in all cases that have to do with horse-racing. But the private life of a man, in whom our sole interest is derived from his literary works and his share in political history, is the least of our concerns with him. It is as the colleague of Demosthenes in the struggle against Philip, the upholder of that cause when even Demosthenes seemed to fall away, and as the author of some six speeches ranking among the products of classical Greek literature, that he interests us across these twenty-two centuries.

To tell the whole story of the life of Hyperides would be to repeat the history of Athens during the two middle quarters of the fourth century B.C. Even so it would not form a satisfactory biography; for we know too little of the part played by him in the successive stages of the history, and it is, moreover, clear enough that his part was seldom a leading one. Until the last years of his life he is quite overshadowed by Demosthenes. Without entering into a comparison of the two as orators, it is certain that Hyperides was never a commanding statesman, as was Demosthenes. It is observable that of all the seventy-one speeches* of which some record or fragment has come down to us, only three or four can have been delivered in the Athenian Assembly; and there is no evidence that even all of these were ever published. This does not imply that he spoke seldom in the Assembly, but it does show that he did not consider his speeches of sufficient importance to deserve separate publication. There is nothing in his works to set beside the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* of Demosthenes. No doubt many of his forensic speeches were delivered in cases which were as purely political as was the prosecution of Ctesiphon by Æschines—indeed, two of the extant six were so; but it remains evident that the place in which Hyperides shone was the law-court, not the Assembly. He began his public career, as so many other aspiring young men in Athens and Rome began theirs, by prosecuting some of the more conspicuous among his political opponents. In his defence of Euxenippus he boasts that he has always flown at high game. The men whom he has prosecuted, he says, have never been mere private individuals, but such as Aristophon, 'the most powerful man at that time engaged in politics';

* As enumerated in Blass's edition in the Teubner series, which is much the best and most convenient edition of the four first-discovered speeches, and the only one which gives all the extant fragments. Mr. Churchill Babington's editions, which have the great advantage of including facsimiles of the original MSS., are now generally inaccessible.

Diopethes, 'the cleverest man in the city'; or Philocrates, 'the most daring and unscrupulous of politicians.' It is this last-mentioned case which first brings the political views of Hyperides strongly before us. When Philocrates, as representing the Macedonian party, had persuaded the Athenian Assembly in 346 B.C. to accept the discreditable peace which bears his name—a peace which left Philip free to pursue his own schemes of aggrandizement, while it bound Athens to leave their allies, the Phocians, at his mercy—a strong reaction was not long in setting in against the policy and its authors. Demosthenes himself had to use his influence to prevent the peace being repudiated at a moment peculiarly unfavourable to Athens; and when Hyperides seized the opportunity to prosecute Philocrates for his corrupt subservience to Philip, the defendant fled from Athens without waiting to stand his trial.

Shortly after this success Hyperides achieved a very marked personal triumph over the great orator of the opposite party, Æschines. The latter had been selected by the Assembly to represent Athens in a suit concerning the custody of the temple at Delos, which had been laid by the Delians before the Amphictyonic Council. The Council of Areopagus, however, in virtue of the undefined power of general supervision which had belonged to it far back in the days before Ephialtes and had been partially revived during the fourth century, struck out the name of Æschines and substituted that of Hyperides. That this could be done without effective protest from the Assembly, shows that the step was not generally disapproved. The original appointment of Æschines was probably due, not to any affection for him, but to the belief that his advocacy would have special weight with Philip, whose vote might be expected to carry with it that of the whole Council. Hyperides had the additional satisfaction of showing that this anticipation was unnecessary. We find the Delian temple under the control of Athens a few years later, and can therefore safely assume that the arguments of Hyperides were successful.

External embassies were, it appears, one of the orator's strong points. Among his speeches of which we know the titles we find orations addressed to the Thasians, the Cythnians, the Plataeans, the Rhodians, and the Chians, in addition to this on the subject of Delos. Some of these speeches probably fall into the period just reached, when preparations were being made at Athens to renew the struggle against Philip. The 'sweet reasonableness' which is characteristic of Hyperides probably made him a most effective advocate in persuading States, possibly reluctant, probably suspicious, to join in an effort for the
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common good. With the direct conduct of his party's policy he, so far as we know, had nothing to do. It was Demosthenes who constantly moved the Athenians to action against Philip, and who, when these aggressions led to a direct demand for satisfaction, persuaded the Assembly to accept the challenge to war. When war broke out, it was Demosthenes who formed alliances with Byzantium, Chalcis, Corinth and Acarnania, and prepared the way for the humiliation inflicted upon Philip by his failure before Byzantium. And when, in 339 B.C., Philip made his famous pounce upon Elateia, it was Demosthenes who alone had a word of counsel and encouragement for the panic-stricken Assembly. Hyperides only appears when the Theban alliance had been secured, and the first delusive successes of the campaign had been won; and then it is merely to propose the vote of a crown of honour to his great leader. The crown was granted, but its splendour was dimmed by the quickly-following disaster of Chæroneia.

Hyperides was never wanting in courage at a time of danger, and during the panic which followed the news of the defeat he stands out conspicuous as a leader who was not afraid to act. It was on his proposal that the first measures were taken (under the direction of the Council of Five Hundred, the central executive body at Athens) to place the city in a condition of defence; and on his proposal also the slaves were enfranchised, foreign residents were admitted as citizens, and all citizens who had forfeited their civic rights for any offence were restored to their full privilege. These measures were palpably unconstitutional, and when the crisis was past one of the leaders of the Macedonian party prosecuted the orator for his illegal propositions. Hyperides, however, made a true and unanswerable defence when he replied that the real author of the proposal was not himself but the battle of Chæroneia: the arms of Macedon, he said in a famous passage, had blinded his eyes. The defence was successful, as it deserved to be; for unquestionably the bold front shown by Athens after the defeat had much to do with the very moderate terms of peace proposed by Philip, and for this bold front Hyperides was largely responsible.

Indeed it is from the moment when things began to go badly with Athens that Hyperides begins to take the lead. While the life of Demosthenes is identified with the long struggle against Philip, and has, after the defeat of Chæroneia, little that is worth dwelling on except the speech on the Crown, which is itself only the splendid epilogue to his earlier career, the energies of his elder colleague only came into special prominence during this later period of disaster and fruitless effort. Demo-

sthenes seems to have lost heart with the failure of his hopes, and after Chæroneia his action becomes tame and irresolute. Hyperides, on the other hand, continued as ardent as ever in the cause. The first of his extant political speeches, the recently recovered oration against Philippides, is an evidence of this, and gives us a record of some incidents not previously known. At some time subsequent to the battle of Chæroneia, the Athenian Assembly was compelled to pass a vote in honour of Philip. There were certain informalities in the proposal, in spite of which the committee of *proëdri*, which discharged the office of President or Speaker in the Assembly, allowed the motion to be put to the vote. A somewhat obscure philo-Macedonian politician, Philippides, thereupon carried his subservience to the somewhat absurd length of proposing a crown of honour for the *proëdri* in recognition of their action on this occasion. Hyperides seized the opportunity and prosecuted Philippides for moving an illegal resolution. His case was a simple one, and with his characteristic lucidity he lays the issue before the Court in his summing up, which is almost the only part of the speech which has been preserved intact.

‘You are about to give your vote, gentlemen, on a prosecution for moving an illegal resolution. The resolution which is the subject of censure is a vote of thanks to the *proëdri*. That it is the duty of the *proëdri* to execute their office in accordance with the law, and that these have executed it in defiance of the law, this you have heard from the laws themselves which have been read to you. The matter now rests in your hands. . . . They cannot plead that the Assembly passed the votes of honour under compulsion; for there certainly was no compulsion to give crowns to the *proëdri*! Besides, the defendant has made the matter perfectly simple, by stating in his resolution the grounds on which he proposed to crown them, namely, for their honest service to the State, and because they had discharged their duties in accordance with the law!’

The issue of the case is not recorded, but, considering the temper of the Athenian people just after the death of Philip, when it came on for trial, it is more than probable that Hyperides gained his point, and inflicted the desired check on the partisans of Macedon.

For some twelve years after this event we hear little of Athenian politics; but then came an occurrence which roused them to the wildest excitement, and led to a temporary rending of parties in which both Demosthenes and Hyperides were deeply involved. This was the celebrated affair of the money of Harpalus. Its course may be briefly outlined, since it is necessary for an understanding of the second among the extant political

political speeches of Hyperides, the prosecution of Demosthenes. Harpalus had been appointed by Alexander satrap of Babylonia and Syria, and during the king's absence in the further East he had squandered the revenues of his province in lavish magnificence. When, therefore, Alexander returned towards Babylon and began to take account of his various deputies, Harpalus thought it safest to retire while there was yet time, with such wealth as he could lay hands on. He had already cultivated friendly relations with Athens, and to Athens consequently he fled, carrying with him a sum of several hundred talents and five thousand mercenaries. His arrival caused great uneasiness to the leading men of both parties. They did not know what, with so large a military force, his ultimate designs might be. Many of them did not wish to offend Alexander. To remove their suspicions, he sent away his troops and ships, and was then allowed to enter Athens and advocate his schemes of resistance to Alexander. Hyperides supported him; Demosthenes, joining with the pro-Macedonian party, as he had once before done (after the peace of Philocrates) on grounds of prudence, opposed him steadily. The controversy became acute when Antipater was sent, in the name of Alexander, to demand the surrender of the fugitive. Neither party wished to give up a refugee; but the fear of war with Alexander was brought vividly before them. Therefore Demosthenes proposed that Harpalus should be arrested and detained until the precise charges made by Alexander should have been stated, and that his money should be sequestered and kept in the Acropolis. This resolution was passed, though opposed by Hyperides and the extreme anti-Macedonians. Harpalus was arrested, and, as was probably intended from the first, allowed to escape, leaving his money behind him.

Here the trouble begins for Demosthenes. During a sitting of the Assembly, Harpalus, in reply to a question put at the instigation of Demosthenes, stated that the total value of his treasure was 700 talents; but when the money came to be counted in the Acropolis, it was found to amount only to half that sum. Whether Harpalus was exaggerating, or referring to what he had originally brought with him, or whether some of it had really been embezzled, we have no means of judging; but it is certain that suspicions of the wildest kind began to fly abroad, and were especially directed against Demosthenes. We have recently seen a similar epidemic of rumours of universal corruption in a neighbouring country; and it may help us to realize the state of Athens at this period. To allay the excite-

ment, Demosthenes proposed a special inquiry by the Court of Areopagus. The inquiry was held, and resulted in the production of a schedule of persons who had received 'gratifications'; and among these appeared the name of Demosthenes, as the recipient of twenty talents. As the most prominent 'suspect,' he was the first to be put on his trial, and the board of accusers appointed by the Assembly to conduct the case against him included Hyperides. Of the speech delivered by the latter we now possess considerable remains; but the fragments are rarely continuous, and do not enable us to form a certain opinion either of the guilt of Demosthenes or of the line of policy adopted by his accuser. Mr. Grote takes a strong view of the innocence of Demosthenes and disparages the honesty of Hyperides. In the former opinion he may be right, but much depends on the question whether the investigation by the Areopagus was fairly conducted or not; and in any case there is no good ground for condemning Hyperides. He had been forced into the strongest opposition to his former leader by the line of submission to Macedonia which the latter had adopted. He believed that an admirable opportunity had been lost; that the money and mercenaries of Harpalus would have furnished an army capable of meeting even the conqueror of Persia, and that the Oriental peoples would have been glad to join hands with them. If the inquiry by the Areopagus was genuine (and we have no real evidence that it was not), it provided him with the explanation of this remarkable change of policy since the old days before Chæroneia; and as Pym denounced Wentworth, so Hyperides may have turned upon Demosthenes, believing him to have corruptly abandoned the cause for which they had formerly fought side by side.

In the speech itself, so far as it is preserved to us, there is nothing discreditable to the speaker. His words are bitter, his reproaches painful to read when we remember the career of the accused, but there is nothing that goes beyond the duty of an advocate, or to show that he took pleasure in the fall of his great associate. And it must be borne in mind that Hyperides was the elder man of the two, and had, as much as Demosthenes, devoted his whole political life to the struggle against Macedon. There was consequently nothing unbecoming, nothing ungenerous, in his appearing as the accuser of the man who, as he thought, had turned his back on the professions of a lifetime, and was placing his remaining energies at the service of a party hostile to the best interests of his country. Demosthenes had appealed to their comradeship of former days. The answer of *Hyperides* is dignified enough:—

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‘And have you the heart to refer to our friendship? . . . That friendship you dissolved by your own act, when you took gold to betray your country. You turned your back on your former self; you made yourself a laughing-stock to all men; you brought shame on those who, in days gone by, had chosen the same course as yourself. We might, you and I, have passed the remainder of our days encompassed by the halo of the people’s love, and attended by the splendour of a great reputation. All this you have scattered to the winds. You think it no shame to stand, a grey-beard among boys, to be tried on a charge of receiving bribes. How different it should have been! The younger orators should have looked up to you as their master, and when they did aught amiss they should have received from you rebuke and chastisement. But now it is the young men who teach the veterans honesty. Yes, gentlemen, you do well to be angry with Demosthenes, who, having received from you great glory and much wealth, now, on the threshold of old age, cares no more for his country.’

It is possible, no doubt, that there was never any strong personal sympathy between Demosthenes and Hyperides. They held the same views in politics, but in private life it is easy to believe that they had little in common. Indeed, in a fragment of this speech preserved by Athenæus, Hyperides scoffs at the strait-laced puritanism of the great orator: ‘Why, he would look grieved if a man mixed his wine a little strongly;’ and there can be little doubt that Hyperides himself was conscious of having occasioned this disapprobation more than once. But to admit that the two anti-Macedonian leaders may not have been sympathetic in their social intercourse is very different from accusing one of them of seizing the first opportunity to compass the fall of the other. Demosthenes may have been innocent, but there is no evidence that Hyperides knew him to be so, and his speech for the prosecution has none of the vulgar abuse which disfigures the oration composed by Deinarchus and delivered on the same occasion by another of the ten accusers.

Demosthenes was convicted and left Athens, being unable to pay the heavy fine imposed upon him. But his time of exile was not long. Nine months after his conviction, in the summer of the year 323 B.C., came the astounding news that Alexander had died at Babylon. The conqueror of the world, only thirty-three years of age, was gone, and had left no direct successor to his throne. It is no wonder that Hyperides, who had been anxious for revolt even while Alexander had lived, was foremost in the general rising which followed his death. Athens was up in arms at once; the mercenaries of Harpalus, led by the Athenian Leosthenes, marched through all Gr

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gathering strength at every step; and the envoys of Athens, with Hyperides himself at their head, visited the doubtful cities and won allies by their eloquence for the cause of Hellenic freedom. Demosthenes joined heartily in their persuasions, and for his reward was welcomed with enthusiasm back to Athens. Leosthenes, marching down from Thermopylæ, defeated the Macedonizing Bœotians; then, joining hands with the Athenian and Ætolian forces, retraced his steps and won a brilliant victory over Antipater, cutting off his retreat and compelling him to shut himself up in the fortress of Lamia to stand a siege. So far all had gone excellently well; but one of the chances of war here struck the Greeks a blow which possibly changed the whole course of the war. Leosthenes, who had proved himself a capable and vigorous commander, was killed by a chance shot in the trenches before Lamia, and with his death all strength and harmony departed from the counsels of the allies. Antipater, who was sent from Athens to succeed him, was unable to press the siege to a conclusion before the arrival of Leonnatus from Asia compelled him to abandon the investment. He did, indeed, gain a victory over the relieving force, in which Leonnatus was killed; but meanwhile Antipater had escaped from Lamia and was able to renew the war on a more favourable footing.

In the autumn of this year, perhaps before the termination of the siege, the usual ceremonial, familiar at least since the days of the Peloponnesian war, was held over the remains of the Athenians who had fallen during the campaign; and it was natural that Hyperides, the statesman who had taken the lead in promoting the war, should be chosen to pronounce their eulogy. The greater part of his speech has been preserved to us by the chance, described above, which selected this work as the task to be copied by a schoolboy in Egypt some seventeen centuries ago. The speech seems to have been well known in antiquity, and Stobæus quotes a large portion of the peroration, —very fortunately for us, since the papyrus is defective in this part. But on the whole it is disappointing. The somewhat stereotyped form of the funeral eulogy hampered the genius of the orator. The usual topics are passed in review,—the bravery and patriotism of the fallen, the benefits which they have won for their country, and the comforting thoughts which may assuage the grief of those who have lost friends or relatives. Leosthenes is praised at great length, not undeservedly; but the comparison of him with the Homeric heroes and the great leaders of the Persian wars is rhetorical and overstrained. Pericles or Demosthenes would hardly have failed to turn the
occasion

occasion to practical account, by dwelling on the great issues still at stake. The war was going favourably for Hellas. A tone of hope and exultation would have been allowable, and the stately flow of retrospective commonplaces might have been quickened by an appeal to carry on the work which Leosthenes and his dead comrades had left unfinished. Yet the speech has fine passages, and the orator rises to a higher elevation as he approaches the end of his task.

‘Oh splendid and marvellous daring that was wrought by these heroes! How glorious, how magnificent the ideal which they held before them! How overflowing the valour and the courage in time of peril which these lavished for the common freedom of Hellas! . . . If death is to become as though one had never been, at least they have passed from sickness and pain and all the ills to which mortal flesh is heir; but if there is consciousness in the other world, and God takes thought of men (and this we hold to be the truth), then surely none will receive more tender care from him than they who saved his worship from the overthrow with which it was threatened.’

These words were the last contribution of the great orator to Greek literature; for the overthrow of which he spoke was close at hand. The spring of 322 B.C. saw Antipater largely reinforced by troops returning from Asia, and the campaign of that year extinguished the last hopes of Grecian independence. The centrifugal tendencies so characteristic of Greek peoples quickly showed themselves, and the autumn found Athens, deserted by all her allies, at the feet of the conqueror. For the leaders who had planned this abortive rising the end was certain. The surrender of Demosthenes and Hyperides was demanded, and their flight from Athens hardly delayed their fate. Demosthenes, when tracked to Calauria by one of the many agents who scoured Greece on behalf of Antipater, escaped arrest by poison. Hyperides, less happy, was taken in Ægina, carried to Cleonæ, and there executed,—according to a story of doubtful authority and which one would be glad not to believe, with torture. With the death of the two great orators the free speech of Athens died for ever; and it is a curious coincidence that the same year saw the death of the greatest thinker of Greece, honoured in Athens though not born in her. In 322 B.C. died not only Demosthenes and Hyperides, but also Aristotle. The tongue of Greece was silent, and her brain was still.

To Hyperides as a politician we cannot attribute great prudence or profound statesmanship; courage we may, and energy, and incorruptibility. But it was not as a statesman that he achieved most success. His greatest triumphs were

won as a forensic orator. Like Cicero, he was the most successful advocate of his day in the law-courts; like Cicero, too, after holding a secondary place in politics through the greater part of his life, he spent his last energies in heading a brilliant but hopeless struggle against the power of a despot. As a politician he was overshadowed by Demosthenes; but in the lighter work of the ordinary lawsuit he could more than hold his own with his great rival. Demosthenes, dealing with a case which required light handling, was like a sledge-hammer cracking a nut. The concentrated energy and tragic solemnity of his oratorical style were wasted in treating of the common intrigues and rascalities of daily life. Here the more versatile Hyperides often outstripped him. He could adapt himself more readily to the sentiments of the jurors; he could joke and trifle with them till they were in a good temper; he could slide delicately over the weak parts of his case, and finally persuade them that reason and common sense were all on his side. He never overstrains his case. A complete 'man of the world,' in the common usage of that term, he was better fitted than the more secluded and serious Demosthenes to deal with the little human failings and weaknesses which play so large a part in the dramas of the law-court. His especial field of distinction seems to have been the social *cause célèbre*. Here he was the natural resort of folly or frailty which had got into trouble. Longinus names two speeches in which his particular genius was most conspicuously evident, the defence of Phryne and the prosecution of Athenogenes. In both it is evident that he had a weak case; in both success had to be won by stealing rather than forcing a verdict from the jurors. The anecdote connected with the defence of Phryne is well known; how, when he felt that all his artifice had failed to win the good-will of the jurors, he suddenly bade his client display the unveiled charm of her beauty, and then, taking advantage of the sympathy thus created, carried his advocacy to a triumphant conclusion. Of the speech against Athenogenes we are now, since M. Revillout's fortunate discovery, able to judge for ourselves; but since it is the latest in date of his surviving speeches, it will be better to reserve the discussion of it until its predecessors have been described.

Three of the non-political forensic speeches of Hyperides are now extant,—the defences of Lycophron and Euxenippus, and the prosecution of Athenogenes. Of these the earliest in date is the speech on behalf of Lycophron; but it is so imperfect as to be of little value in forming an idea of its author's genius. A few sentences from the exordium and the last fourteen columns
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(forming perhaps about a third of the whole) are all that are left to us; and the part lost includes the whole narrative of the circumstances of the case. The speech is in the first person, and consequently was not delivered by Hyperides himself, but was written by him for the use of the defendant. The charge was one of adultery, but the exact story is not clear; and the speech in its present state contains little of value or interest except a few details concerning Athenian marriage processions and the curious boast of the defendant, which he puts forward as a proof of his general respectability of character, that he continually kept a stud of horses beyond the resources of his income.

The defence of Euxenippus is a much more valuable and interesting composition. In the first place, it alone among the extant speeches of Hyperides is absolutely perfect. In addition, the case itself is of a curious character. It had happened that some land at Oropus fell to be divided among the tribes, each receiving a portion by lot. Subsequently to the division the objection was raised that a certain hill, which had fallen to the lot of the tribes Acamantis and Hippothoöntis, had been consecrated to the hero Amphiaraüs, and consequently could not be used for profane purposes. The method employed to solve the doubt is remarkable. Three citizens, of whom Euxenippus was one, were appointed by the Assembly to sleep in the temple (of Amphiaraüs, presumably), in order that the hero might himself reveal the truth to them in a dream. The device was only partly successful. Euxenippus stated that he had dreamed a dream, the purport of which was doubtful. Thereupon Polyuctus (the plaintiff in the present trial), interpreting the decision as adverse to the two tribes, moved that the land should be taken from them. This proposal was, however, attacked as being illegal; and Polyuctus, being brought to trial, was condemned and sentenced to a small fine. In revenge for this rebuff, Polyuctus now declared that Euxenippus had been bribed to give a false version of his dream, and brought a solemn process of impeachment against him. On this charge Hyperides appeared as advocate for the defence. On this occasion he speaks in his own person, but he was not the only nor the first speaker on the same side. He begins abruptly, almost conversationally, taking up the thread which a previous speaker had let fall; and he concludes by calling on his client, an old man little versed in public affairs, to make his personal appeal to the jurors, and (as was customary) to produce his children before them so as to arouse their pity. He inveighs against the absurdity of applying such

a solemn procedure as that of impeachment, which formerly used to be reserved for great crimes against the public weal, to so petty a case as this. He summarises the facts of the case, and he refers to some extraneous charges which the plaintiff had brought against Euxenippus; but for the most part he is engaged in exciting odium against Polyeuctus, both for his behaviour in the present case and for his conduct in past times. The speech is short and somewhat slight in texture, but it is animated and ingenious in argument, simple and easy in style. Incidentally it throws interesting light on Athenian manners and beliefs, and for students of legal procedure at Athens it is especially valuable as containing the text, with comments, of the law of *eisangelia* or impeachment.

Valuable the defence of Euxenippus certainly is; but it may be objected that it still is not an adequate representation of Hyperides' forensic genius. It is slight, and deals with a part only of the case; and as it is never quoted by ancient authors, it can hardly have been considered one of his best efforts. These objections cannot be brought against the speech composed for the prosecution of Athenogenes. It has been noticed above that this is one of the speeches which Longinus, in comparing Hyperides with Demosthenes, selects as pre-eminent examples of the style in which the former was most successful. Further, it was the principal speech on its own side, perhaps the only one except the reply to the defendant's case, also written by Hyperides, but now no longer extant, and it contains admirable specimens of the orator's manner both in narrative and in argument. The subject-matter of the case is slight enough. A young, country-bred Athenian wished to obtain possession of a boy-slave, the property of an Egyptian-born resident in Athens, named Athenogenes. The boy's father, Midas, managed a perfumery belonging to the same master. The plaintiff, whose name is not preserved, first proposed to purchase the boy's liberty. To this Athenogenes demurred, saying that if he took the boy he must take also his brother and his father. At the same time he employed a woman named Antigona—of whose past history Hyperides says unpleasant things—to act as go-between and excite the young man's anxiety for the purchase. Her wiles were successful. After some negotiation the plaintiff agreed to purchase the liberty of Midas and both his sons, and the bargain was on the point of being struck when Athenogenes, as though by an afterthought, and with the air of one conferring a favour, proposed that the plaintiff, instead of paying a sum for their freedom, should buy them outright as his own property, whereby he would have them
more

more in his own power, to do with them as he chose. It was true that the purchase of Midas would carry with it the liabilities of the perfumery which he managed; but these, according to Athenogenes, were small, and would be more than covered by the value of the stock. The plaintiff, anxious to conclude his bargain, accepted this proposal without reflection or inquiry, and Athenogenes promptly had the agreement sealed, signed, and witnessed in full and proper form. In a very short time the trap was discovered. The liabilities on the perfumery turned out to be enormously in excess of the value of the stock: Athenogenes had, in fact, played upon the plaintiff's desires in order to relieve himself of the burden of a failing business. The unfortunate plaintiff found himself on the verge of ruin; and, as his only resource, he brought an action against Athenogenes for fraud. Unfortunately, Athenian law was perfectly clear on the point that an agreement concluded in due form must be held valid; no exception was recognized on the ground of fraudulent misrepresentation. The plaintiff's advocate had consequently a hard task: he had not only to expose the fraud of which the defendant had been guilty, but he must also contrive such a colour of law as to justify the jurors in giving him a verdict.

Hyperides fulfilled his duty admirably. The narrative of events is excellently lucid, and perfectly suited, in tone and in substance, to the young man in whose mouth it is put. At the end of it it is impossible to doubt that his innocent simplicity has been grossly outraged by the fraudulent artifices of Athenogenes and his decoy, Antigona. Then he refers to the law, which Athenogenes is certain to quote, but counters it by the citation of analogies from other classes of cases, in which misrepresentation or concealment was held to nullify a contract. That they are only analogies is evident; but they serve to provide the speaker with grounds for enlarging on the enormity of Athenogenes' fraud, under cover of which he escapes from the legal aspect of the case. He is then free to devote himself to a comprehensive attack on the general character of his opponent, especially on his public acts, which are represented to have been of a most unpatriotic and even treacherous nature. With this denunciation the speech closes, certainly leaving behind it the impression that, whatever the strict letter of the law might be, Athenogenes was very little likely to escape condemnation.

It may be said that six speeches, five of which are imperfect and all comparatively short, are an insufficient basis on which to form a sound judgment of an orator's genius. But, in addition to the fact that these six speeches include specimens of several
different

different classes of oratory, we have other material by which to check our conclusions. The ancient critics, notably Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Longinus (or whoever was the author of the treatise 'On the Sublime'), have left us estimates of Hyperides which enable us to understand the view held of him by competent judges who had all his works before them. Some of his characteristics we learn only from them. Of his humour, for instance, on which Longinus lays much stress, little or no direct evidence has come down to us. But, on the whole, the judgment of antiquity is confirmed by his extant works. His style is simple, direct, and natural. His narrative is excellent, and his argumentation clear. He is not an exponent of the great style in oratory; the only speech now extant in which he attempts a lofty eloquence is the Funeral Oration, and in this, though he is stately and dignified, he is not so impressive as a stronger man would have been. The thunders and lightnings of Demosthenes were alien to his temperament. He has not the grip and fire which made his great contemporary so terrible an adversary. He does not overwhelm his opponent with indignant eloquence, nor force a verdict from the jurors by vehemence and righteous wrath, but rather wins it from them by apparent simplicity. He makes it appear the most natural thing in the world to take his view of the circumstances connected with the case. In the arrangement of his speeches he was not held by the ancients to excel. Whether from lack of power or of industry, he had not the wonderful art of intertwining argument with rhetoric which is part of the secret of Demosthenes' success. Analyse the 'De Corona,' and it will be found that persuasion and denunciation, logic and rhetoric, alternate throughout the speech, so that the heads and the hearts of the hearers are alike appealed to, neither being overtired while both are convinced. The art of Hyperides is simpler. Narrative, legal argument, appeals to pity or prejudice, are separated from one another. To each is assigned its own distinct part of the oration; but the shortness of the speeches saves this simplicity from being wearisome. In language, too, Hyperides is not of the strictest or most artistic sect. A tradition, not necessarily to be believed, represents him as having been a pupil of Isocrates; but he has little trace of the Isocratean manner. He disregards the rule against hiatus, frequently allowing a word beginning with a vowel to follow a vowel ending; a cacophony strictly forbidden by the great rhetorician. His vocabulary was censured as incorrect, admitting strange words and formations which were rejected by severer purists. In short, his style *inclined* to the natural and colloquial, rather than to the rhetorical

rical and artistic on the one hand, or the sublime and eloquent on the other.

It must not be supposed, however, that Hyperides was without art. He is not the splendid improviser, like Æschines, even if his orations run no danger of being accused, like those of Demosthenes, of smelling of the lamp. He has plenty of art, but it is the art which simulates natural simplicity. His style is the style of Lysias, become more artistic and self-conscious. Lysias is a plain man telling a plain tale; Hyperides is a clever man, who has cultivated lucidity till it has become natural to him. We have no exact parallel to him in the English language. For Lysias and for Isocrates we might name rivals; but we should find a nearer resemblance to Hyperides among the best writers of French prose. The art which has achieved complete lucidity may not be the strongest kind of writing, but it is a high gift and rarely attained. Indeed, without art of an eminent kind, Hyperides would never have won the position generally assigned to him by ancient critics among Athenian orators. An Athenian audience was trained by long habituation to look for and to recognize careful preparation in the speeches to which it listened. To speak *impromptu* would have been to court failure; and Hyperides did not fail. Rather we recognize in him the orator of consummate talent, unequal, perhaps, to the highest flights of eloquence, but certain never to fall far short of expectation. We can fairly accept the judgment of Longinus, when he says that Hyperides, though he had superiors in each of the gifts which go to make up the ideal orator, was yet second best in all.

And with these qualities of ingenuity, of lucidity, of persuasiveness, he joined that crowning gift which makes his work precious to us still to-day, the gift of literary style. We have many clever, many clear, many persuasive speakers, but we do not count their speeches as literature, nor expect them to be read even one generation hence. In all English history the speeches of one statesman only, Burke, have taken a permanent place in the national literature, just as of Roman oratory only the speeches of Cicero have stood the test of time. But at Athens we can name half-a-dozen orators whose speeches are literature, and even so we have not counted Antiphon or Isæus or Deinarchus. The difference is not due solely to a difference in ability, but far more to a difference in the audience. An orator is, ultimately, that which his hearers make him. An English jury would be filled with bewilderment and suspicion by the art of an Athenian orator, and an English
judge

judge would pull him up for irrelevance in the midst of his most telling appeals. An Athenian audience, leisured and quick-witted, expected and appreciated literary finish and rhetorical art. Therefore an Athenian speaker devoted more thought and care to the exact preparation of his speeches than nowadays would be thought expedient. Instead of studying law, he studied the art of speaking. The result is that the petty swindlers and malefactors of Athens, twenty-two centuries ago, have achieved immortality because Demosthenes or Hyperides undertook their prosecution or defence. The ἀγώνισμα εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα of Athens has become the κτήμα ἐς αἰεὶ of the modern world.

This band of immortal orators Hyperides has rejoined by virtue of the discoveries of the last forty-five years. Of six speeches now extant, one is, indeed, too wholly fragmentary to rank as literature; but because it is the prosecution of Demosthenes it has a permanent value for us as history. For the rest, the 'Lycophron' preserves a long passage of Attic prose of the best period; the fragment of the 'Philippides' is a vigorous piece of political rhetoric; the 'Funeral Oration' is a careful and stately panegyric, which to Longinus, at least, appeared to be the finest existing specimen of that class of eloquence. The 'Euxenippus' gives us a specimen of a speech, perfect and intact, on a subject of curious interest, in the easy and graceful style of which Hyperides was a master; and finally the 'Athenogenes' is a brilliant example of art and ingenuity, of skill in language and skill in argument. There is no great set speech, such as those which are the most famous efforts of Demosthenes and Æschines and Lycurgus; but the great set speech was not the manner in which Hyperides excelled, and we have enough to bring before us an adequate picture of the man who followed next, in popular estimation of his contemporaries, to the greatest orator that the world has known. We should not venture now to rank him with Demosthenes. We miss the force of character, the intensity of conviction, the energy of expression, which secure our sympathy and admiration for Philip's great opponent, even while we know that it was better for humanity that Philip should triumph. Yet we recognize in Hyperides consistency and earnestness as a politician, great talent and versatility as a pleader; and, above all, we welcome in his recovered speeches new instances of that undying charm of language and of style, which is the inalienable possession of all the literature of Athens.

ART. XII.—1. *Essays on Questions of the Day.* By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. London, 1893.

2. *Social Evolution.* By Benjamin Kidd. London, 1894.

3. *Manuel du Démagogue.* Par Raoul Ferry. Paris, 1889.

IN the last number of our Review we called attention to some of the dangers which threatened to impair the dignity, the self-respect, the independence, and the authority of the House of Commons. We now propose to push the enquiry back to a further stage. The popular assembly is what the constituencies make it. The source of the peril of Parliament is the peril of the polling-booths.

The political portent of the last half-century has been the rise, at first gradual and partial, but latterly rapid and now almost complete, of democracy. Few words in the language have been more abused by theorists or by terrorists than this. Properly speaking, democracy is not a synonym for mob-rule; still less does it signify government by, and in exclusive favour of, that mysterious entity called the People. It rather means the rule by the nation for national ends, and is opposed to rule by the masses, or the classes, or a single despot, for sectional selfish objects. But it may assume one of two forms, one spurious, the other true. The spurious democracy is as self-seeking in its interests, as unbridled in its rapacity, as narrow in its aims, as degrading in its influence, as the worst and most exclusive form of caste or despotism. True democracy means the exercise of the power of the whole nation for general comprehensive objects,—self-government in the special interests neither of the classes nor of the masses, for the exclusive advantage of no particular race, but for the common benefit of the whole British empire. In its true form democracy has for us no terrors, and we have no wish to close our eyes to the manifest fact of its advent. We are neither such pessimists nor such optimists as to suppose that the ultimate result of the changed conditions of politics and society will of necessity prove either entirely baneful or entirely beneficial. All depends on the momentous question, which a few more years will probably decide, whether in this country democracy will assume its true or its spurious form. The roar of the rapids sounds clearly in our ears; and the current seems to be gathering itself together for the plunge into what may prove to be either destruction or the passage into calmer waters:—

‘Chaos, Cosmos! Cosmos, Chaos! who can tell how all will end!’

The political circumstances under which democracy is attaining its full stature are in this country fraught with special dangers.

dangers. Great Britain is not protected against the perils of the democratic movement in the way in which America is safeguarded. We have no Supreme Court raised above the passions, prejudices, and delusions of the hour, without whose sanction no change in the Constitution can be effected. We have no Second Chamber corresponding to the American Senate,—a body which stands on a footing of complete equality, and exercises co-ordinate powers, with the popular assembly. Our Sovereign is not, like the American President, entrusted with substantial political authority. We have not even any written Constitution at all, and, in times of popular excitement, established usages, precedents, and customs may share the fate of the unwritten code of parliamentary manners, and be swept aside as antiquated lumber.

Our political history has been a record of oscillations between monarchical, aristocratic, and popular forces. The balance has inclined this way and that; the equilibrium has been temporarily disturbed in one direction or another, only to be again restored. Now, however, the adjustment of forces seems to have been finally and irrevocably destroyed. The powers of the Sovereign, though nominally considerable, so far as their practical exercise is concerned have shrunk into impotence. The powers of the aristocratic House have been practically restricted to a suspensive veto, and the upper branch of the Legislature has ceased, except by a constitutional fiction, to be an assembly of co-ordinate authority with the popular body. The residuary legatee of all the authority and powers, formerly exercised by the Crown or the Peers, is the majority of the House of Commons. No written Constitution interposes even a paper barrier between the will of the constituencies and its legislative enactment. Our government is nominally a constitutional monarchy, and such in outward form it will probably remain for many years to come; but the true political questions before us are, whether we are to be a tempered or an absolute democracy, and whether that democracy is to assume a true or a spurious form.

The few remaining shreds of the old balance which checked the unrestricted exercise of power by any one of the three forces in the State are marked out for destruction. The abolition of the House of Lords, and with it of the bicameral system, is part of the Radical programme, and the question is put in the form of a dilemma, which starts from the basis of the absolute will of the People. It is a repetition of the Kaliph Omar's famous decision with regard to the books in the Alexandrian Library: 'If they agree with the Koran, they are unnecessary; if

if they do not, they are mischievous. In either case let them be burned.' 'If,' say our political Omars of to-day, 'the House of Lords agrees with the popular House, it is superfluous; if it disagrees, it is dangerous. Let it therefore be destroyed.' The object of a bicameral system is to prevent hasty changes in the Constitution, and, in all cases where the popular voice is not declared beyond the possibility of a doubt, to afford the popular assembly an opportunity of reconsidering its position. The powers of the House of Lords are, therefore, of an extremely limited character, and are only to be used with the greatest caution. On the issues now involved in the struggle between the two Chambers, there can be no question, as we believe, in the minds of unprejudiced men, that those powers have been used with the utmost forbearance. In rejecting the Home Rule Bill, the Lords have not placed themselves in opposition to the will of the majority of the people, and their opponents are too well aware of the fact to join issue on their action. If a Bill is re-introduced for Home Rule, it will not be the same proposal, but a measure which has been modified and, in the opinion of its authors, improved. Lord Rosebery has, in fact, entirely conceded the case of the Opposition so far as this part of the attack on the House of Lords is concerned.

The action of the Upper House on the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill was marked by the same cautious and forbearing use of powers which are admittedly limited. The principle of employers' liability was frankly accepted; but the Lords took their stand upon the side of freedom of contract and of individual liberty. In dealing with the Parish Councils Bill, the Upper House insisted on two important amendments, and on two only. In both these amendments they re-introduced matter, which originally formed part of the Government proposal, or received the approval of many members of the Radical party, or from which the Government itself, at an earlier stage of the proceedings, had declared that they could not in honour withdraw.

It is not the conduct, therefore, of the House of Lords on any particular occasion which renders it liable to what Sir W. Harcourt calls the charge of 'high treason' against the House of Commons. It is attacked on the broad and plain issue that no restraint whatever is to be placed on the decisions of the elected delegates of the People. The agitation against the Upper Chamber, in fact, derives its whole force from the extreme democratic claim that the People are entitled to rule the country absolutely, without any check on the caprices of their sovereign will.

From

From the basis of the same democratic claim proceed the other constitutional changes which are most strenuously advocated, such as the introduction of 'one man one vote,' the shortening of the period for which Parliament is elected, and the payment of Members. Plurality of voting is another shred of the old system under which taxation and representation went hand in hand. This vestige of a salutary principle is to be swept away in favour of the 'one man one vote,' which brings us practically to universal suffrage, with no electoral qualification except that of manhood. It is obvious that, without the simultaneous establishment of 'one man, one value,' this so-called reform is partial and incomplete. The democrat, who advocates the one, cannot refuse his assent to the other without exposing the hollowness of his democratic professions. If the will of the people is, as he urges, to be absolute, let its voice have free expression. The attempt to remove one inequality and to retain another and greater anomaly, because the first is favourable, and the second is unfavourable, to the interests of his party, is an imposture, a deliberate packing of the cards. Those who support such an electioneering manœuvre are merely playing with democratic counters for the sake of aristocratic rewards.

Septennial Parliaments, especially in the first years of their existence, secured to elected Members some sort of independence as free counsellors. But fixity of tenure was felt to be hostile to the new principle, that Members of Parliament are delegates of their constituencies, bearing their instructions in their pocket, from which they dare not deviate. To shorten the duration of Parliament is to secure the more direct control of the electors over their servants; to establish triennial or even annual Parliaments is to make every department of national life feel the actual impulse of universal suffrage. It is on this ground only, and not on the ground of efficiency, that the change is demanded.

The non-payment of Members, again, offered some sort of practical guarantee that politics would not be converted into a trade. It afforded a certain security for disinterestedness; but the disinterestedness demanded by democracies has limits. The people do not wish to be served gratuitously. Unpaid labour sets a bad example. It might be easy to procure unselfish and incorruptible services by the choice of representatives whose position and character placed them beyond the reach of temptation. So long as liberty was the object aimed at, such a choice was made. But the modern Liberal has turned his old love out of doors, and has taken equality to his bosom.

bosom. The war of the future is to be a war against the cultured and monied classes, and, in such a struggle, representatives of wealth and education command no confidence. The change of feeling is not, indeed, consciously admitted. The old protection which was afforded by unpaid Members is to be abolished, on the pretext that every citizen ought to enjoy equal opportunities of parliamentary life, and thus the door will be thrown open to professional politicians, who prefer to live on the public rather than by their labour, are absolutely dependent for their bread and butter on the electors, have for the most part failed in some previous calling, and import into politics the sour animosities and bitter prejudices of their failures. Already Parliament has been practically reduced to a voting machine by the new form of the Closure, which silences discussion and stifles freedom of speech. If these remaining measures are carried, the democratic principle will achieve its final triumph. Our Constitution will then become—what it has not, we are thankful to think, as yet become—an instrument for registering the whims of the people, and an instrument of which the caucus will turn the crank.

On its social side the possible danger is equally apparent. It is here that the choice between a true and a spurious democracy becomes most momentous. The People are proclaimed free and sovereign; they hold in their hands the sources of power; politically they are the masters of the wealthy. Why should the sovereign starve? Why should he be condemned to labour and poverty while his servants live in luxury?

The unequal distribution of wealth is a fact that none can avoid recognizing and that all deplore. There are few persons who would shrink from personal sacrifices if there were any reasonable hope of putting an end to poverty. But the problem is one before which science recoils in silence. In the department of sociology its work has been almost exclusively destructive. It has reduced to absurdity or inconsistency the views of individualists and collectivists, and it has gathered a mass of empirical observations too flimsy to bear the weight of solid superstructure. Here its work ends. Socialism steps into the gap which science should occupy, and offers a solution which seems to us to involve society in the near future in still more intolerable conditions. But there are two circumstances which render its proffered solution a real danger. In the first place, it professes to solve a problem which other schools of thinkers recognize only to demonstrate its insolubility except by the processes of social evolution. Socialism is before the world as the one theory which even appears to afford, on an universal
scale,

scale, an immediate means of rectifying the balance between wealth and poverty. The people are in that intellectual stage of development when they readily listen to appeals to their feelings or desires; they have not advanced to that higher point, where they can follow closely the arguments addressed to their intellects. As yet, indeed, it is probable that Socialism may have made little way. But it offers its solution under new social conditions which render it suicidal to ignore its possible acquisition of rapid and widespread influence. It suggests definite advantages, which those who are to profit by them can readily understand and have the power to carry into legislative effect. It is no longer the plaything of philanthropic sentiment; on the contrary, it may, at any moment, become a powerful element in practical politics.

In dealing with social democracy, as in meeting the onset of political democracy, it is obvious that there are unfavourable and disquieting circumstances. Society, like the State, wants stability; the old bonds have been loosened, if not snapped asunder. Trade and agriculture are in a state of unexampled depression. A series of fierce disputes of unprecedented duration have embittered the relations between workmen and employers, and disorganized not only the industries in which they occurred, but all other dependent industries. In country districts agricultural distress is slowly working what is little short of a social revolution. In towns, and especially in London, municipal Jacobinism is rampant, and the ward-politician threatens to seize the reins of government. There are scarcely any small freeholders, and only a dwindling number of small shopkeepers, to supply those links on which the strength of the social chain depends. Meanwhile the attitude of the classes who have most to lose by industrial revolutions is marked by uncertainty and hesitation. Discontented with the present conditions of society, deeply stirred by the mental and physical suffering which the struggle for existence involves, they are yet profoundly distrustful of crude schemes of reconstruction which threaten to produce all the greater evils of an unknown future. But, dubious of their own position, they have not the courage of conviction which is necessary to stimulate them to action. They do not bar the road with the cry of 'danger'; they only cling to the skirts of those in front with the querulous cry that they are going too fast, forgetting that, if the direction is right, the pace of progress cannot be regulated by the movements of the lame and the asthmatic.

In their political and their social aspects such seem to us the conditions of the crisis in which we stand. What will be its outcome?

outcome? Two of the books which we have placed at the head of these pages answer the question in a widely different fashion.

Professor Goldwin Smith speaks as an observer from outside. His view of the political and social conditions of the day appears to us to be unduly gloomy. But those who contemplate a crisis from a distance are often better judges than those who stand in its midst. Professor Goldwin Smith, in fact, represents that continental opinion in which contemporaries are often told to recognize the judgment of posterity, and he represents it with an intimate knowledge of what he observes, which no foreigner, even the most intelligent, can possess. In his striking article on 'The Political Crisis in England,' he traces with vigorous strokes the progress and the peril of democratic government. He holds that socialistic Radicalism is advancing rapidly towards dismemberment and rapine. He denies that majorities, especially when the wealth and intelligence of the nation are on the other side, have any right divine, and he thus concludes his review of the situation:—

'People are not bound to fold their arms in tame submission when they can prevent the cruel indulgence of class hatred, public rapine, or the dismemberment of the nation, any more than they are bound to fold their arms in tame submission when the tyranny of a despot becomes insufferable. There are international situations, though few, out of which the only exit is war. There are domestic situations, far fewer still, out of which, as Mirabeau saw, the only exit is civil war, or the display of a determination to face civil war rather than suffer the extremity of wrong. A majority, conscious that its power is artificial, and that the real strength is on the other side, will almost always decline the contest and refrain from further aggression. If it does not, the national destiny at all events will be decided, not by demagogic appeals to passion and the love of plunder, or by the craft of Old Parliamentary Hands, but by the genuine force and manhood of the nation.'

Very different is the note struck by Mr. Benjamin Kidd. His argument, stated with the utmost brevity, is this. The doctrine of social evolution, of which he is an eager advocate, demands that man should be developing a higher ideal of social condition. This condition Mr. Kidd finds neither in socialism nor in social equality, but in equal social opportunity. The change involves immense sacrifices by the higher classes. But Mr. Kidd believes that these will be made through the operation of religion, an evolutionary force which science ignores. It is not reason which urges men to labour for unseen goals, and to attempt ends which are inconvenient to their present circumstances. It is, in Mr. Kidd's opinion, religion that thus impels
mankind

mankind to strive for objects which are not immediately beneficial to itself. The unselfishness which it begets is the effective cause of social changes. The upper classes could, he believes, hold their own if they chose; their refusal to do so does not proceed from the decay of virile force, but from their humanitarianism. It is this principle which will induce them to concede all that the people, themselves proportionately softened by the same religious altruistic influences, will demand, and thus the change will be peaceably effected. 'The fact of our time,' he concludes,

'which overshadows all others, is the arrival of Democracy. But the perception of the fact is of relatively little importance if we do not also realize that it is a new Democracy. There are many who speak of the new ruler of nations as if he were the same Demos whose ears the dishonest courtiers have tickled from time immemorial. It is not so. Even those who attempt to lead him do not yet quite understand him. Those who think that he is about to bring chaos instead of order, do not rightly apprehend the nature of his strength. They do not perceive that his arrival is the crowning result of an ethical movement in which qualities and attributes which we have all been taught to regard as the very highest of which human nature is capable, find the completest expression they have ever reached in the history of the race.'

These are brave words: but we must frankly own that they sound to us like the language of a theorist, if not of a visionary. We can detect no symptom which is not contradicted by other symptoms, that the new democracy is to differ from its predecessors, or that the new Demos is indisposed to be tickled by the words of dishonest courtiers. Still less do we recognize any sign that those who attempt to lead him have in any degree misinterpreted his nature. On the contrary, they appear to us to have gauged it to a nicety. It is the character of the appeals which are addressed to the democracy, and the success with which those appeals are followed, that most incline us to the pessimism of Mr. Goldwin Smith rather than to the optimism of Mr. Kidd. Our new sovereign is surrounded with an atmosphere of adulation and insincerity. His worst passions and most unreasoning prejudices are encouraged. Every hour he is told of his omnipotence and his infallibility. He is taught that 'only those who cannot read can rule,' and that intelligence, experience, and culture are his inveterate foes. He is urged to rely for his progress, not on his own exertions, but on legislation at the expense of those who are more thrifty, more energetic, more gifted than himself. Our 'practised hustings-liars' are using all their efforts to train the sovereign people in the worst school

school of Oriental despotism, and it will not be their faults if our ruler does not grow up weak, capricious, cruel, selfish, and tyrannical.

If no other proof were forthcoming than the nature of the appeals addressed to constituencies, or than the personal despotism from which we have been recently released, it would have been apparent that we live in a democratic age and under a system of universal suffrage. The people is the Sovereign of to-day. Democracies breed demagogues as naturally as absolute monarchies breed courtiers, and the history of the words by which we indicate the parasites of a court or of the people is exactly the same. Neither the title of demagogue nor that of courtier has naturally any sinister meaning: both may be given to servants who are loyal, honest, devoted, and sincere; yet both are discredited by usage till they have come to indicate men whose first object is to please their sovereign, and who make that the supreme guide of their words and actions.

In his approach to his sovereign, the demagogue starts from the same assumption as the courtier. He attributes to the people the same extravagances of the right divine with which the most despotic of the Tudors was endowed by the most subservient of his subjects. His attitude is even more contemptible than that of the sixteenth-century courtier. Pupils who are ambitious of eminence in art, students who desire to excel in literature, fops who hope to lead the fashion, all study the great masters and try their strength by copying the best models. The process is reversed by the demagogue. In politics it is not the few who legislate for the many, but the many who legislate for the few; and, therefore, he takes his seat at the feet of the least intelligent, the least experienced, the least enlightened members of society, to learn from them the wisdom of statesmanship. He is like a soldier who studies the art of war, not from the great captains, but in the ranks. To explain his attitude he has recourse, at this close of the nineteenth century, to the supernatural, and appeals to the miraculous. Individual men are, as everyone knows by experience, ignorant, selfish, envious, greedy, prejudiced, accessible to flattery, liable to make mistakes. Collect the same individuals into a crowd, call them the People, place voting-papers in their hands, and they rise superior to evil passions and prejudices; their bad inclinations drop from off them; they become inaccessible to error; they escape the liability to human infirmities. In other words, to multiply twenty individuals by a million is to change their character. Arithmetic is the charm which converts fallible men into impeccable angels. The most famous shrine

in the world has never worked so many wonders in a hundred years as the *fin-de-siècle* polling-booth works in a week. Why has no moralist or social reformer proposed that mankind should be regenerated by a daily election?

Having endowed his sovereign with the right divine, the demagogue next proceeds to gain his affections. He has here only to follow the models left him by great masters. Centuries of practice have brought the art of the courtier to such perfection that it is incapable of improvement. The first object of parasites, whether of people or kings, is to convince their master that they are devoted to his cause. Loyalty, fidelity, honesty, are not enough. It must be devotion, and the essence of devotion is not that it presupposes sympathy or illusion, but that it silences the voice of duty. The dutiful servant adjusts conflicting claims; the devoted servant imposes no such limits on his service. If once demagogues can convince their master that he has inspired them with devotion, his favour is won. But how is the people to be convinced? The advertisement of disinterestedness and the ostentation of zeal are obviously the most natural means. The people does not demand that its servants should forego personal ambition; but it does demand that they should be incorruptible, and, equally important, that they should have the reputation of incorruptibility. Disinterestedness is, in fact, useless unless it is manifested in public. Demagogues should be capable of striking histrionic attitudes, and must not despise small effects. A rugged air of pride, a breach of recognized rules of politeness, a carefully planned and deliberately executed defiance of conventional decorum, a self-affixed adjectival epithet, sometimes even a peculiarity of dress or conveyance, are useful means of catching the public eye. Zeal is a quality which readily finds more opportunities of display than disinterestedness. Talleyrand's warning against zeal was the warning of an idle aristocrat, and it has no application to the demagogue. The latter knows well enough that zeal can be as vigorously displayed in small things as in great, in fictions as well as in realities. Misers are often more pleased to save a farthing than to make a pound. To demagogues the destruction of an imperceptible abuse, which they have discovered or created for themselves, may be made quite as valuable as an essential measure of necessary reform. As with the demagogue's disinterestedness, so with his zeal. He must serve the people with all the noise and display of which he is capable. Cheap rhetoric, flashy sentiment, tawdry declamation, all must be pressed into his service. His instrument must be heard at every popular concert. It is of no importance if it is out of tune;

tune ; the only essential matter is that it should be loud. The music may offend against the good taste of the few ; but it is the favour of the many which is the demagogue's stake.

Praise is an instrument of which the demagogue makes full use in the court that he pays to his sovereign. He knows that his task is not to instruct but to please his audience, and that its prejudices exist for him to humour, not to remove. In the administration of flattery the demagogue enjoys a great advantage over the parasite who plays the courtier to an individual ruler. The praise cannot be too gross ; it is bestowed on a multitude, and collective modesty is a thing unknown. Men rarely hear so much good of themselves as they think, and the portion of a compliment addressed to a crowd, which each individual appropriates to his own deserts, is known only to himself. But there is this great similarity between the art of flattery as pursued by the courtier and the demagogue. Both are aware that the comparative method is the most effective. A king does not so much care to know that he is wise ; what he desires to know is that he is wiser than his neighbour. The masses remain apathetic when they are praised for their intelligence, their good sense, their patience, their domestic virtues ; what really rouses their enthusiasm is to hear that they are more intelligent, more sensible, more discerning, more temperate, more chaste, than the upper classes. Even in this comparative method there are degrees in which flattery is successful. The sovereign people do not care to be praised for the virtues they undoubtedly possess. The most subtle form is to defer to their judgment. To tell them of their industry, their frugality, their charity to their poorer neighbours, is useless. These merits, in their opinion, go without saying. They prefer to be told of the superiority of their understanding. This is the food of which they are most greedy, and this the diet against which their stomachs never seem to revolt.

Flattery is not enough. To the skilful touch of demagogues the evil passions of the people are not less responsive than their vanities. Envy and hatred are the strings which the new courtier delights to finger, and, like his predecessor in the art, he knows that to direct these passions against a class through an individual is to secure their permanent aid without losing a particle of their concentrated force. It is not in so many words that the demagogue appeals to the passion of hatred. He calls the feeling that he evokes a just indignation or a righteous wrath. But its effect is, and is intended to be, precisely the same. He bids his audience remember all the Mitchelstowns of the past, however remote. He paints every country squire

as a feudal tyrant, every parish priest as a Torquemada, every capitalist as a robber, every employer of labour as a sweater. The theme is sure to prove attractive. All that is required for its successful development is the eye that is keen to search in the dustbin for facts in favour of the view, and is resolutely closed to everything that tells against it. Envy, again, is the rampant fault of democracies, and it is easy for the demagogue to foster its growth. In ordinary conditions of society men conceal their envious feelings from very shame. But democracy flaunts the vice in your face as a virtue. Political and social equality demands the obliteration of all distinctions, and therefore democratic envy is really love of humanity, or a burning sense of injustice, which abhors inequalities and demands their instant suppression. To this vicious virtue the demagogue appeals by means of the most startling contrasts which he can command. He dwells on the 'gilded saloons' of the aristocracy and the fever-haunted dens of the masses, placing in absolute juxtaposition the blackest shadows and the most garish lights, setting the extreme of wealth by the side of the extreme of poverty, and omitting all the gradations which in real life soften the one into the other. His theme is that society is deliberately organized to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. He denounces capitalists as sworn foes of the artisan or tyrannical oppressors of the labourer, and sweeps aside the arguments of political economists as the special pleading of the hirelings of plutocracy.

Appeals to vanity, to hatred, or to envy are not the only stock-in-trade of the demagogue. There are certain catchwords which are never out of his mouth. It is in dealing with the People that a good cry is found to be so much better than a good cause. One of these phrases is 'democratic progress.' This is the doctrine which gives the demagogue his strongest lever in practical affairs. The truth of the principles to which the appeal is made is no concern of the orator. It is immaterial whether there is any definiteness or finality in the goal, whether its pursuit educates and elevates the pursuers, whether its net result, if attained, is anything more than emptiness. To the demagogue the very vagueness of the word is a distinct gain, because it throws back the horizon into a shadowy distance which he can fill with the creations of his imagination. His only object is to make the idea of democratic progress a religion, to teach the people that they are the advanced guard of the march of humanity. The party of change naturally enlists in its ranks all the disordered ambitions, all the adventurers and speculators; but if democratic progress be once established as

an article of the popular faith, it operates on the people with the force of a creed; it binds together its adherents at the same time that it divides them as far as possible from their opponents.

In preaching this doctrine, demagogues do not forget that the critical spirit is fatal to their art. There must be no prudent reservations, no cautious qualifications, no careful distinctions in shades of meaning. With popular creeds it must be all or nothing. The man who blows hot and cold is powerless. Consequently, whatever elements of truth their doctrine may once have contained are overlaid with exaggerations until they assume the most dangerous forms of half-truthful mis-statements. It may be that theologians have made too much of the natural inclination of man to evil. It is certain that demagogues are making a far more fatal error in relying, like Rousseau, on the natural goodness of humanity. They adopt the opposite course to that of moralists. Instead of magnifying, they minimize human responsibility. Instead of exhorting to virtue, they imply that the effort is not incumbent upon men whose faults and failures are the work of Society. Their present moral as well as political conditions, the People are assured, are the artificial product of laws and conventions. Human progress can be produced by legislation, vice restrained by law, and temperance proclaimed by Act of Parliament. What is idleness but the product of insufficient wages, or debauchery but the force of the evil example of the rich, or drunkenness but the fault of a society which leaves no other enjoyment to the poor? The salvation of Society depends, argues the demagogue, not on the formation of the individual character by the discipline of duty, but on the assertion of rights and the insistence on grievances. If Society has created faults, Society can also be made to create virtues. Laws can unmake what laws have made. Political revolution is thus only the first stage of social revolution. Every existing institution is placed, as it were, under police supervision; if it has existed for any number of years, it has, so to speak, signed its death-warrant. Before the people lie not only a reformed Constitution and a transformed Society, but a transfigured humanity. Those who appeal to experience of human depravity are met with the answer: 'Men might act in such a way under a despotic sovereign, under a constitutional monarchy, under a tempered republic. But under an absolute democracy all will be different.'

Another catchword which proves of infinite value to the demagogue is science. Love of science is in the air, and, if
used

used with dexterity, it appeals to the pride or the vanity of the people. Out of the din and smoke of battle men gather the general impression that science is engaged in a deadly struggle with religion, and, *pace* Mr. Kidd, they are more prone to identify the former with progress and the latter with retrogression than to reverse the process. Truly scientific thinkers acknowledge that they are baffled by social and political problems because the human will introduces elements of uncertainty against which they cannot be secured. But in the mouths of those who use science as a party catchword this attitude of cautious hesitation is exchanged for one of rash assertion. In the mouths of demagogues it is used to conclude discussion. On all disputed problems, it is 'Moral science proves this'; or 'Political science establishes this'; or 'Social science demonstrates this.' In the name of the most careful, laborious, and cautious methods of acquiring knowledge, the People accept prejudices for principles, hypotheses for facts, dreams for oracles. Under the standard of science the demagogue runs his contrabrand cargoes, or plies his piratical trade. As the champion of science, men who cannot read or write are able to accuse their opponents of ignorance and superstition, and flatter themselves that they enjoy the glory of fighting in the cause of enlightenment.

But it is not enough to excite the passions of the democracy, to flatter its vanity, inflame its hatred, stimulate its envy, or even to supply it with phrases and catchwords. The demagogic appeal, to make it successful, must be linked to a principle. What is to be the principle? Patriotism will not serve, for it imposes self-sacrifices. Fraternity is only useful so far as it affords the sentimental pretext for disarmament in the face of hostile Powers. Even Liberty must be at once rejected, for Liberty demands that freedom should be preserved, and the rights of others recognized and respected. No pure democracy has ever been favourable to liberty. Another reason renders liberty entirely unsuitable as a demagogic principle. Liberty does not open out to the People a sufficiently wide perspective. Within its confines progress is necessarily restricted; its definite borders allow none of that vagueness which the demagogic Alexander demands for his conquests. The principle which the demagogue adopts is therefore equality, not merely of rights but of conditions, and he applies it both to politics and to society.

Nature denies equality of conditions. By a process of natural selection, it is ever bringing to the front the men who are most *capable to rule*. Men are only 'equal-born' if 'yonder hill be level

level with the flat.' But the spurious democrat sets himself in opposition to the natural law that the many must obey, while only the few can rule. He claims for the so-called masses, whose education and narrow surroundings unfit them to cope with complex political questions, the divine right of absolute power. As political units all individuals are to be equal. No electoral qualifications, compensations, or distinctions are tolerated, provided they are not necessary for the purpose of packing the democratic cards. Professor Huxley, for example, is to have no more weight in the counsels of the Empire than the citizen who cannot affix his mark with accuracy. No restrictions are to be imposed upon the exercise of the will, thus declared, of the sovereign people. Just as the parasites of kings demanded a despotic monarchy, so the parasites of the people clamour for an absolute democracy, and for the same reason. Favourites always derive most advantage from masters whose powers of patronage are most uncontrolled. Demagogues demand that the will of the electors should be obeyed directly, always, everywhere. To assert any other principle is to maintain inequality, and to derogate from the sovereignty of the people. A second Chamber can only be created by distinctions of birth, age, property, or form of election, and all such distinctions are intolerable. There can be no need for the democratic sovereign to protect itself against the consequences of its own infallibility. As to the elected members of the popular assembly they are to be made directly responsible to their constituents by shortening the period for which they are elected. They are not to be entrusted with any part of their sovereign's powers, nor are they sent to Parliament to do their best in the interests of the country. They have received a precise and definite mandate from their electors; from its terms they may not deviate, and their first and only duty is to think, feel, and act exactly as their constituents require.

Hand in hand with political equality goes social equality. It is unjust, says the demagogue, that accidents of birth should squander fortune on one and doom another to poverty. For the removal of such differences, the State, he urges, can and should legislate. The proposal opens out a vista of illimitable possibilities. In every direction, if this view of the functions of the State be accepted, its hand may be applied. In finance the demagogue already translates this theory into fact. He no longer regards the Budget as a means of meeting by evenly adjusted contributions the expenses of the public services. He uses it as a weapon by which he may modify the inequalities that the existing distribution of wealth has produced. He treats taxes

as instruments of democratic progress. In his eyes, as in those of Mr. Henry George, the tax-collector is surrounded with a new halo. He is no longer an unpopular official entrusted with an odious duty, but a social reformer, the saviour of mankind, a second Providence called in to correct the errors of the first. At the present moment the principle opens out a vista of splendid possibilities. No check need be placed on the expenditure of the State so long as there remain wealthy classes to bear the burden. An individual is obliged to regulate his expenses by his income because he dips his hand into his own purse; but the State need only regulate its income by its expenditure, for it draws its resources from the inequalities which it is its mission to destroy.

Such, in effect, are the political doctrines and such the methods to which one of the parties in the State has given the sanction of an honoured name. Led by the greatest orator of the age, the Gladstonian Liberals have thrown, and are still throwing, the whole weight of their influence on the side of the spurious, instead of the true, form of democracy. Never in our history was a more slavish adulation lavished upon the so-called masses; never was the *jehad* against the classes preached with more mischievous eloquence. For their own purposes they have pandered to the vanity, the hatred, the envy, the covetousness of the multitude; for their own purposes, again, they have fanned into a flame the dying embers of racial antipathies, and revived the half-forgotten memories of international hostilities. Instead of appealing to all that is ennobling and invigorating in the historic past, they have taught their followers to despise experience, and have perverted history in order to prove that culture, wealth, and intelligence are the inveterate foes of justice. Instead of attending to the immediate needs of pressing importance, they have entered on a course of speculative legislation which has only increased the restlessness of the multitude. On every side they have played into the hands of Socialism, which will derive its force from that democratic impatience that they have assiduously encouraged. They have imperilled the existence of that true democracy, which is the rule of a self-governing nation without distinctions of class, race, and creed, and have endeavoured to rear in its place the spurious democracy which, because it is sectional, not comprehensive, in its interests, drags down to the lower level all the higher elements of national life.

If office be their reward, they have it. A so-called Liberal Government is in power, subsisting from hand to mouth on the *policy* which others have forced upon it, wearing with indifferent grace

grace the borrowed principles of the factions by which it is supported, dependent from hour to hour on the favour of the Irish party, whose leader Mr. Gladstone himself denounced as 'wading through rapine to dismemberment,' and engaged in the sorry task of manufacturing political capital. To this last end they have subordinated everything. For the skill of statesmen they substitute the cunning of the electioneer; for coherent policy they offer a prospectus of bribes. In their struggle for power, they have abandoned every principle for which the historic Liberal party contended. They have turned their back on Liberty. For the sake of appearances they burn incense upon its shrine; but it is on the altar of Equality that they offer sacrifices. In the name of this new Deity, the Liberal party puts itself at the head of revolutionary Radicalism, and lends its honoured robes to drape the naked figures of confiscation and destruction. The reward of the abandonment of Liberal principles is, as we have said, for the moment theirs. But a chaotic Government, which cannot defend the Sovereign from revolutionary insolence, which is fettered by incompatible engagements, possesses no stability nor independence, and creates no confidence, is dearly purchased at the price of the disintegration and degradation of a historic party. Already there are signs that the masses, to win whom they have sacrificed so much, are turning against them. The growth of Radicalism and the rise of an independent labour party are significant indications of the fact that the most logical and advanced leaders of the new democracy distrust the sincerity of their Liberal allies and repudiate the aid which they so eagerly offer.

For the moment the progress of affairs is arrested by the change from Mr. Gladstone to Lord Rosebery, and it would be idle to attempt to predict the results of the accession to power of a leader who commands the confidence of the industrial classes. The first impression which the change has produced is undoubtedly one of relief. The country feels, and, as the Naval programme shows, has some solid ground for feeling, that Imperial interests are comparatively safe in the hands of the new Premier. If Lord Rosebery can reconstruct his disintegrated party, inspire them with principles, and supply them with a coherent straightforward policy, he will earn the gratitude of the nation.

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